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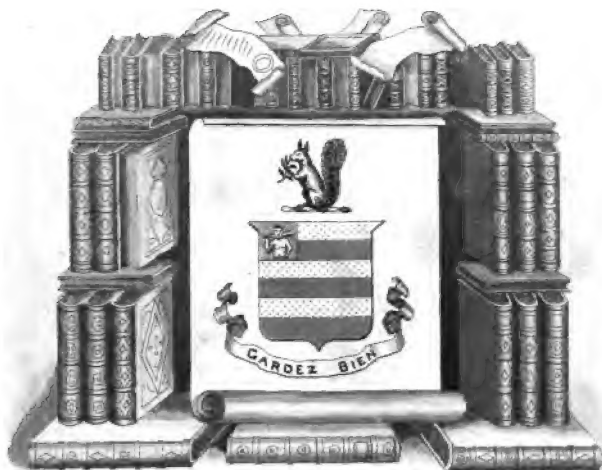
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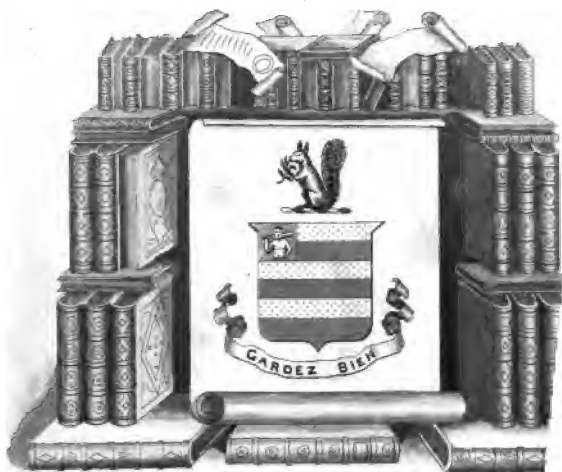
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J. McBurford





ARCHÆOLOGIA GRÆCA:
OR, THE
ANTIQUITIES
OF
GREECE.

THE SEVENTH EDITION.

By JOHN POTTER, D.D.
Late Lord Archbishop of CANTERBURY.

VOLUME the SECOND.

CONTAINING,

I. The Military Affairs || II. Some of their Miscellaneous Customs.

——— *Simili frondescit virga metallo.* VIRGIL.

*Quis reprehendet nostrum otium, qui in eo non modo nosmetipsos
hebescere & languere nolumus, sed etiam, ut plurimis profimus,
nitimur?* CICERO.

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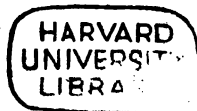
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Archæologia Græca :
OR, THE
ANTIQUITIES
OF
GREECE.

BOOK III.

CHAP. I.

*Of the Wars, Valour, Military Glory, &c. of the
antient Grecians.*



THE antient *Grecians* were a rude and unpolished Sort of Mortals, wholly unacquainted with the modern, and more refined, Arts of War and Peace. Persons of the highest Birth and Quality; and whom they fancied to be descended from the Race of the immortal Gods, had little other Business to employ their Hours, besides Tilling the Earth, or Feeding their Flocks and Herds; and these, or some other petty Concerns, which was

2. Of the Military Affairs of Greece.

never received any just Cause of Quarrel, having never been despoil'd of his Oxen or Horses, or had the Fruits of his Ground destroy'd by them (a).

Οὐ γὰρ ἐγὼ Τρώων ἔνεκ' ἤλυθον αἰχμητῶν
 Δεῦρο μαχισόμενος, ἐπεὶ ἔτι μοι αἰτιοὶ εἰσιν.
 Οὐ γὰρ πῶπρ' ἑμᾶς βῆς ἤλασαν, ἐδὲ μὲν Ἰππῆς,
 Οὐδ' ἐποτ' ἐκ Φθίης ἐριζώλακι βοττανεῖρ
 Καρπὸν ἐδηλήσαντ', ἐπεὶ μάλα πολλὰ μεταξὺ
 Οἷρά τε σκίεντα, θάλασσά τε ἠχέισσα.
 Ἀλλὰ σοι, ὦ μέγ' ἀναιδὲς, αἶμ' ἐσπόμεθ', ὅρα σὺ χαίρης·

For tho' I here with warlike *Trojans* fight,
 'Tis not to vindicate my private Right;
 Since they by impious Theft have ne'er detain'd
 My Oxen, Horses, or on *Phthia's* Land
 Destroy'd my Fruits; secur'd by craggy Ways,
 O'er pathless Mountains, and tempestuous Seas,
 I fear not what Invasions they can make:
 But 'tis, ungrateful Man, 'tis for thy Sake,
 T' advance thy Triumphs that I hither come,
 That thou with greater State may'st reign at Home.

Mr Hucbin.

And the Simplicity of their Conduct may be sufficiently evinced, as from several other Instances, so by those especially, where *Achilles*, *Hector*, or *Ajax* are introduced opposing themselves to vast Numbers, and by the Force of their own Valour putting to Flight whole Squadrons of their Enemies. Nor is the Poet to be thought Blame-worthy, or to have transgressed the Rules of Probability in such Relations; which, tho' perhaps strange and incredible in our Days, were, no doubt, accommodated to the Manners of the Times, of which he wrote. For even in the sacred Story we find it recorded, that a single *Goliath* defied all the Armies of *Israel* (4), and with a big Look, and a few arrogant Words, struck so great Terror into them, that they fled before him.

Notwithstanding this, in the Revolution of a few Ages, *Greece* became the celebrated Mother of the bravest and most experienc'd Soldiers in the World: For being canton'd into a great Number of little

and contending for the Addition of a few Lands, with no less Heat and Fury than if whole Kingdoms had been the Prize: The Consequence whereof was, that the *Grecians*, being from their Childhood inured to martial Affairs, and having to their native Bravery added long and constant Experience, were rendered as well in good Order and Discipline, as true Courage and Valour, superior to most other Nations. They became a Terror to all the Countries round about them, and with small Numbers often put to flight vast Multitudes of the *Barbarians*: The *Persians* frequently experienced the sad Effects of it in the Loss of numerous Armies, and at length of the greatest Empire in the World. And (to enumerate no more Instances in a Thing so well known) the *Carthaginians*, tho' Men of great Courage, and excellently skill'd in the Art of War, being worked in *Sicily* by *Timoleon* the *Corinthian*, in several Encounters, and by unequal Numbers of Men, were driven into an Admiration of the *Grecian* Valour; and forced to confess, that they were the most pugnacious and insupportable of Mankind; and forthwith made it their Business to entertain as many of them as they could procure, in their Service (a).

But tho' almost all the *Grecians* had their Share in Military Glory, yet were the rest far inferior to the *Lacedemonians*, who by the Laws of their Country were under an Obligation to make War their Profession; they never applied themselves to any Art or Employment, or the Exercise of Trades, which they accounted unworthy of generous and free-born Souls; but committing all such Cares to the *Helots*, who were a genteeler Sort of Slaves, spent their Time in manly Exercises, to render their Bodies strong and active. They were also accusom'd by hard Diet, by Stripes, and other Severities, patiently to undergo Hardships, to endure Wounds, to encounter Dangers, and if the Honour of their Country so required, to throw themselves into the Arms of Death without Fear or Regret. Yet were they not so imprudent or fool-hardy, as to court Dangers, or Death; but were taught from their Childhood to be always prepared either to live or die, and equally willing to do either; as appears from those Verses, cited by *Plutarch* (b) to this Purpose.

Οἱ δὲ θάνον, ὃ ζῆν θέμενοι καλόν, ὃ δὲ τὸ θῆσκειν,
 Ἀλλὰ τὸ ταῦτα καλῶς ἀμώβτερ' ἐπτελέσαι.
 They dy'd, but not as lavish of their Blood,
 Or thinking Death itself was simply good,
 Or Life; both these the strictest Virtue try'd,
 And as that call'd, they gladly liv'd or dy'd.

Principles of their Actions; which begot in them such an undaunted Courage, and so firm and unmoveable a Resolution, that scarce any other Nation was able to stand before them. This extraordinary and unparallel'd Bravery, being adorn'd and strengthen'd with the wisest Conduct, and the most perfect Skill in all the Stratagems of War those Times were capable of, has render'd them famous in Story, and Examples of Military Virtue to all succeeding Ages: " For (these are "*Plutarch's* (a) Words) the *Lacedemonians* were most expert and cunning in the Art of War, being train'd up and accusom'd to nothing more than to keep themselves from Confusion, when their Order should be broken; to follow any Leader or Right-hand Man, so rallying themselves into Order; and to fight on what Part soever " Dangers press."

It is therefore by no means to be wonder'd at, that foreign and vastly remote Nations should be desirous to entertain the *Lacedemonians* in their Service; that *Cyrus* the Younger should think it the readiest and most effectual Method to advance himself to the Empire of *Persia*; That *Craesus*, the wealthy King of *Lydia*, and several of the *Egyptian* Monarchs, tho' surrounded with numerous Forces of their own, should never esteem themselves secure without Assistance from *Sparta*; or that the *Sicilians*, *Thracians*, *Carthaginians*, with the *Cyrenians*, and many others, were beholden to it for Protection, and Deliverance from powerful Enemies. And for the *Grecians* themselves, whenever any of their little States were in Danger of being swallow'd up by their more powerful Neighbours, we find them having Recourse for Aid to the *Spartans*, who were a common Refuge to the Oppressed; and restrain'd the ambitious Invaders of other Mens Rights.

Hence likewise it came to pass, that in all Confederacies they were look'd on as the principal Associates; and in all Wars carried on by public Contributions, they challeng'd the chief Command as their Right and Peculiar. Nor could any Exigency prevail with them to depart from that Claim, or resign it to the greatest of Princes. *Gelon*, King of *Sicily*, tho' promising to furnish them with large Supplies against the *Barbarians*, on Condition he might be declar'd Captain-General of the *Grecian* Forces, was rejected (b). Yet we find, that after the Victory over *Mardonius* at *Platea*, *Pausanias* the *Lacedemonian* General, having by his excessive Severity, and tyrannical Behaviour to the rest of the Soldiers, render'd the *Spartans* very odious, in the End they revolted to the *Athenians*, the gentle and courteous Carriage of whose Commanders, *Aristides* and *Cimon*, had endear'd them to all the rest of the *Grecians*: And here the Magnanimity of the *Lacedemonians* was wonderful; for when they perceived that their Generals were corrupted, and their Minds too much elevated and puffed up by the Greatness of their Authority, they left off sending any more of them to the Wars, chusing rather to have Citizens of

this Misfortune did not put an End to the *Lacedemonian* Greatness; for we find them in a little Time re-assuming their ancient Spirits, and disdaining even *Alexander* himself (tho' submitted to by the rest of the *Grecians*, and declared their General against *Persia*) for their Superior. Which is the Reason, that in the Monuments erected after the *Persian* Victories, and bearing the Names of *Alexander* and the *Grecians*, the *Lacedemonians* were excepted by Name, as having no Share in that Honour (a).

The *Athenians* were alone able to dispute this Prerogative with the *Lacedemonians*; some few Junctures excepted; when some unusual Success raised any of the other States beyond their ordinary Grandeur; as it happen'd to the *Thebans*, who, from a mean and despicable People, were by the Conduct of *Epaminondas* and *Pelopidas* advanc'd to an Equality, if not a Superiority over the most flourishing Cities of *Greece*.

Notwithstanding these, and some other Obstacles, the *Lacedemonians* for the most Part, made good their Pretensions, and, in most Wars carried on by a Confederacy, were Generals of all the Land-Forces; but were at length constrain'd to leave the Dominion of the Seas to the *Athenians*; who having laid out their whole Strength in fitting out a Navy against *Xerxes*, for a long Time reign'd sole Lords of the liquid Element: During which Season we find a Decree put forth by their Senate, wherein it was order'd, That the Command of all the Naval Forces of *Greece* should belong to *Athens*; but the Land-Armies should obey a General from *Sparta* (b). But the Rival Cities could not be long content with this equal Distribution of Power, each being jealous of the other's Greatness, and thinking herself best able to govern the whole Jurisdiction; till at length the *Athenians*, having their whole Fleet, except twelve Trireme-Gallies, destroy'd at once by *Lysander* the *Spartan* Admiral, in the famous Battle at *Egos potamus*, were constrain'd to own the *Lacedemonians* for Sovereigns both by Sea and Land (c).

But the *Lacedemonians* were not long able to maintain this Command; for the *Athenians*, having recruited their Naval Forces, and engag'd *Evagoras* the King of *Cyprus*, and *Pharnabazus* the *Persian* Emperor's Lieutenant to their Interest; by their Assistance, and the singular Conduct of their own Admiral *Conon*, gave them so great an Overthrow at *Cnidus* (d), that they never after pretended to contest the Sovereignty of the Seas, but contented themselves with the chief Command at Land, which the *Athenians* suffered them to enjoy, without farther Molestation; both Cities being weary of the Contention, and convinc'd at length of the Truth of what had been commonly observ'd, That Fortune was most favourable to the *Lacedemonians* by Land, but in Sea Engagements sided with the *Athenians* (e). This seems not to

to apply themselves to Naval Affairs; whereas the *Lacedæmonians* were plac'd at a greater Distance from the Sea, and more inclin'd to Land-Service (to which they were us'd from their tender Years) than to venture themselves on the Ocean, to which they had never been accusom'd; for *Lycurgus*, their Law giver, expressly forbade them (a) to visit foreign Countries, out of a well-grounded Fear, lest his Citizens should be corrupted by the Conversation of Strangers, and forsake that excellent Platform of Government he contriv'd for them. And it happen'd to them as he had wisely foreseen; for no sooner had *Lyfander* render'd them Sovereigns of the Seas, but they began by Degrees to leave their ancient Customs, and to degenerate from the Virtue and Glory of their Ancestors (b).

CH A P. II.

Of their Levies; Pay, &c. of Soldiers.

THE Grecian Armies consisted for the most Part of free Denizens, whom the Laws of their Country oblig'd, when arrived at a certain Age; to appear in Arms, upon the Summons of the Magistrate, or commission'd Officer. In some Places they were more early admitted to the Wars, in others later.

The *Athenians* when arrived at eighteen Years of Age, were appointed to guard the City, with the Forts belonging to it; from their going about to visit which, they were called *περίπολοι* (c): But were not sent to foreign Wars till twenty; the *Spartans* seldom till thirty. The younger Men in both Cities, with those who by reason of their Age, were discharg'd from Military Service, were left at Home to defend their Habitations.

Some Persons were excus'd by reason of their Age; for having spent their Youth and Strength in serving their Country, it was but reasonable to discharge them from farther Service, that they might end their Days in Peace. After threescore Years it seems to have been usual in most Places to allow them the Liberty of retiring. At *Athens* no Man above forty was press'd to serve in the Wars, except in Times of extreme Danger (d). Others were exempt upon Account of their Function; such were at *Athens* *οἱ τάλῳ ἀπιδάμενοι*, the Farmers of the public Customs (e); whose Presence was requir'd in the City, during the whole Time of their Employment, and several of the Holy Orders, as also the Persons appointed to dance at *Bacchus's* Festivals (f).

Others were excluded from serving in the Wars; such were the Slaves, and such others as liv'd amongst them, but were not honour'd with the Freedom of their Cities. These were never admitted, except

in Cases of extreme Danger, when there remain'd no other Means of preserving the Commonwealth. Of this Custom I have already given a large Account in one of the foregoing Books (a).

All that serv'd were enter'd into a public Roll: Whence the Levy was call'd *καταγραφή, κατάλογος, στρατολογία*; and to make a Levy, *καταλογος, or καταγραφὴν ποιεῖν*. Amongst the Primitive Grecians it seems to have been frequently made by Lots, every Family being oblig'd to furnish out a certain Number, and filling up their Proportion by the Chance of Lots: Whence *Mercury* in *Homer* (b) pretending to be one of the Sons of *Polydorus* the *Myrmidon*, adds, that he was appointed by Lot to follow *Achilles* to the *Trojan War*.

Τὼν μετὰ παλλόμενον, κλήρω λάχον ἐνθὶ δ' ἐπεῖδαι.

'Twas I, who when the Lots were drawn,
Was doom'd to follow *Peleus'* mighty Son.

For the Appointment of all Persons of a certain Age to be ready to serve in the Wars, seems only to be an Institution of later Ages; whereas all such-like Things were formerly manag'd at the Pleasure of the Supreme Magistrate.

The Soldiers were all maintain'd at their own Expences; no Name was more opprobrious than that of a *Mercenary*, it being look'd upon as a Disgrace for any Person of ingenuous Birth and Education to serve for Wages. For all this, it was not permitted any Person to absent himself, except upon Reasons allow'd by the Law; and whoever was found thus to have transgressed, was at *Athens* depriv'd of his Voice in all public Business, and in a Manner of all other Rights of Citizens, and was forbidden to enter into any of the public Temples (c). And lest any of the Persons appointed to serve should make their Escape, we find they were branded with certain Marks, call'd *σηματα*. These are mention'd by *Vergilius* (d), who speaking of the Military Oath, and the Muster-roll, wherein the Soldiers Names were register'd, mentions also, that they were *visiburis in cute punitis scripti*, branded with lasting Marks in their Flesh. These Marks commonly contain'd the Name or proper Ensign of their General. To distinguish Soldiers from Slaves, who were commonly mark'd in the Forehead, as has been elsewhere observ'd, they had *σηματα ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ*, their Characters impress'd upon their Hands, as we are inform'd by *Ælian*. By the same Ceremony it was customary for Men to dedicate themselves to certain Deities: Whence is that Question mention'd in *Zachariab* (e), where he speaks of the Prophets and Votaries of the Pagan Gods: *And one shall say unto him, What are these Wounds in thy Hands?* And the Beast, who requires all Men to worship him in the Book of *Revelations* (f), is there said to cause all, both Small and Great, Rich and Poor, Free and Bond, to receive a Mark in their Right-hand, or in

their Fore-heads (a). And to the same Custom St Paul is thought to allude in his Epistle to the *Galatians* (b), where speaking of the Wounds he had receiv'd in his *Christian Warfare*, he tells us, that he bore in his Body the *σηματα*, or Marks, of the Lord JESUS.

The *Carians* were the first that serv'd in Greece for Pay (c), and have thereby render'd their Names infamous to Posterity; being represented by all the Writers of those Times, as a base and servile Nation; insomuch that *καεικοι*, and *καριμοιεισι*, are Proverbial Epithets for Persons of abject and pusillanimous Tempers, or servile Condition (d); and *Kāpes* is a synonymous Term for Slaves; as in that Proclamation at the End of the *Athenian Festival Anthesteria*, whereby the Slaves were commanded to be gone out of Doors;

Θύεζε, Kāpes, ἐκ τῆς Ἀνθεσθέριας,

Be gone, ye Slaves, the *Anthesteria* are ended.

Thus the *Carians* were reproach'd for introducing a Custom, which in a few Ages after was so far from being look'd upon as unworthy their Birth or Education, that we find it practis'd by the whole Nation of the *Greeks*, who not only received Pay for serving their own Commonwealth, but list'd themselves under foreign Kings, and fought their Battles for Hire; their chief Magistrates not disdaining to accompany them in such Expeditions. Several Instances of this Sort might be produc'd, were not that famous one of the Great *Agefilas*'s condescending to serve *Ptolemy King of Egypt*, instead of many others.

The first that introduc'd the Custom of paying Soldiers at *Athens*, was *Pericles*, who, to ingratiate himself with the Commonalty, represented how unreasonable it was, that Men of small Estates, and scarce able to provide for their Families, should be oblig'd to neglect their Business, and spend what their Industry had laid up, in the public Service; and thereupon prefer'd a Decree that all of them should have Subsistence-Money out of the Exchequer (e); which seems to have been receiv'd with general Applause. What Sum they daily receiv'd, cannot easily be determin'd, it being encreas'd, or diminish'd, as Occasion requir'd. At first we find the Foot-Soldiers had two *Oboli* a Day, which in a Month amounted to ten *Drachms* (f). What we read in *Thucydides* (g) of the Soldiers that garrison'd *Potidea*, to every one of which was allotted a *Drachm* a Day, with another to a Servant for attending upon him, must not be understood, as if their ordinary Pay was of that Value, that being only to the Common Seamen of *Athens* three *Oboli*, to those that mann'd the Sacred Vessel called *Πτεγλῶν*, and the Foot-Soldiers, four; whence *τετραβόλου βίβη* is a Proverbial Expression for a Soldier's Life (h); and *τετραβόλιζεν* for serving in

the War. The Horseman's Pay was for the most Part thirty *Drachms* a Month, that is a *Drachm* a Day; this we find to have been term'd *κατάστασις* (a).

The ordinary Method of raising this Money, was by imposing a Tax on the whole Commonwealth, whereby all Persons were obliged to contribute according to the Value of their Estates. But this was done only when the public Treasury was exhausted, and the constant Revenues from tributary Cities, public Lands, Woods, Mines, or from Fines and Amercements, were not sufficient to defray the Charges of the War. In Cases of greater Necessity, the richer Citizens at *Athens* were obliged to extraordinary Contributions; and there appears to have been a generous and laudable Emulation amongst the Men of Quality in that City, who voluntarily offered more than was required of them, and contended which of them should most largely contribute towards the Honour and Preservation of their Native Country.

Confederate Wars were maintain'd at the common Charge of all the Allies, every one being oblig'd to send a Proportion of Men; as we find practis'd in the *Trojan* War, which was the first, wherein the whole Country of *Greece* united against a foreign Enemy. Sometimes they were carried on by public Contributions of Money, levied by Persons delegated by the common Consent of the Confederates, which was only the Practice of latter Ages; the primitive Wars, wherein the Soldiers served at their own Expence, and supplied their Necessities out of the Spoils of their Enemies, being manag'd with less Charge to the Public. The first Tax, or Tribute of this Nature, that we find paid by the *Grecians*, was after the Expulsion of *Xerxes* out of *Greece*, when they agreed to make an Invasion upon their common Enemy, under the Conduct of the *Athenians*: For then *Aristides* the *Athenian*, at the general Desire of the *Greeks*, survey'd the whole Country and Revenue, and assess'd all particular Persons Town by Town, according to every Man's Ability: Thus he tax'd them four hundred Talents, to which *Pericles* added about a third Part more; for we find in *Thucydides*, that in the Beginning of the *Peloponnesian* War the *Athenians* had coming in from their Confederates six hundred Talents. After *Pericles's* Death being encreas'd by little and little, it was at length rais'd to the Sum of thirteen hundred Talents (b); all which was manag'd at the Discretion of the *Athenians*.

CHAP. III.

Of the different Sorts of Soldiers.

THE Armies were compos'd of various Sorts of Soldiers: Their Gross, or Main Body, usually consist'd of Footmen:

The Foot Soldiers we find distinguished into three Sorts; the First and Principal of which were term'd *Ὀπλίται* (a), being such as bore heavy Armour, engaging with broad Shields and long Spears.

2. *Ψιλοί*, were *Light-arm'd Men*, who fought with Arrows and Darts, or Stones and Slings, annoying their Enemies at a Distance; but were unfit for a close Fight. They were in Honour and Dignity inferior to the Heavy-arm'd Soldiers; and therefore when *Tæcer* in *Sophocles* quarrels with *Menelaus*, he is scoldingly reproved by him in this Manner.

Ὁ τοξότης φαίνεται συμπερ' ἑσενὶν (b).

This Archer seems to think himself to be some-body.

It seems to have been frequent for them, having shot their Arrows, to retire behind the Shields of the Heavy-arm'd for Protection; for so we find the same *Tæcer* doing in *Homer* (c).

Τῶνκ' ὃ δ' εἶνα] ἦλθε, παλίντονα τόξα τιταίνον,
 Πρὶν δ' ἄρ' ὕπ' Αἰώντῳ σάκει Τελαμωνιάδαο,
 Ἐνθ' Αἴας μὲν ὑπεξέφευγεν σάκῳ· αὐτὰρ ὄγ' ἦρως
 Πάτληνδ' ἐκεί ἄρ' τιν' οἰσεύσας ἐν ὀμίλῳ
 Βεβλήκει, ὃ μὲν αὖθι πεσὼν ἀπὸ θυμὸν ὄλεσεν.
 Αὐτὰρ ὃ αὖθις ἰὼν, παῖς ὡς ὑπὸ μπτέρε δύσκειν
 Εἰς Αἰαντ', ὃ δ' εἰ μιν σάκει κρύπτασκε φαεινῷ.

Tæcer the ninth from these at length appear'd,
 And all his Bows for certain Death prepar'd;
 Behind the Shield of *Ajan* close he stood,
 Which whenso'er the Warlike Chief remov'd,
 Around on all he casts his angry Eyes,
 Threatning Destruction to his Enemies;
 Whom when his Arrows wounded had, or slain,
 Back he betook him to his Shield again.
 So tim'rous Boys, approaching His to shun,
 With eager Haste to careful Mothers run.

H. H.

3. *Πελάσται* (d), thb' frequently comprehended under the *Ψιλοί*, as oppos'd to the *Ὀπλίται*, were a middle Sort between both, being

The Horsemen amongst the ancient *Grecians* were not very numerous, being only such as were possess'd of Estates, and able to furnish out Horses at their own Charge. Hence both at *Athens* and *Sparta* we find ἵππεῖς, or Horsemen, to have compos'd the second Order in the Commonwealth, being plac'd above the Commonalty, and next to those of the highest Quality and Fortune: The same is recorded of the *Roman Equites*, and (to mention no more) we are told by *Herodotus* (a), that among the *Chalcidians* none but rich Men were admitted into that Order. Afterwards, when Men of Estates begun to court Ease and Pleasure, and thought it more advisable to furnish out a Horseman, and maintain him at their proper Expences, than to venture their own Persons; they retained indeed their former Name, but the Honour of serving on Horseback was lost (b).

Who it was that first instructed Mankind in the Art of Horsemanship, is not agreed by the ancient Writers of Fables: Some attribute it to the *Amazons* (c), others to the *Centaur* (d), others to *Bellerophon* (e), others, lastly (to trouble you with no more) ascribe the Honour of it to *Neptune* (f), the first Creator of this Animal; for which Reason we find the various Epithets ἵππιος (g), ἵππαρχος (h), ἵππηγέτης (i), ἵπποκλέης, &c. conferr'd upon him by the Poets and Mythologists.

Whoever oblig'd Mankind with the first Invention of this Art, seems to have left it very imperfect; for in those early Ages, 'tis probable they understood not the Method of governing Horses with Reins and Bits, but managed them only with a Rope, or Switch, and the Accent of their Voice; this we find to have been the Practice of several other Nations, as the *Numidians* (k), *Getulians* (l), *Libyans* (m), and *Massylians*, of whom *Lucan* speaks thus (n),

*Et gens quæ nudo residens Massylla dorso
Ora levi flectit franorum nescia virgæ.*

Without a Saddle the *Massylians* ride,
And with a bending Switch their Horses guide.

Afterwards Bridles came into Fashion, of which the most remarkable were those call'd *Lupate*, having Bits of Iron, not unlike *Wolves* Teeth, and therefore call'd in *Greek* Λύκοι, in *Latin* *Lupi*; whence *Horace* (o),

——Gallica nec lupatis
Temperet ora frenis,
Nor with the sharper Bits
Manage the unruly Horse.

The first Invention of them is by *Statius* attributed to *Neptunus*.

—Neptunus equo, si certa priorum
Fama patet, primus teneris lassisse lupatis
Ora, & littoreo domuisse in pulvere fertur.

Neptune, if we may Credit give to Fame,
First taught with Bits the gen'rous Horse to tame.

By others to the *Lapithæ*, or *Centaurs*, who inhabited a Town in *Thessaly*, call'd *Pelethronium*: Thus *Virgil* (a).

Fræna Pelethronii Lapithæ, gyraſque dederunt
Impositi dorſo ———

The *Lapithæ* of *Pelethronium* rode
With Bridles first, and what their Use was shew'd.

Tho' some are of Opinion that the Poet speaks of Bridles, as invented not by the *Lapithæ*, but a Man of that Nation, whose Name was *Pelethronius*; to whom we find *Pliny* also attributing the Invention of Bridles, and Harness (b): The last of these the *Greeks* term *σάματα*, and *ἐπιπρία*, which were made of divers Sorts of Stuffs, as Leather, Cloth, or the Skin of wild Beasts. *Parthenopæus's* Horse is covered with the Skin of a *Lynx* in *Statius*; *Æneas's* in *Virgil* with a Lion's (c).

————— *quem fulva leonis*
Pellis obit ———

Cover'd with Lion's Skin.——

Sometimes we find them adorn'd with rich and costly Cloathing; as in the same Poet (d).

Omnibus extemplo Teucris jubit ordine duci
Inſtratos oſtro alipedes piſiſque tapetis,
Aurea peſtoribus demiffa monilia pendent.

For ev'ry Trojan straight it is decreed,
That sprightly Coursers be in Order led,
Adorn'd with costly Trappings, to whose Breasts
The Golden Poitrels hang.——

there being no Notice taken of any such Thing in any Author, that I know of, before *Eustatius*, who flourish'd five hundred Years ago, and in his Commentaries upon *Homer* hath mentioned an Instrument of this Sort. In former Ages they supplied the Want of such Helps by their Art, or Agility of Body; being able to leap on Horseback, as the Heroes in *Virgil* (a),

————— *Corpora saltu*

Subjiciunt in equos —————

And by a Leap bestride their Horses.

Or for their greater Convenience, the Horses were taught submissively to bow their Bodies to the Ground, and receive their Riders upon their Backs (b), as we find practis'd as well in *Greece*, as by the ancient *Spaniards* (c), and other Nations. Hence *Silius* speaks of the Horse of *Clælius*, a Roman Knight, in this Manner (d),

Iude intlinatus collum, submissus & armos

De more, inflexis præbebat scandere terga

Curibus —————

Downwards the Horse his Head and Shoulders bent,

To give his Rider a more free Ascent.

Sometimes we find them leaping up by the Help of their Spears, or other Things. Several other Methods were us'd by Men of weak and inactive Bodies: Some getting up on the Backs of their Slaves (e); others by the Help of short Ladders; both which Supports were term'd *ἀναβολαῖς*. Lastly, we find the Highways fill'd with Stones erected for this Purpose; which is said to have been done in *Italy* by *Gracchus* (f), and in *Greece* was always one Part of the Business of the Overseers of the Roads (g).

Let us now return to their Military Affairs, where we shall find it disputed, whether the Warriours of Primitive Ages were carried to the Field in Chariots, or on Horseback. *Lucretius* indeed tells us, that the first Heroes were mounted upon Horses, whereas Chariots were only a later Invention (h).

Et prius est repperitum in equi conscendere costas,

Et moderatior hunc frænis dextraque vigere,

Quam bijugo curru belli tentare pericla.

Mounted on well-rein'd Steeds in ancient Time,

Before the Use of Chariots was brought in,

The first brave Heroes fought —————

But we are inform'd by *Palæphatus*, that Chariots were first in Use; the *Lapithæ*, who flourish'd about *Hercules's* Time, being the first that attempted to ride upon Horses, a Thing strange and unheard-of by the *Grecians* in those Days, who view'd them not without Amazement, imagining them to be Monsters compounded of the different Shapes of Men and Horses, or Bulls, which they frequently back'd instead of Horses; whence we have the Fables of the *Centaur*s and *Hippocentaur*s. And 'tis more than probable, that at the Time of the *Trojan War*, the Custom of Riding and Fighting upon Horses was not commonly receiv'd by the *Grecians*; since the Heroes of *Homer*, whose Authority must in such Cases ever be held sacred, are always introduced into the Battle in Chariots, never on Horseback.

The Chariots of Princes and Heroes were not only contriv'd for Service, but Ornament, being richly emboss'd with Gold and other Metals; as we read of *Orfnes* the *Persian* in *Curtius* (a) and several of *Homer's*, as that of *Rhesus* (b),

Ἄρμα δέ οἱ χρυσῷ τε καὶ ἀργυρῷ εὖ ἥσκηται,

Silver and Gold his Chariot did adorn.

And another of *Diomedes* (c),

Ἄρματα τε χρυσῷ πεπυκασμένα, κασστήρῃ τε.

Chariots richly adorn'd with Gold and Tin.

They were likewise adorn'd with curious Hangings; whence we read of *Lycaon's* Chariot (d),

————— ἀμφὶ δὲ σέπλοι

πέπλυνται.

Like Wings it's Hangings are expanded wide.

And the Poet calls that of *Achilles* ἄρματα εὖ πεπυκασμένα (e).

The Chariots in *Homer* are drawn for the most Part by two Horses coupled together; that of *Achilles* had no more, the Names of his Horses being only *Xanthus* and *Balius*. So *Lycaon's* (f),

————— παρὰ δέ σφιν ἐκάσθ' δίζυγος ἵππος

ἔεσαν —————

Two well-pair'd Steeds to ev'ry Chariot stand.

And *Aeneas's* in *Virgil* (g),

A Chariot and two sprightly Steeds are sent
To absent *Æneas* ———

To these two they sometimes added a third, which was not coupled with the other two, but govern'd with Reins, and therefore called *συναίτης*, *συναγόμενος*, *συνάσις*, &c. but in *Homer* usually *παρασύν*, and the Rein wherewith he was held in *παρασύνετα*. The same Custom was practised by the *Romans*, till the Time of *Dionysius* the *Halicarnassian* (a), tho' left off in *Greece* long before. In the eighth *Iliad*, *Hector's* Chariot seems to be drawn by four Horses; for there the Hero thus bespeaks them,

Ξάνθε τε, καὶ σὺ Πόδας, καὶ Αἶδαν, Λέμνις τε δῖε.

And however some ancient Critics will have the two former to be no more than Epithets of the latter, because *Hector* afterwards speaks to them in the Dual Number,

Νῦν μοι τὴν χαλκιδὴν ἀποτίστητον ———

Yet it is evident from other Places, that even in *Homer's* Time it was customary to have Chariots drawn by four Horses; as when he tells us, the *Phæacian* Ship shap'd her Course,

——— αἶε ἐν πρὸς ἴσιν τε ῥόδοις ἵπποι (b).

Every Chariot carried two Men, whence it was term'd *δίπλος*, & *δίπλος* (c); tho' that Word does not in it's strict and proper Acceptation denote the whole Chariot, but only that Part wherein the Men were placed. One of these was call'd *ἡνίοχος*, because he govern'd the Reins, which in those Days was not a servile or ignoble Office, but frequently undertaken by Men of Quality; for we find *Nestor* (d), *Hector* (e), and several others of Note employ'd in it; and that not on extraordinary Occasions, but frequently, some of them making it their Profession. Yet the Charioteer was inferior, if not always in Dignity, at least in Strength and Valour to the Warrior, who was call'd *πρωτοστάτης*, and had Command of the other, and directed him which Way to drive, as *Eustathius* observes (f). When he came to encounter in close Fight, he alighted out of the Chariot, as we find every where in *Homer*, and the rest of the Poets. So *Hercules* and *Cygnus* about to engage,

——— ἐν πλανέειν δίπλων δίεον αὐτ' ἐπὶ γαῖαν (g)

Leapt from their Chariots on the Ground.

And *Turnus* in *Firoril* (h).

—*Infans rapti non agnovit ire.*

Manum rapti non in seculum se walk.

When the war was over, which often happen'd by Reason of their Arms, many times than any other, they retir'd into their Chariots, and from thence they fought with Darts and missile Weapons.

These were the most frequent Manner in Historians of Chariots, and the most common, because arm'd with Hooks or Irons, and when some Bands of Soldiers were cut off together. In the most common: many times they were never in any use but in the most general, and were frequently retir'd back by affrighted and supplanting themselves their own Party, to it's Confusion and Ruin, which Accident was very often to defeat or elude their Force, and not a few Chariots were usually laid aside. Accordingly when the Peloponnesians were sent to it's Height, tho' sometimes they were sometimes taken by the Peloponnesians, as may be observ'd of the Peloponnesians, who were not the Peloponnesians making any use of them, as they were not the Peloponnesians, but continuing that old and unskillful Method of fighting, they were never to ride on Horseback, which Custom came to more than twenty in a short Time after the Heroic Wars.

It is the Peloponnesians the Peloponnesians have the greatest Name for Intemperance, and in all Wars we find their Cavalry most esteem'd. The Peloponnesians are not in many remarkable Actions, arriv'd to such a Pitch of Glory, as it is esteem'd invincible: In all long and tedious Wars their Skill was counted, and the Party that obtain'd Supremacy over them, was crown'd with Success and Victory; insomuch that the Peloponnesians were not in Peloponnesians, *Celephoen imponere*, was us'd proverbially in saying a Conclusion to any Affair (a). The Lacedemonians were not esteem'd equalled with Cavalry, and till the Peloponnesians came to themselves in Skillship, but repos'd their chief Confidence in their own Peloponnesians being a mountainous and craggy Country, and therefore not fit for Horsemen (c), who in such Places become almost useless in Fight. But the Peloponnesians being subdued, the Spartans carrying their Arms into other Countries, soon found the great Occasion they had of Horses to support and cover their Foot; and in a short Time supplied that Defect, by instructing their Youth in Horse-ship: to which End we find they had Masters in that Art, called Peloponnesians. But the greatest Part of their Cavalry was furnish'd from the Peloponnesians, and from not far distant from Sparta, the Inhabitants of which were in their proper Post the Left Wing in the Lacedemonian Army. Since was likewise a hilly Country, and therefore not unfit for breeding Horses: We find accordingly the Peloponnesians have been exceeding few in Number, consisting only of about six thousand: For the whole Athenian Nation being anciently

divided into forty-eight *Naucraticæ*, we are told by *Pollux*, that the Number of Horses each of these were obliged to furnish to the War, was no more than two. And therefore 'tis no Wonder if the *Medes* thought them deprived of Reason, when at the Battle of *Marathon*, they had Courage to encounter a strong and numerous Army with so small, and apparently contemptible a Force (a). Having afterwards expell'd the *Medes* and *Persians* out of *Greece*, and rais'd themselves to a flourishing Condition, they increas'd the Number of their Cavalry to three hundred; and not long after, having once more restor'd Peace to their City, and establish'd it in greater Power and Splendor than before, they augmented them to twelve hundred, and arm'd at the same Time an equal Number of Men with Bows and Arrows (b), of which they had before no greater Plenty than of Horses; for both then and afterwards the Strength of most of the *Grecian* Armies consisted in their heavy-arm'd Foot.

The *Athenians* admitted none to serve on Horseback, till they had undergone a strict Probation; and if any Person was found to have fraudulently insinuated himself into the Roll, upon Conviction he was declared ἀτιμῶς, and disfranchis'd (c). This consisted, with respect to the Men, in a Search after their Estates, and Observation of their Strength and Vigour of Body: For no Persons were enter'd into the Roll, but such as had plentiful Possessions, and were in good Plight of Body. This Probation was performed by the ἱππαρχῶς, General of the Horse; who, if Occasion required, was assisted by the *Phylarchi*, and Senate of five hundred (d). In Horses they observed their Obedience to their Riders; and such as they found ungovernable or fearful were rejected. This was examin'd τῷ κώδωνος ψόφῳ, by the Sound of a Bell, or some other Instrument of that Nature: Whence κώδωνισεν is expounded πειράζειν, to try, or prove; and ἀκώδωνισεν is the same with ἀπείραστον, unprov'd (e). Such Horses likewise as were beaten out with long Service, they branded upon the Jaw with a Mark, frequently term'd τροχῶς (f), being the Figure of a Wheel, or Circle; and sometimes τρυσίππιον, whereby the Beast was released from farther Service. Hence ἐπιβάλλειν τρυσίππιον is to excuse. This in the following Verse of *Eupolis*,

Εἶθ' ὅσπερ ἵππων μοι ἐπιβαλεῖς τρυσίππιον.

Which was thus express'd by *Crates* in his Comedy intitled *The Samians*:

Ἴππων γυράσκοσι τὰ μείονα κύκλ' ἐπιβάλλε.

We meet with several Titles and Appellations of Horsemen, most of which were deriv'd from the Variety of their Armour, or different Manner of Fighting. As that of ἰπποπόδας, who wore their Braces

—*Defluit bijugis, pedes apparatus irs.*

Dismounts his Horse, and fits himself to walk.

When they were weary, which often happen'd by Reason of their Armour, being heavier than any other, they retir'd into their Chariots, and thence annoyed their Enemies with Darts and missive Weapons.

Beside these, we find frequent Mention in Historians of Chariots, call'd *Currus falcati*, and *σπεραινοφόροι*, because arm'd with Hooks or Scythes, with which whole Ranks of Soldiers were cut off together. But afterwards it being consider'd they were never in any use but in plain open ground, and were frequently turn'd back by affrighted and ungovernable Horses upon their own Party, to it's Confusion and Ruin, several Methods also being contriv'd to defeat or elude their Force, these and all other Chariots were wholly laid aside. Accordingly when Military Discipline was carried to it's Height, tho' sometimes they were brought into Battles by *Barbarians*, as may be observ'd of the *Persians* in *Curtius*, yet we never find the *Grecians* making any use of them, or much damag'd by them; but contemning that old and unskilful Method of fighting, they chose rather to ride on Horseback, which Custom seems to have been received in a short Time after the Heroic Wars.

Of all the *Grecians* the *Thessalians* have the greatest Name for Horsemanship, and in all Wars we find their Cavalry most esteem'd. The *Colophonians* had once, by many remarkable Actions, arriv'd to such a Pitch of Glory, as to be esteem'd invincible: In all long and tedious Wars their Assistance was courted, and the Party that obtain'd Supplies from them, was certain of Success and Victory; insomuch that *κολοφωνα τρέβαιναι*, and in *Latin*, *Colophonem imponere*, was us'd proverbially for putting a Conclusion to any Affair (a). The *Lacedemonians* were but meanly furnished with Cavalry, and till the *Messenian* Wars, it does not appear that either they, or the rest of the *Peloponnesians* employ'd themselves in Horsemanship, but repos'd their chief Confidence in Foot (b); *Peloponnesus* being a mountainous and craggy Country, and therefore unfit for Horsemen (c), who in such Places become almost useless in Fight. But the *Messenians* being subdued, the *Spartans* carrying their Arms into other Countries, soon found the great Occasion they had of Horses to support and cover their Foot; and in a short Time supplied that Defect, by instructing their Youth in Horsemanship; to which End we find they had Masters in that Art, call'd *ἵπποχαράται* (d). But the greatest Part of their Cavalry was furnish'd from *Sciros* (e), a Town not far distant from *Sparta*, the Inhabitants of which claim'd as their proper Post the Left Wing in the *Lacedemonian* Armies (f). *Attica* was likewise a hilly Country, and therefore not design'd by Nature for breeding Horses: We find accordingly the *Athenian* Cavalry to have been exceeding few in Number, consisting only of ninety six Horsemen. For the whole *Athenian* Nation being entirely

divided into forty-eight *Naucratiæ*, we are told by *Pollux*, that the Number of Horses each of these were obliged to furnish to the War, was no more than two. And therefore 'tis no Wonder if the *Medes* thought them deprived of Reason, when at the Battle of *Marathon*, they had Courage to encounter a strong and numerous Army with so small, and appearingly contemptible a Force (a). Having afterwards expell'd the *Medes* and *Persians* out of *Greece*, and rais'd themselves to a flourishing Condition, they increas'd the Number of their Cavalry to three hundred; and not long after, having once more restor'd Peace to their City, and establish'd it in greater Power and Splendor than before, they augmented them to twelve hundred, and arm'd at the same Time an equal Number of Men with Bows and Arrows (b), of which they had before no greater Plenty than of Horses; for both then and afterwards the Strength of most of the *Grecian* Armies consisted in their heavy-arm'd Foot.

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We meet with several Titles and Appellations of Horsemen, most of which were deriv'd from the Variety of their Armour, or different Manner of Fighting, as that of ἀκροβολισαῖ. who annoy'd their En-

mies with missive Weapons at some Distance, *δοξατοφόροι, ξυστοφόροι, υπακοντισαί, ιπποτοξόται, κοντιφόροι, θυρεοφόροι*, with others, the Distinctions of all which are sufficiently intimated in their Names.

Αμφίπποι, sometimes by Mistake, or Corruption, called *ἀνίπποι* (a), were such as for Conveniency had two Horses, on which they rode by Turns. They were sometimes term'd *ἵππαγωγοί, διὰ τὸ ἄγειν ἵππον*, because they led one of their Horses; which was not a late Contrivance, but practis'd soon after the heroical Times, as appears from *Homer's* (b) mentioning it:

————— ὁ δ' ἔμπεδον ἀσφαλὲς αἰεὶ

Θρώσκων ἄλλοτ' ἐπ' ἄλλον ἀμείβεταί, οἱ δ' πέτονται

Nor does he ever fall, tho' at full Speed

He leaps from one upon the other Steed.

Διμάχαι, first instituted by *Alexander the Great*, were a Sort of Dragoons, and accommodated with Armour something heavier than that of ordinary Horsemen, but not quite so weighty as that of the Foot Soldiers, to the End they might be ready to serve either on Horseback or on Foot; for which Reason they had Servants attending to take their Horses whenever the General commanded them to alight (c)

They were also distinguished into *κατάφρακτοι* and *μη κατάφρακτοι*, i. e. heavy and light-arm'd, after the same Manner with the Footmen. The *κατάφρακτοι*, or Cuirassiers, were not only fortified with Armour themselves, but had their Horses guarded with solid Plates of Brass, or other Metals; which from the Members defended by them received different Names, being called *πρωμετωπίδια, παράτια, παρήια, πρσσηρίδια, παραπλευρίδια, παραμυρίδια, παρακνηρίδια*, &c. (d): Sometimes they were composed of Skins, fortified with Plates of Metal curiously wrought into Plumes, or other Forms. Thus we find one of *Virgil's* Heroes arm'd his Steed (e):

Spumantemque agitabat equum, quem pellis abenis

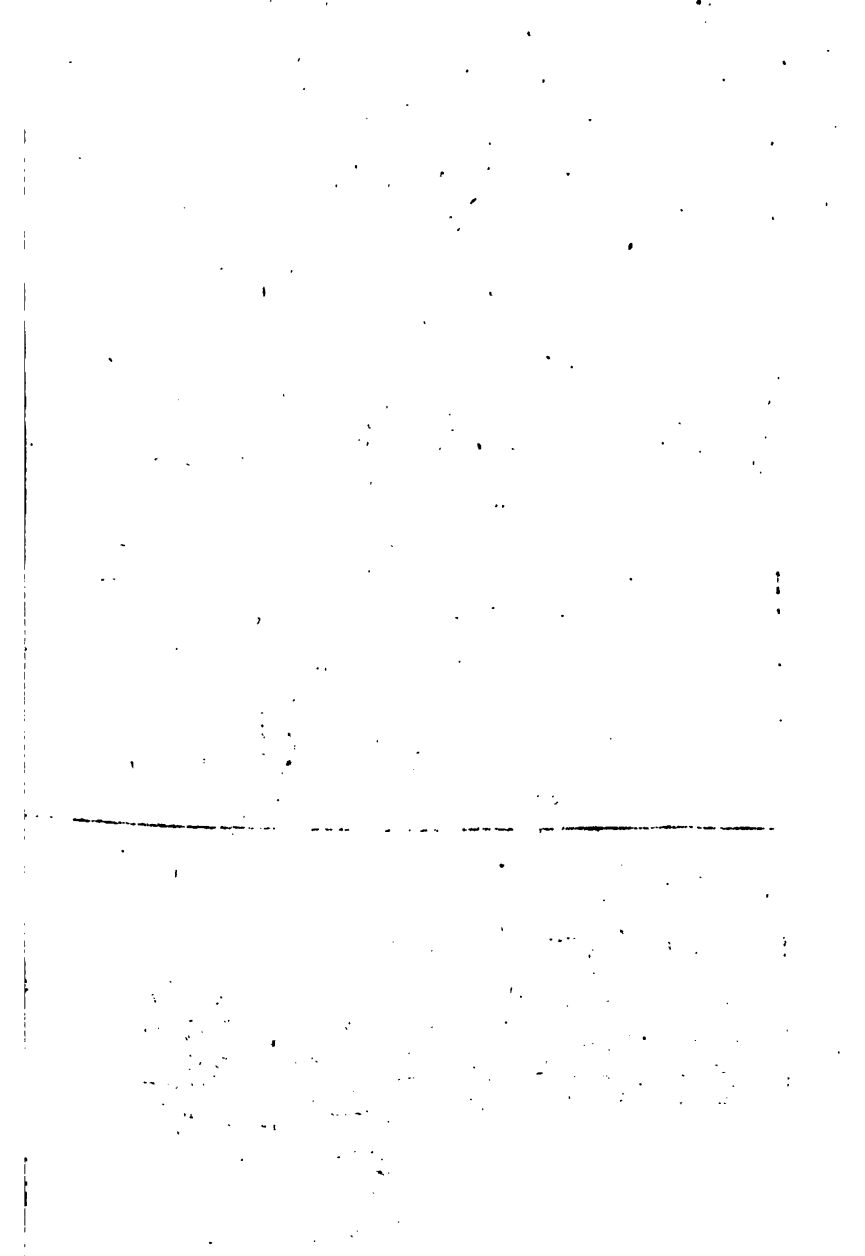
In plumam squamis auro conferta tegebat.

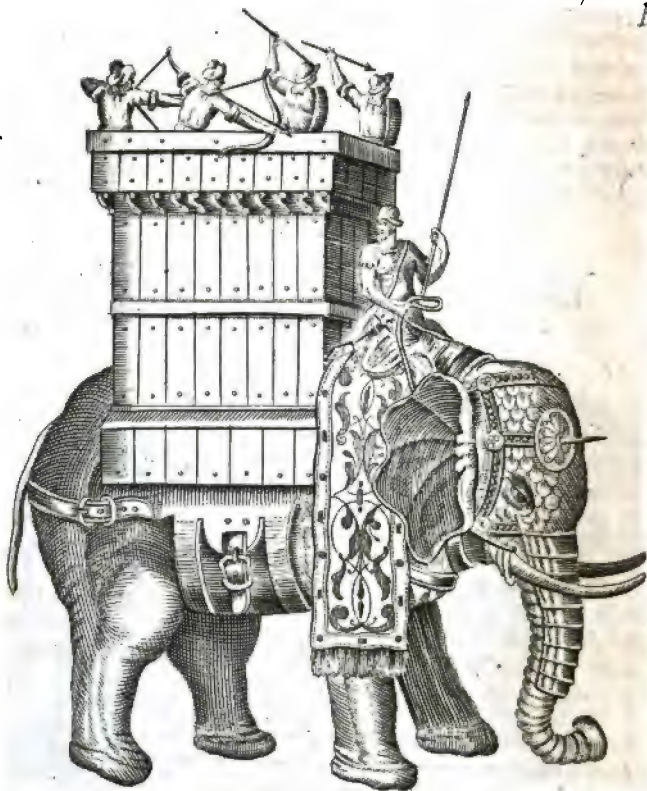
He spurr'd his gen'rous Horse, whose Cloathing was

A Skin beset with Plates of Gold and Brass,

Made in the Fashion of a costly Plume.

They were likewise bedeck'd with various Ornaments, viz. with Bells, as we find *Rhesus's* Horses in *Euripides*; with Cloathing of Tapestry. Embroidery. and other curious Work.





Of Camels and Elephants, which are so much talk'd of in the Wars of some Countries, we have no Mention in the *Grecian* Story before the Times of *Alexander*, when we find a great Number of Elephants transported from the Eastern Parts of the World. These were wont to carry into the Battle large Towers, in which ten, fifteen, and, as some affirm, thirty Soldiers, were contain'd, who annoy'd their Enemies with missive Weapons, themselves being secure, and out of Danger (a). Nor were the Beasts idle, or useless in Engagements; for beside that, with their Smell, their vast and amazing Bulk, and their strange and terrible Noise, both Horses and Soldiers were struck with Terror and Astonishment, they acted their Parts courageously, trampling under Feet all Opposers, or catching them in their Trunks, and tossing into the Air, or delivering them to their Riders (b). Nor was it unusual for them to engage with one another with great Fury, which they always doubled after they had receiv'd Wounds, tearing their Adversaries in Pieces with their Teeth (c). But in a short Time they were wholly laid aside, their Service not being able to compensate the great Mischiefs frequently done by them: For though they were endued with great Sagacity, and approach'd nearer to human Reason than any other Animal, whereby they became more tractable to their Governors, and capable to pay Obedience to their Instructions; yet being sore wounded, and press'd upon by their Enemies, they became ungovernable, and frequently turn'd all their Rage upon their own Party, put them into Confusion, committed terrible Slaughters, and deliver'd the Victory to their Enemies; of which several remarkable Instances are recorded in the Historians of both Languages.

C H A P. IV.

Of the Grecian Arms and Weapons, with their Military Apparel.

THE Authors of Fables tell us, the first Person that put on Armour was *Mars*, who perhaps for no other Reason was honour'd with the Title of God of War; it being very frequent with the ancient Heathens gratefully to acknowledge their Obligations to the first Contrivers of any profitable Invention, by inserting them into the Number of their Deities, and decreeing to them the perpetual Care and Sovereignty of those useful and ingenious Arts or Contrivances, whereof they were the first Authors. The Workman employ'd by *Mars* was *Vulcan*, at that Time a Master Smith in the Isle of *Lemnos*, and so eminent in his Profession, that Posterity advanc'd him among

the Gods, and honour'd him with the Superintendency and Protection of his own Trade: But his Countrymen the *Lemnians* were not so fortunate; for they stand represented to all Ages as common Enemies of Mankind, and branded with Characters of Infamy for that execrable and pernicious Device. Whence the Poets have fix'd upon them the Name of *Σίντιες*, to continue the Memory of the Harm they did to Mankind. Thus *Homer* (a),

Ἐνθά με Σίντιες ἄνδρες ἄφαρ κομίσαντο πεισόντα.

Turn'd out of Heav'n the *Lemnians* me receiv'd.

Their Country likewise was called *Σιντηΐς*, as we find in *Apollonius* (b),

Εἰρεσίη κρηναὴν Σιντηΐδα Αἴμανον ἴκοντο.

To *Lemnos*, otherwise *Sinteiis* call'd,
They sail'd.

From the same Original are deriv'd these common Proverbs, *Λήμνις κακὰ*, great and intolerable Evils; *Λήμνία χεὶρ*, a fatal or mischievous Hand; and *Λήμνιον βλέπειν*, to have a cruel and bloody Look (c). Tho' some will by no Means allow this Character to have been given to the *Lemnians* for their Invention of Arms, but rather for the frequent Piracies and Outrages committed by them upon Foreigners, or for other Reasons: Whereas they tell us, that *Liber*, or *Bacchus*, was the first that introduced into the World the Use of Weapons (d).

The Arms of all the primitive Heroes were composed of Brass, as appears from *Homer*, who is herein follow'd as well by the ancient Poets, both *Greek* and *Latin*, as all other Writers that give Account of those Times. *Pausanias* hath endeavour'd to prove this by a great Number of Instances (e): 'Tis reported in *Plutarch* (f), that when *Cimon*, the Son of *Miltiades*, convey'd the Bones of *Theseus* from the Isle of *Scyros* to *Athens*, he found interr'd with him a Sword of Brass, and a Spear with a Head of the same Metal. More Examples would be superfluous, since we are expressly told by *Hesiod*, that there was no such Thing as Iron in those Ages; but their Arms, all Sorts of Instruments, and their very Houses were made of Brass (g).

Τοῖς δ' ἦν χάλκεα μὲν τεύχη, χάλκεοι δέ τε οἶκοι;
Χαλκῷ δ' εἰργάζοντο, μέλας δ' ἔκ' ἔσκε σίδηρος.

Not vet to Men Iron discover'd was:

And in later Ages, when the World was acquainted with the Use of Iron, the Artificers and their Occupation still retained their old Names. Thus we are told by *Aristotle* (a), that χαλκεύς denotes an Iron Smith : And (to trouble you with no more Instances in a Thing so commonly known) *Plutarch* (b) applies the Word ἐχαλκεύσατο to the making of Iron Helmets,

Some of their Arms were composed of Tin, especially their Boots, as we read of *Achilles's* in the eighteenth *Iliad*. This Metal was likewise frequently us'd in other Parts of their Armour, as appears from *Agamemnon's* Breast-Plate (c), and *Æneas's* Shield (d).

Several other Metals were made Use of: Gold and Silver were in great Esteem among them ; yet the most illustrious Heroes used them only as graceful Ornaments : They, whose whole Armour was composed of them, are usually represented as more addicted to effeminate and delicate Arts, than manly Courage and Bravery. *Glaucus's* Arms were indeed made of Gold, but the great *Diomedes* was content with Brass. *Amphimachus*, who entered into the War with Golden Weapons, is compared by *Homer* to a trim Virgin (e).

Νάσσης, Αμφίμαχος τε, Νομίονος ἀγλαὰ τέκνα,
 Ος κ' χρυσὸν ἔχων πόλεμον δ' ἔεν ἥ τε κέρη.
 Νήπιος, ἐδ' ἐτι οἱ τό γ' ἐπήκεσε λυγρὸν ὄλεθρον,
 Ἀλλ' ἐδάμνη ὑπὸ χερσὶ ποδωκίης Αἰακίδαο
 Ἐν ποταμῷ, χρυσὸν γ' Ἀχιλεὺς ἐκόμιε δαΐφρων.

Trick'd up in Arms of Gold for horrid War,
 Like some trim Girl, does *Nomion's* Son prepare,
 The vain *Amphimachus* ; but not that Show,
 Nor Pomp could ward off the unerring Blow ;
 But by *Æacides* depriv'd of Life,
 His Arms were seiz'd by the more skilful Chief.

H. H.

In like Manner the *Persians*, having given themselves over to Softness and Pleasure, engag'd with the rough *Grecians*, richly adorned with Gold and Jewels, and became an easy Prey to them. The *Grecian* Heroes, tho' not so unpolish'd, as to debar themselves the Use of these Ornaments, yet were not so excessively profuse of them, nor applied them to the same Ends and Purposes: *Achilles's* Shield, so curiously engrav'd by *Vulcan*, is a Lecture of Philosophy, and contains a Description of almost all the Works of Nature. The Arms of other valiant Princes are frequently adorn'd with Representations of their noble Exploits, the History of the Actions of their Ancestors, or Blessings

Dragons, and render'd bright and shining to strike Terror and Amaze-
ment into their Enemies, according to that of *Homer* (a) ;

————— δαε δ' ἀμειψέσθω

Αὐτὰ χαλκεῖν —————

Th' amazing Lustre terrify'd the Sight.

So 'tis reported of our *British* Ancestors, that they painted themselves with divers Forms of Animals, thinking thereby to appear more terrible to their Enemies.

The antient *Grecians* were always armed, thinking it unsafe to adventure themselves abroad without a sufficient Defence against Aggressors. Hence *Aristotle* hath rationally inferred, That they were a barbarous and uncivilized Nation : For being educated in the deepest Ignorance, and having very little Sense of that Justice and Honesty, to which all Men are obliged by Nature's eternal and immutable Sanctions, being also in a great Measure without the Restraint of human Laws, all Persons thought they had a just Title to whatever they could by any Means take into Possession, which they had no other Method to secure, but that whereby they obtain'd it, and resign'd their Claim whenever a more potent Adversary exhibited his Pretensions. The Seas were filled with Pirates, the Land with Robbers, who made a Prey of whatever came to their Hands, and frequently made Incursions into Countries, which they spoil'd and depopulated, and, if their Force was great enough, drove out the Inhabitants, and compelled them to seek new Seats. By Men of this Profession, *Io*, *Europa*, *Ganymedes*, and many others, were stolen ; which put *Tyndarus* in such a Fear for his Daughter *Helen*, that he caused all the young Princes that made their Addresses to her, to bind themselves by a solemn Oath to recover her, if ever she should be convey'd away. The Sea, we are inform'd by *Thucydides* (b), was freed from Piracies by *Minos* King of *Crete*, who with a powerful Navy maintain'd for many Years the Sovereignty of it. But the Land was still infested ; and therefore when *Theseus* design'd to make his first Journey from *Troæzen* to *Athens*, *Plutarch* tells us, that his Relations would have persuaded him to go by Sea. For (says he) it was at that Time very dangerous to travel by Land to *Athens*, no Place of the Country being free from Thieves and Murderers : For that Age produced a Sort of Men, for Strength of Arms, Swiftnefs of Feet, and Vigour of Body, excelling the ordinary Rate of Men, and in Labours and Exercises indefatigable ; yet making use of these Gifts of Nature to nothing good or profitable to Mankind ; but rejoicing and taking Pride in Insolence, and pleasing themselves in the Commission of





rage to commit Injuries, or Fear of receiving them) nothing at all to concern those who were most daring and strong (a). Of these indeed Hercules and Theseus, and other generous and public-spirited Princes, in a great Measure freed the Country: But before that, 'twas not to be wonder'd if the Grecians always wore Arms, standing upon their Guard, especially since in those Days few of them were united into large Towns, but lived retiredly in Country Seats, or at the best in small and defenceless Hamlets. This Custom was first laid aside at Athens, the Occasion and Necessity thereof being first removed in that City (b): For Historians generally agree, that the Athenians entertained the decent Rules of Civility and Humanity, were modelled into a regular Form of Government, and enjoy'd the Happiness of wholesome and useful Laws, before the rest of the Grecians. Afterwards a Penalty was laid by Solon upon those who wore Arms in the City without Necessity (c); that having in former Times been the Occasion of frequent Murders, Robberies, and Duels. On the same Account was made the following Law of Zaleucus, Μὴδὲνα φορεῖν ὄπλα ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ, That no Person should bear Arms in the Senate.

Let us now return to the Description of the Grecian Arms, which are distinguished into two Sorts, some of them being contrived for their own Defence, others to annoy their Enemies. The primitive Grecians, we are told (d), were better furnished with the former, whereas the Barbarians were more industrious in providing the latter; the Generals of these being most concern'd how to destroy their Enemies, whilst the Grecians thought it more agreeable to the Dictates of human Nature, to study how to preserve their Friends: For which Reason Homer always takes Care to introduce his brave and valiant Heroes well armed into the Battle, and the Grecian Law-givers decreed Punishments for those that threw away their Shields, but excused those that lost their Swords or Spears; intimating hereby, that their Soldiers ought to be more careful to defend themselves, than to offend their Enemies (e).

First let us take Account of their Defensive Arms, as fitted to the several Members of the Body, beginning at the Head, which was guarded with an Helmet, called in Greek πειραφαλαία, κράνος, κόρυς, &c. This was sometimes composed of Brass or other Metals, as Menelaus's in Homer:

αὐτὰρ ἐπὶ σφάνην πεφάλῃφιν αἶρας
Θήκατο χαλκείην. —————

He put his Head-piece on, compos'd of Brass.

λεοντήν αἰγείν, and others, of which none is more common than κυνέη, which was compos'd of a Dog's Skin: *Eustathius* tells us 'twas ποτάμιον κύων, a Water-Dog, and was so frequently used by the Ancients, that we find it sometimes taken for the Name of an Helmet, though consist'g of another Sort of Matter. Thus *Homer* (a):

— ἀμφὶ δ' ἐοὶ κυνέην κεφαλῆφιν ἔθηκε
 Ταυρεῖνν—

He put on's Helmet of a Bull's Hide made.

These Skins were always worn with their Hair on; and to render them more terrible and frightful, the Teeth were frequently placed grinning on their Enemies. Thus the Soldier in *Virgil* (b):

*Ipse pedes tegmen torquens immane leonis,
 Terribili impexum seta cum dentibus albis,
 Indutus capiti, sic regia tecta subibat.*

He shakes his Lion's Skin, whose grisly Hair
 And dreadful Teeth create in all a Fear:
 Thus having fortify'd his Martial Head,
 The Royal Roof he enters.

Homer likewise arms *Ulysses* in the same Manner (c):

— ἀμφὶ δ' ἐοὶ κυνέην κεφαλῆφιν ἔθηκε
 Ρινῶ πομπήν, πολέσιν δ' ἐντοφέν ἰμάσσιν
 Ἐρ' ἐτάλο σερῶς, ἔκτοφ' ἢ λευκοὶ ὀδόντες
 Ἀργιόδοντες ὕδ' ἀμείβεσθ' ἔχον ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα;
 Εὖ καὶ ἐπισαμένως μέλει δ' ἐνὶ πῶλ' ἀρήρει.

His Leathern Helmet on his Head he plac'd,
 Whose Inside with the strongest Thongs was lac'd;
 But all the outward Parts were fortify'd
 With the white Teeth of Boars.

The Fore-part of the Helmet was open, for the Heroes all enter'd in- to the Battle with Faces uncover'd. To the Side was fix'd a String, whereby it was tied to the Warrior's Neck. This was term'd ὀχεύς, whence *Homer* speaks of *Parijs* thus (d):

Ἄλχε δέ μιν πολέες ἰμάς ἀπαλὴν ὑπὸ δαιρῆν,
 Ὃς οἱ ὑπ' ἀνθρεῶν ὀχεύς τέταλ'ο τρυφαλείης.
 The well-wrought String, which ty'd his Helmet on

Some of it's Parts receiv'd their Names from the Members guarded by them, as ὀφρύες, that Part which cover'd the *Eyebrows*, and the rest in like Manner. The little Lappet erected over the Brow was by a metaphorical Term call'd γείσων, the Pent-house. But the most remarkable of all the Parts in the Helmet was it's Crest, term'd φάλακ, and λόφος (a), which was first us'd by the *Carians* (b), and thence call'd by *Alcaeus*, Καεὶν λόφος :

Λόφον τ'ε σείων Καεὶνόν.

Shaking his *Carian* Crest.

For the *Carians* were once famous for Military Exploits, and oblig'd the World with this, and several other Inventions : Hence we are told by *Thucydides* (c), that it was customary for them to reposit a little Shield and an Helmet in the Graves of their Dead. Some will have φάλακ to be distinguish'd from λόφος, that signifying the *Comus*, this the Plume fix'd to it (d) ; but others allow no Difference between them. The former of these was compos'd of various Materials, most of which were rich and chargeable, being design'd as an Ornament to the Helmet. The other likewise was adorn'd with divers Sorts of Paint, whence *Pollux* gives it the Epithets of εὐανθής, ὑακινθινόβαφής (e). *Homer* has enrich'd it with Gold (f) :

Τεύξε δ'ε οἱ κόρυθα βεβαρὴν κροτάφοις ἀγαυίαν
Καλὴν, δαιδαλέην, ἐπὶ ᾧ χρύσειον λόφον ἦκε.

A strong and trusty Helmet next he made,
Which when he'd rightly seated on his Head,
The curious parti-colour'd Golden Crest
In beauteous Form he o'er the Helmet plac'd.

One of *Virgil's* Heroes has his whole Helmet of Gold, and his Crest painted with red (g).

——— maculis quem *Thracius albis*

Portat equus, cristaque tegit galea aurea rubra.

Streak'd with large Spots of white the *Thracian* Steed
Carry'd the Hero, who had arm'd his Head
With Golden Helmet, and Crest painted red.

The Crest was for the most Part of Feathers, or the Hair of Horses Tails, or Mains ; where we read of λόφος ἵπποχαίτης, κόρυς ἵπποχάστια, ἵππυς. us *Homer* (b),

(a) Hesychius, &c.

(d) Suidas, &c.

— ἥδ' ἀστὴρ ἀνὰ πάλαιον

Ἰππεὺς τρυφάλειαν, πικρὸν δ' ἔσθρας

Χρῆσαι, ὡς Ἡφαίστος ἐν λόφῳ ἀμφὶ θάμνιδι·

Like some bright Star the crested Helmet shone ;

The gilded Hairs, which *Vulcan* round the Cone

Had plac'd, where all in sportful Order mov'd.

The common Soldiers had only small Crests ; the great Officers, and all Persons of Quality, were distinguish'd by Plumes of a larger Size, and frequently took a Pride in wearing two, three, or four together. *Suidas* will have *Geryon* to have been famous in Poetry for three Heads, on no other Account, but because his Helmet was adorn'd with three Crests. *Virgil* describes *Turnus's* Head-piece after the same Manner (a), adding also to it the Figure of a *Chimera*,

Cui triplici crinita juba galea alta Chimeram

Sustinet —————

Whose triple-crested Helmet did sustain

A terrible *Chimera*.

This Helmet was called τρυφάλεια ; when it was surrounded with two Plumes ἀμφίφαλλον ; and when adorned with four, τετράφαλλον. Thus *Apollonius* (b) :

Τετράφαλλον φοίνικι λόφῳ ἐπελάμπυστο πύληξ.

A four-fold Plume with dazzling Lustre shone,

Whose nodding Top o'erlook'd the dreadful Cone.

The Design of these was to strike Terror into the Enemies ; whence that of *Homer* (c),

— δαυδὸν ὃ λόφος καθύπερθεν ἔνευεν.

For the same Reason *Pyrrhus*, King of *Epirus*, beside a lofty Crest, wore Goat's Horns upon his Helmet (d). We are told indeed by *Suidas*, that the τρίχωσις, or Crest itself, was sometimes term'd κίερας. Nevertheless some of the ancient Helmets had no Crest or Cone at all. This Sort was call'd καταΐτυξ, as we learn from *Homer* (e),

— ἀμφὶ δέ οἱ κύνειαν κεφαλῆσιν ἔθηκε

Ταυρεῖν, ἀραλὸν τε, καὶ ἄλαρον, ἧ τε καταΐτυξ

Κέκληται ———

His Bull-skin Helmet on his Head he plac'd,

Καταΐτυξ call'd, 'cause without Cone or Crest.

Other Sorts of Ornaments were us'd in Helmets, as in that call'd

σεφάνη, which Name signifies the Ridge of a Mountain, and on that Account is applied to Helmets having several *ἑξοχαί*, Eminencies, or Parts jutting out (a). Homer has taken Notice of this Sort also (b),

—ἐδ'ε σεφάνη δόρυ οἱ σχίθε χαλκοβάρεια.

Nor cou'd his Helmet made of solid Brass

Ward off the Blow ———

Of all the *Grecian* Helmets the *Bæotian* is said to have been the best (c). The *Macedonians* had a peculiar one term'd *καυσίνη*, which was composed of Hides, and serv'd instead of a Cap to defend them from the Cold, according to the Epigram in *Suidas*,

Καυσίνη, ἢ τοπάρεθε Μακεδόνειν εὐκλον ὄπλον,]

Καὶ σκέπας ὦ νιφετῷ, καὶ κόρυς ἐν πολέμῳ.

Were I to chuse what Armour I would have,

No Helmet forg'd in brawny *Vulcan's* Cave,

Nor Bear's, or Lion's grizly Skin I'd crave;

But an old broad-brim'd *Macedonian* Cap,

Whose spacious Sides should round my Shoulders wrap.

Thus all Attacks with greatest Ease I'd bear;

As well the Storms of Weather, as of War,

H. H.

Pliny attributes the first Invention of Helmets to the *Lacedæmonians* (d), as likewise of the Sword, and Spear: But this must be understood only of the peculiar Sorts of those Weapons us'd at *Sparta*; other Kinds of them being known before the first Foundation of the *Spartan* Government, or Nation.

The Heroes prided themselves in wearing for their Defence the Skins of wild Beasts, which they esteem'd Badges of their Prowess. Instances of this kind are every where to be met with in the Poets. Hence *Theocritus* (e);

Αὐτὰρ ὑπὲρ νώτοιο καὶ αὐχένῳ ἠωρεῖτο

Ἀκρον δέρμα λέοντος ἀρημμένον ἐκ ποδῶνων.

Over his Neck and Back a Lion's Skin was thrown

Held up by 't's Feet ———

Herculi's Lion's Skin is very famous in Story, and *Homer's* great Princes are frequently introduced in the same Habit; in Imitation of whom the other *Greek* and *Latin* Poets have arm'd their Heroes. Thus

——— *occurrit Acestes*

Horridus in jaculis, & pelle Libyftidos urſæ.

Aceſtes dreadful for his horrid Darts,

And for the *Libyan* Bear-skin that he wears,

Met them ———

But we find they were not aſhamed of uſing better and ſtronger Armour for their Defence, the ordinary Sorts of which were theſe that follow :

Μίτρη, made of Braſs, but lin'd with Wool, and worn next to the Skin, underneath the Coat of Mail. This we learn from *Homer* ſpeak- ing of a Dart that pierc'd thro' the reſt of the Hero's Armour, but was ſo blunted by the *μίτρη* (a), that it only ras'd his Skin :

Αὐτὴ δ' αὖτ' ἴδυνεν ὄθι ζωστῆρος ὄχες
Χρύσειοι σύνεχον, καὶ διπλόος ἦν τε ἰο θώρηξ,
Ὡς δ' ἔπεσε ζωστῆρι ἀρηρότι πικρὸς οἰσός.
Διὰ μὲν ἄρ' ζωστῆρ' ἐλήλατο δαίδαλίοιο,
Καὶ διὰ θώρηκα πολυδαίδαλλε ἠήρεισο,
Μίτρης θ', ἣν ἐφόρει ἔρυμα χρόος, ἔρκ' ἀκόντων,
Ἡ οἱ πλεῖστον ἔρυτο.

She to that Part the deadly Shafts convey'd,
Where meeting Claſps a double Breſt-plate made ;
Straight on his Belt it fell, nor there cou'd ſtay,
But thro' both Belt and Breſt-plate forc'd it's Way ;
And now his laſt beſt Hopes, the well-lin'd Braſs,
Which againſt Darts his ſureſt Refuge was,
It ras'd, but cou'd not thro' it make a perfect Paſs.

H. H.

Ζῶμα, or *ζωστήρ*, reach'd from the Knees to the Belly, where it was join'd to the Brigandine (b). But the latter of theſe Names is more frequently taken for the Belt ſurrounding the reſt of the Armour. Thus *Homer* (c) :

Λῦσε δέ οἱ ζωστῆρα παναίολον, ἣ δ' ἐπένερχε
Ζῶμά τε, καὶ μίτρην, ἣν χαλκῆες κάμον ἄνδρες,
His rich embroider'd Belt he then unbrac'd,
And all his Armour underneath it plac'd,
Which by the Hands of ſkilful Smiths were made.

This was ſo eſſential to a Warrior, that *ζώννυσθαι* came to be a general Name for putting on Armour (d) : Whence *Homer* introduces

Ατρείδης ὁ βόησεν, ἰδὲ ζώνουσθαι ἀνῶγεν.

Atrides strait commands them all to arm.

The same Poet, when he makes that Hero resemble the God of War in his ζώνη, is supposed (as *Pausanias* (a) tells us) to mean his whole Armour. The Romans had the same Custom, as appears from *Plutarch* (b): And it prevail'd also amongst the *Persians*; whence *Herodotus* relates, how *Xerxes* having reach'd *Abdera*, when he fled from *Athens*, and thinking himself out of Danger, did λύειν τὴν ζώνην; or disarm himself (c). But ζώνη is a more general Name than ζώσης, and signifies the μίτρη.

Θώραξ consisted of two Parts, one of which was a Defence to the Back, the other to the Belly; the extreme Parts of it were term'd πτέρυγες, the Middle γυάλα (d). The Sides were coupled together with a Sort of Buttons (e). The same may be observ'd in *Silius* (f) of the Roman *Lorica*, which differ'd not much from the *Grecian Thorax*, whence Θώραξ is by *Hesychius* expounded Λωρίκιον.

— — — qua fibula morsus

Loricæ crebro laxata resolvrat ian.

ἡμιθώρακιον was an *Half-thorax*, or Breast plate, which *Pollux* tells us was first invented by *Jason*; and we find it very much esteem'd by *Alexander*, who, as *Polyænus* (g) reports, considering that the entire Θώραξ might be a Temptation to his Soldiers to turn their Backs upon their Enemies, those being equally guarded by it with their Breasts, commanded them to lay aside their Back-pieces, and arm themselves with ἡμιθώρακια, Breast-plates; that so whenever they were put to Flight, their Backs might be exposed naked to their Enemies. The *Thoraces* were not all compos'd of the same Stuff; some were made of Line, or Hemp twisted into small Cords, and close set together; whence we read of *Thoraces bilices*, and *trilices*, from the Number of Cords fix'd one upon another. These were frequently us'd in Hunting, because the Teeth of Lions, and other wild Beasts, were unable to pierce thro' them, sticking in the Cord; but not so often carried into Battles, as *Pausanias* observes (h): Yet there are not wanting Instances of this Sort, for *Ajax* the Son of *Oileus* has the Epithet of λεινοθώραξ in *Homer* (i)

— — — ὁλίγῳ μὲν ἔην λεινοθώραξ.

Ajax the Less a Linnen Breast-plate had.

Alexander likewise is reported by *Plutarch* to have worn Θώρακα

(a) Loen ei — to.
Pausanias Att.
ic is.

(b) Attica.

ΛΙΝΕΝ ΔΙΠΛΩΝ, or a double-twisted Linnen *Thorax*: And *Iphicrates* caus'd his Soldiers to lay aside their heavy and unwieldy Brigandines of Iron, and go to the Field in Hempen Armour, as *Cornelius Nepos* hath inform'd us in his Life of that Captain. The ordinary Matter the *Thoraces* were made of, was Brass, Iron, or other Metals, which were sometimes so exquisitely harden'd, as to be Proof against the greatest Force. *Plutarch* (a) reports, that *Zoilus* an Artificer, having made a Present of two Iron Brigandines to *Demetrius Poliorcetes*, for an Experiment of their Hardness, caus'd an Arrow to be shot out of an Engine call'd *Catapulta*, plac'd about twenty-six Paces off; which was so far from piercing the Iron, that it scarcely ras'd, or made the least Impression on it. This Armour was of two Sorts; one of which, because it consisted of one or two continued Pieces of Metal, and was inflexible, and able to stand upright, was term'd *Θώραξ σάδιος*, or *σαλὸς* (b). The other was compos'd of a Beast's Hide, according to the Poet,

—— τῷ δὲ Θώραξ σκότα.

Whence the Latin Word *Lorica* is thought to be deriv'd from *Lorum*. This was fet with Plates of Metal in various Forms; sometimes in Hooks, or Rings, not unlike a Chain; sometimes resembling Feathers, or the Scales of Serpents, or Fishes; to which Plates or Studs of Gold were often added: Whence we read of *Θώρακες ἀλυσιδῶται*, *λεπιδῶται*, *φολιδῶται*, &c. And the Greek and Latin Poets frequently mention them. Thus *Silius* (c) speaking of the Consul *Flaminius*;

Loricam induitur, tortos huic nexilis hamos
Ferro squama rudi, permistoque asperat auro.

Virgil arms his Heroes after the same Manner (d);

—— *Rutulum thoraca indutus, aenis*
Horrebat squamis ———

Dress'd in his glitt'ring Breast-plate, he appear'd
Frightful with Scales of Brass.

The single Plates being sometimes pierc'd thro' by Spears, and missive Weapons, it was customary to strengthen them by setting two, three, or more, upon one another. Thus *Statius* (e),

And in another Place (a),

Multiplicem tennes iterant iboraca catena.

The little Chains a mighty Breast-plate join.

Whence in the same Manner as from the Number of Cords, they were term'd *bilices*, and *trilices*; in Greek, διπλοῖ, & τεπλοῖ. *Virgil* (b),

Loricam confertam hamis, anroque trilicem.

The three-fold Coat of Mail beset with Hooks and Gold.

Κνημίδες, Ocreæ, were Greaves of Brass, Copper, or other Metals to defend the Legs. Whence *Hesiod* (c),

—κνημίδας ὀρεχάλοισι φανῶ,

Ἡφαίστου κλυτὰ δῶρα, περὶ κνήμησιν ἔθηκεν.

The Greaves of shining Brass, which *Vulcan* gave,

He round his Ankles plac'd — —

Homer frequently composeth them of Tin (d);

Τεύξε δὲ οἱ κνημίδας ἐανῷ κασιγέροιο.

He made his Greaves of beaten Tin.

The Sides were generally clos'd about the Ankles with Buttons, which were sometimes of solid Gold or Silver, as we have it in the same Poet (e);

Κνημίδας μὲν πρῶτα περὶ κνήμησιν ἔθηκε

Καλὰς, ἀργυρείοισιν ἐπισφύριος ἀραρυίας.

The curious Greaves he round his Ankles clos'd

With Silver Buttons.

It is probable, that this Piece of Armour was at first either peculiar to the *Grecians*, or at least more generally used by them than any other Nations; because we find them so perpetually call'd by the Poet,

—ἐὺκνήμιδες Ἀχαιοί.

Χεῖρες were Guards for their Hands, which we find also to have been used by some of them, with other Defences for their Arms.

Ασπίς, a Buckler. This was first used by *Prætus* and *Acrisius* of *Argos* (a). It was sometimes composed of Wickers woven together, according to *Virgil* (b):

—*flexuntque salignas*

Umbo num crates—

The Buckles they of Officers make.

Whence it is term'd ἰτέα (c). It was likewise made of Wood; and because it was expedient that the Warriors should be able with the greatest Ease to wield it, they usually chose the lightest Sort of Wood for this Use, as the Fig, Willow, Beach, Poplar, Elder-Trees, &c. as we are inform'd by *Pliny* (d). But it was commonly made of Hides; whence we find so frequent mention of ἀσπίδες βόειαι. These were doubled into several Folds, and fortified with Plates of Metal. *Ajax's* Buckler was composed of seven Folds of Hide, and cover'd with a single Plate of Brass, as we read in *Homer* (e):

—σάχ⊙ αἰόλον ἐπ' ἄβειον

Ταύρων ζατρεφείων, ἐπὶ δ' ὄγδοον ἤλασε χαλκόν.

Made of the Hides of seven well-fatted Bulls,

And cover'd with a Plate of Brass.

Achilles's was guarded with three Folds more, as the Poet tells us,

—Ἔς, ἔς proxima rupit

Terga novena boum, decimo tamen orbe moratum est.

It pierc'd the Brass, and thro' nine Hides it broke;

But could not penetrate the tenth.

But the same Hero's in *Homer* was more strongly fortified by two Plates of Brass, two of Tin, and a fifth of Gold (f):

—πέντε πλῆχας ἤλασε κυλλοποδίῳ,

τάς δύο χαλκείας· δύο δ' ἐνδοθεὶ κασίτρεοι,

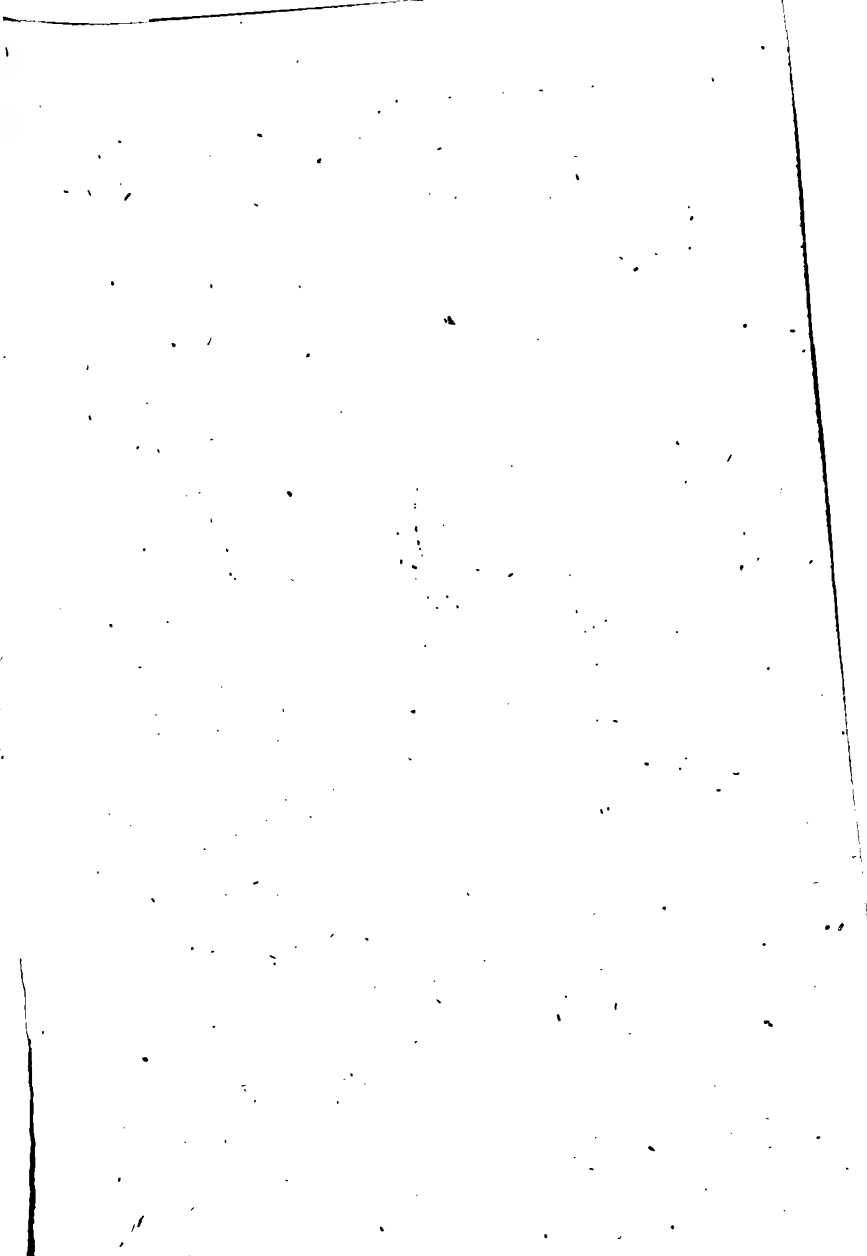
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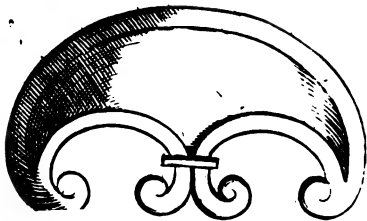
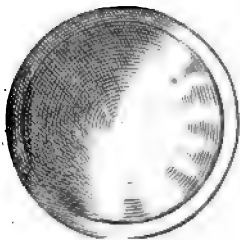
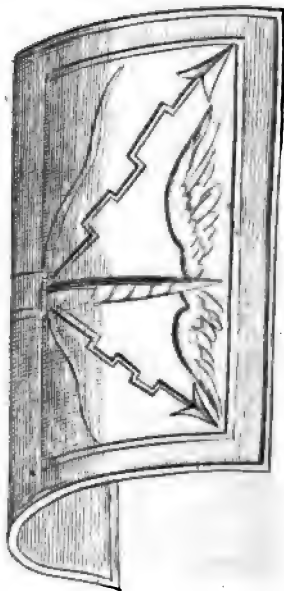
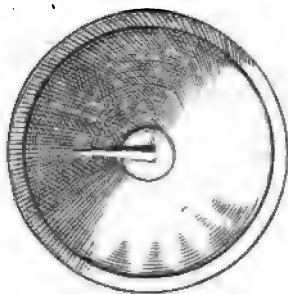
For with five Plates *Vulcan* it fortify'd,

With two of Brass, two Tin, and one of Gold.

The principal Parts of the Buckler were these:

Ἀνύξ, ἴτυς, περιφέρεια, or κύκλ⊙, the utmost Round, or Circumference.





Ομφαλός and μεσομφάλιον, in *Latin Umbo*, a Bos's jutting out in the Middle of the Buckler, upon which was fix'd another protuberant Part term'd ἐπομφάλιον. This was of great Service to them, not only in glancing off, and repelling missive Weapons, but in bearing down their Enemies. Whence *Martial* has this Allusion:

In turbam incideris, cunctos umbone repellit.

Should you be in a Crowd, your Slave
Wou'd with his Bos's repel them all.

Τελαμών was a Thong of Leather, and sometimes a Rod of Metal, reaching cross the Buckler, whereby they hung it upon their Shoulders, according to the primitive Fashion (a): Whence *Homer* (b),

— αὐτὰρ ἀπ' ὤμων

Ἀσπίς σὺν τελαμῶνι χαμαὶ πῆσε τερμιδύσσα'

Down from his Shoulders the huge Buckler fell
With it's loos'd Thong.

It was sometimes call'd κανὼν, except this may be understood of the Rod to which the τελαμών was fasten'd, as *Hesychius* expounds it, which seems most probable; and that κανόνες were Rods whereby the Bucklers were held (as *Homer's Scholiast* reports) but τελαμώνες, the Thongs affix'd to them, and hung upon the Warrior's Shoulders, tho' *Eustathius* will have them to have been put to the former Use, and to be the same with κανόνες (c). Sometimes the Bucklers were held by little Rings call'd πόρπακες, but at length most of the *Grecians* used an Handle call'd ὄχανον, or ὄχάνη, which, tho' sometimes spoken of with the former Names, and explain'd by them, was really different from both, being invented by the *Carians* (d); and, as 'tis commonly thought, compos'd for the most part of small Iron Bars, plac'd cross each other, and resembling the Letter χ (e). When the Wars were ended, and the Bucklers, (as was customary) hung up in the Temples of the Gods, they took off the Handles, thereby to render them unfit to serve in any sudden Insurrection: Whence *Aristophanes* introduces a Person affrighted, when he saw Bucklers hanging up with Handles,

Οἱ μοι τάλας, ἔχουσι γὰρ πόρπακας.

O sad! The Bucklers Handles have.

Which another had also found fault with a little before;

Οὐ γὰρ ἐχρῆν, εἰ περ φιλεῖς τὸν δῆμον, ἐκ πρῶτάς
Ταύτας εἶν αὐτοῖς πόρπαξιν ἀναλθῆναι.

Æschylus speaks of little Bells hung upon Bucklers to strike Terror into the Enemy :

—— ἀπ' ἀσπίδος ὃ τῷ
Χαλκήλατοι πλάζουσι κώδωνες φόβῳ

Most of the Bucklers were curiously adorn'd with all sorts of Figures of Birds and Beasts, especially such as were of generous Natures, as Eagles, Lions, &c. Nor of these only, but of the Gods, of the Celestial Bodies, and all the Works of Nature ; which Custom was deriv'd from the Heroick Ages, and continu'd in later Times, being (as *Herodotus* (a) reports) first introduc'd by the *Carians*, and from them communicated to the *Grecians*, *Romans*, and *Barbarians*.

The *Grecians* had several sorts of Bucklers, the most remarkable of which seem to have been those of *Argos*, which are thought to be bigger than the rest ; whence *Virgil* compares them to *Polyphemus's* monstrous Eye, which he tells us was (b),

Argolici clypei, aut Phœbeæ lampadis instar.
Like an *Argolick* Buckler, or the Sun.

Most indeed of the ancient Bucklers seem to have cover'd the whole Body ; whence *Virgil* (c),

—— clypeique sub orbe teguntur.
Under their Bucklers cover'd close they stand.

Tyrtaeus enumerates the Members protected thereby,

Μηρὺς τε, κνήμας τε κάτω, καὶ ὤμων, καὶ ὀφθαλμῶν
Ἀσπίδος εὐρείης γαστρὶ καλυψάμεν.

Thighs, Legs, and Breast, Belly and Shoulders too
The mighty Buckler cover'd.

This farther appears from the Custom of carrying dead Soldiers out of the Field upon their Bucklers ; whence we read of the famous Command of the *Spartan* Mothers to their Sons, ἢ τὰν, ἢ ἐπὶ τὰν, i. e. Either bring this (meaning the Buckler) or be brought upon it ; meaning, they should either secure their Bucklers, or lose their Lives in defence. And *Homer* for the same Reason calls them ἀσπί-

35
δασ ἀμφιερύτας, and πειδονεκής, which *Eusebius* interprets ἀνδρομήκες, i. e. of the same Size with a Man (a).

Their Form was usually round, whence *Virgil's* *clypei orbis*, and the frequent Mention of ἀσπίδες εὐκύκλοι, πάντοτε ἴσαι, &c. Hence the utmost Circumference was call'd κύκλῳ, as hath been already observ'd.

There were likewise Shields of lesser Sizes, and other Forms, the Use of several of which was later than the Heroick Ages.

Γέρρον, or γέρρα, was squar'd, like the Figure *Rhombus*, and first us'd by the *Persians* (b).

Θυρεός was oblong, and usually bending inward : It seems to have been the same which is call'd in *Pollux* (c) ἀσπίς κοίλη ἐτερομήκης.

Λαισθήιον seems to have been shap'd like the former, and compos'd of Hides with the Hair, whence *Grammarians* derive it from λασιῶν, i. e. hairy. It was very light, whence (as *Eusebius* (d) observes) *Homer* gives it the Epithet πῆρόθεν.

— — — — βοείας

Ἀσπίδας εὐκύκλος, λαισθία τε πῆρόθεν γα.

Πέλην was a small and light Buckler in the Form of an Half-Moon (e), or, according to *Xenophon*, resembling an Ivy-leaf, and first used by the *Amazons*. But *Suidas* will have it to be a kind of Four-square Buckler, wanting the ἵπυς, or exterior Rising.

This was the chief of all their Arms : The Regard they had of it appears both from what has been already observ'd concerning their Care in adorning and preserving it ; and from the common Story of *Epaminondas*, who having receiv'd a mortal Wound, and lying under the Agonies of Death, with great Concern enquir'd whether his Buckler was safe (f). *Chabrias* the famous *Athenian*, when his Ship was sunk, rather chose honourably to resign his Life with his Buckler, than leaving it, to escape to another Vessel (g). Military Glory indeed being esteem'd the greatest that human Nature was capable of, they had a profound Regard for all sorts of Arms, which were the Instruments whereby they attain'd it ; whence to leave them to their Enemies, to give them for a Pledge, or dispose of them any dishonourable Way, was an indelible Disgrace both in *Greece* (h), and at *Rome*, and scarce ever to be aton'd for.

Thus have I endeavour'd to give you a Description of the principal of the *Grecian Defensive Arms*, which are in general term'd ἀλεξητήρια, σκεπασήρια, and προβλήματα.

The only *Offensive Arms* us'd by the Ancients, were Stones, or Clubs, and such as rude Nature furnish'd them with. They were wholly ignorant of all those Arts and Contrivances to destroy their Enemies, which Necessity and Thirst of Glory afterwards introduced into the World. Thus *Horace* describes the Fights of those wild and uncultivated Ages :

(a) *Iliad*. ζ. (b) *Strabo*,
Edit. Basil.

(c) *Isidorus*

(g) *Emilius Probus* in Cl.

*Unguibus & pugnis, dein fistibus, atque ita porro
Pugnabant armis, quæ post fabricaverat usus.*

Sharp Nails and Fists the firm Arms only were,
Then Clubs came into Use, next Men took care
To make more hurtful Weapons.

Lucretius hath an elegant Passage to the same Purpose (a) :

*Arma antiqua manus, ungues, dentesque fuere,
Et lapides, & item silvarum fragmina, rami,
Et flammæ, atque ignes, postquam sunt cognita primum ;
Posterius ferri vis est, ærisque reperta :
Sed prius æris erat quam ferri cognitus usus.*

In the first Ages, Nails, Hands, Teeth would please
A Combatant for Arms, and Boughs of Trees ;
Or Stones, or flaming Brands with Anger thrown,
Were then the best, and chiefest Weapons known :
Men afterwards in Mischief wiser far
Us'd Ir'n and Brazen Arms in ev'ry War.
Of these Brass first began to kill.

E. D.

These Clubs were call'd *φάλαγγες* and *φαλάγγια* ; whence *Grammarians* conjecture that Squadrons of Soldiers were term'd *φάλαγγες* (b), and by the *Latins*, *Pbalanges*, from this primitive Way of Fighting.

The principal of their *Offensive* Weapons in latter Ages was *ἔγχος* and *δόρυ*, Spear or Pike, the Body of which was composed of Wood, in the Heroick Times most commonly of Ash ; whence we have so frequent Mention in *Homer* of *μελίν*, as when he speaks of *Achilles's* Spear (c) :

*Πηλεΐδα μελίν, τὴν πατρὶ φίλῳ πῶρε Χείρων
Πηλὸν ἐκ κορυφῆς, φόνον ἔμμεναι ἠρώεσσιν.*

The Ashen Spear for Murder then design'd,
When to his Father with a cruel Mind
Old *Chiron* gave it.

The *Trojans* were likewise arm'd from the same Tree (d) :

Καὶ Πρίαμος, καὶ λαὸς ἑὺμμελίῳ Πειάμοιο.

The Head, *αἰχμή*, was of Metal. So was also the *σαυρωτήρ*, which is so call'd either q. *σαυρωτήρ*, from *σαυρός*, a Crook ; or from *σαῦρος*,

(a) Lib. V. (b) *Eustatius*, *Iliad*. 8. p. 357. Edit. *Basil.* &c. (c) *Iliad*. π. v. 143. (d) *Iliad*. 8. v. 47.

a Lizard, which it is said to have relembed, being hollow at one End, where it was fixed into the Bottom of the Spear; and sharp at the other (a), which being thrust into the Ground upheld the Spear erect, when the Soldiers rested from the Toil of War. Whence *Homer* speaking of *Diomedes's* Followers (b):

— — ἀμφὶ δ' ἐταῖροι

Ἐϋδον, ὑπὸ κρᾶσιν δ' ἔχον ἀσπίδας, ἔσχεα δ' ἐσφιν
Οἷθ' ἐπὶ σφυρῶν ἤερος ἐλίλατο — —

Sleeping about him all his Men they found,
Under their Heads were laid along the Ground
Great Shields, their Spears erected upright stood
Upon their Brazen Points.

Aristotle observes, that the same Custom was practised amongst the *Illyrians* in his Days (c). And it seems to have been common in other Nations, as may appear from the First Book of *Samuel* (d), where *Saul* is said to have slept with his Spear fix'd in the Earth close by his Head. In Times of Peace they rear'd their Spears against Pillars, in a long wooden Cafe call'd *δυσεδόκη*, as we have it in *Homer* (e):

Ἐσχ^Θ ὁ μὲν ἔστησε φέρων πρὸς κίονα μακρὸν
Δυσεδόκης ἔντοθεν ἐϋζέυ — —

Against his Pillar in a well-made Cafe,
He hung his Spear.

Virgil speaks something to the same Purpose (f):

*Exin, quæ in mediis iugenti adnixa columnæ
Ædibus astabat, validam vi corripit hastam.*

Straight he pulls down with all the Force he cou'd
A Spear, that in the Middle of the House
Was rear'd against a mighty Pillar.

There are two Sorts of Spears, as *Strabo* hath well observ'd (g): The former was us'd in close Fight, and call'd *δόρυ ὀρεκτὸν*, for the Use and excellent Management of which the *Abantes* are celebrated in *Homer* (h):

Τῷ δ' ἄμ' Ἀλάντες ἔποντο δοῦλ, ὅπιθεν κομόωντες,
Αἰχμηταί, μεμαῶτες ὀρεκτῇσι μελίησι
Θῶρηκας ῥήξον δῆτων ἀμφὶ σήθεσσι.

(a) *Eusebius*, *Pollux*, lib. I. cap. V. (b) *Iliad*. α'. v. 151. (c) *De Arte Poetica*. (d) Cap. XXVI. v. 7. (e) *Odyss.* α'. (f) *Æneid.* XII. v. 92. (g) *Lib.* X. (h) *Iliad.* β'. v. 543.

In *ῥοαὶ* follow a man, whose sunny hair
Lies thick behind ; *Ἀνάνι*, who never fear
Close Fights, but bravely strike the Breast-plates through
With Ashen Spears.

Where may be observ'd the Signification of the Word *ἀρέξασθαι*, which (as the *Scholiast* remarks) is apply'd to Arms us'd in close Fight ; whereas *πάλλειν* belongs rather to missive Weapons, which are call'd by the general Names of *παλτα*, and *βέλη*, of which Kind was the other Sort of Spears : Whence we find one making this Boast,

Δερί δ' ἐκοντίζω ὅσον ἐκ ἄλλου τις εἶς.

I strike as far with a Spear, as another with an Arrow.

This was frequently us'd in the Heroick Duels, where the Combatants first threw their Spears, and then made use of their Swords. Thus *Hector* and *Achilles* (a), *Menelaus* and *Paris* (b), and the rest of the Heroes attack one another. *Theocritus* hath described the Combat of *Castor* and *Lynceus* after the same manner (c) ;

Εἰχέσι μὲν πρῶτιστ' αἰχμὰς κείμενοι πόνον εἶχον,
Αλλάλων εἴ περ τι χροὸς γυμνωθὲν ἴδοιεν.
Αλλ' ἦτοι τὰ μὲν ἄκρα, πᾶρ' ἑκάστην δ' ἀπὸ δ' ἡλῆσας,
Δ' ἄρ' ἐάγει, σάκεσσιν ἐν δεινοῖσι παγέεντα.
Τὼ δ' ἄρ' ἐκ πολεῖν ἔρυσσεν, φόνος αὖθις
Τεῦχον ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι, μάχης δ' ἐγίνετ' ἐρωή.

First with their Spears began the noble Strife,
Each fought to find an open Pass to Life ;
But all in vain, the Shields the Strokes endur'd,
Their Spears were broken, and the Men secur'd ;
Their Swords they drew, the Blades like Lightning shone,
Before the Thunderbolt falls swiftly down ;
Now rose their Fury.

Mr Creech.

The *Macedonians* had a peculiar sort of Spear called *σάριον*, which was fourteen or sixteen Cubits in Length.

Ξίφος, a Sword, which according to ancient Custom was hung in a Belt put round the Shoulders. Whence *Homer* (d) ;

Ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' ὁμοισιν βάλετο ξίφος ἀργυρόηλον.
His Silver-hilted Sword about his Shoulders hung.

Defied and the rest of the Poets mention the same Custom (a);

Ὀμοιοισιν δὲ μιν ἀμφὶ μέλανδ' ἔχον ἄσφ' ἔχειτο
Χάλακτον ἐκ τελευμῶν

————— A Brazen Sword

Plac'd in the Belt, down from his Shoulders hung.

The Belt reach'd down to their Thighs. Whence *Homer's* Hero (b);

————— φάσγανον δ' ἐξ ἑρυσσάμεν παρὰ μηρῶ.

Straight from his Thigh his Sword he draws.

And *Virgil's Aeneas* (c);

————— *scymus enses*

Eripit à femore —————

It may be enquir'd whether the Sword was hung upon the Right Side, or the Left; to which some reply, that Foot-Soldiers wore it on the Left, Horsemen on the Right; and *Josephus* (d) expressly mentions Horsemen with their Swords on their Right Sides: But whether this was constantly observ'd, or frequently vary'd, as *Lipshius* (e) has observ'd of the Roman Sword, cannot easily be determined. The Scabbard was call'd *κολεθς*; close to it was hung a Dagger, or Ponyard, call'd *τὸ παρὰ μηρῶν*; *παραμήριον*, or *παραζώνιον ξιφίδιον*; according to *Eustathius* (f) *παραξιφίδιον*, or *ἐσχειρίδιον*, and in *Homer*, *μάχαια*. It was seldom us'd in Fight, but on all Occasions supplied the Want of a Knife, as appears from the Poet, out of whom I shall only set down this one Instance (g):

Ἀτρεΐδης ὃ ἑρυσσάμεν χεῖρεσσι μάχαιαεν,

Ἡ οἱ παρὰ ξίφε μέγα κυλεὼν αἰὲν ἄσφ' ἔχειτο,

Ἀρνῶν ἐκ κεφαπλῶν τάμνε τρίχας

Drawing his Dagger, which was always put
Close by his Sword, *Atrides* straightway cut
Some Hairs from the Lambs Heads.

Polidorus in *Athenæus* tells us, the same Custom was practised by the ancient *Gauls* (h). Close by this, or rather instead thereof, the Soldiers of lower Ages used a Dagger call'd *αἰκιδάκης*; which was borrow'd from the *Persians* (i). They had sometimes another

(a) *Sente Horatio*. (b) *Odys.* x'. (c) *Æneid.* X. v. 86. (d) *Æneid.* II. vii. 11. (e) *Militia Romana*. (f) *Iliad.* γ'. (g) *Iliad.* γ'. (h) *Διονυσίου* lib. XIV. (i) *Moseopolus* in *vocibus Atticis*, Pollux, &c.

Sword call'd *καπίς*, which was the same with the Roman *Ensis falcat*-*us*, and our Faulchion, or Scimeter, and was chiefly used by the Inhabitants of *Argos*. Not much unlike this were the *Lacedæmonian* Swords, call'd, according to *Pollux*, *ξύλαι*, but, as *Xenophon*, *ξύλαι*, and by the *Athenians*, *κνήστεις* (a). They were bent Faulchion-like, and in Length far less than those commonly used in other Parts of *Greece*: The Reason of which Custom being demanded of *Antalcidas*; 'Tis (said he) *because we encounter the Enemies Hand to Hand* (b): And when another Person told *Agesilaus* in Derision, That a Juggler on a Stage would make nothing of swallowing their Swords; *Well* (reply'd the King) *yet with these little Weapons we are able to reach our Enemies* (c). The only Thing further remarkable in the old *Grecian* Sword, is the Hilt, which they took a great Pride in adorning, not so much with Silver and Gold, and precious Stones, as with Figures of Lions Heads, &c. to make them appear more terrible to their Enemies.

Αξίον, a Sort of Pole-ax. With this Weapon *Agamemnon* was encounter'd by *Pisander* in *Homer* (d):

—ὁ δ' ὕπ' ἀσπίδος εἶλετο καλὴν

Αξίον ἐϋχαλκον, ἐλαίνω ἀμφὶ πελέκῳ,

Μακρῷ ἐϋξέσῳ————

The other from his Buckler straightway drew

A curious Brazen Ax, whose Handle few

Could match for Length, for Olive, or for Work.

Πέλεκυς, was not much different from the former, and is join'd with it in *Homer* (e):

Ἀλλ' οἱ γ' ἐγγύθεν ἰσάμενοι, ἓνα θυμὸν ἔχοντες,

Ὀξίσσι δὴ πελέκεσσι, καὶ ἀξίνοισι μάχοντο.

Both Parties fighting close together stood,

And unconcern'd alike for Loss of Blood,

Axes and Hatchets us'd.

Several other Weapons of less Note may occur in Authors; whereof I shall mention only one more, and then proceed to the missive Weapons: It is *κορύνη*, a Battoon of Wood or Iron; from the Use of which the famous Robber *Periphetes*, slain by *Theseus*, was named *κορυήτης* (f); which Title was likewise conferr'd upon *Arcithous*; who, as *Homer* tells the Story, used to break through whole Squa-

Δίς Αρηϊθός, τὸν ἐπὶ κλησιν, κορυμήτην
 Ἄνδρες κίχλεσχον καλλίζωνοί τε γυναῖκες,
 Οὐνεκ' ἄρ' ἐ τόξοισι μαγέσκετο, δυρί τε μακρῇ,
 Ἀλλὰ σιδ' ηρείη κορυὴν ῥήγνυσκε φάλαγγας.
 Brave *Ereuthalion* led these on ; he wore
 The Arms of King *Areitbous* before ;
 Godlike *Areitbous*, Club-bearer nam'd,
 And for his cruel Weapon greatly fam'd,
 Who with his Club whole Squadrons put to Flight,
 But never Spear or Arrow us'd in Fight.

E. D.

Τόξον, the Bow ; the first Invention of which some ascribe to *Apollo*, who from the Art of managing this Weapon hath obtain'd divers Appellations, as ἐκηβύλας, ἐκαληβελήτης, ἱκατός, τοξοφόρος, χρυσότοξος, ἀργυρέτοξος, εὐφάρετρος, &c. All which, tho' moral Interpreters force to other Applications, yet the ancient Authors of Fables refer to this Original. This new Contrivance the God communicated to the primitive Inhabitants of *Crete* (a), who are reported to have been the first of Mortals who understood the Use of Bows and Arrows (b) : And even in later Ages the *Cretan* Bows were famous, and preferred to all others in *Greece* (c). Some rather chose to honour *Perfes*, the Son of *Perseus*, with this Invention ; and others father it upon *Scythes*, the Son of *Jupiter* (d), and Progenitor of the *Scythians*, who were excellent in this Art, and by some reputed the first Masters thereof : Thence we find it deriv'd to the *Grecians*, some of whose ancient Nobility were instructed by the *Scythians*, which in those Times pass'd for a most princely Education. Thus *Hercules* (to trouble you with no more Instances) was taught by *Teutarus* a *Scythian* Swain, from whom he receiv'd a Bow and Arrows of *Scythian* Make : Whence *Lycophron*, speaking of *Hercules's* Arrows,

Τοῖς Τευταρείοις βυκόλις περὶ ῥώμασι (e).

With Arrows which he had from *Teutarus*.

And though *Theocritus* hath chang'd his Tutor's Name into *Eurytus*, yet he also was of *Scythian* Original : And we find the Hero in that Poet arm'd with a *Mæotian*, i. e. *Scythian*, Bow (f) :

Ἦχετο Μαιωτῖσιν λαβὼν εὐκαμπέα τόξα.

He went arm'd with a crooked Bow after the *Mæotian* Fashion.

(a) *Diadorus Siculus*.

(e) *Cassandr.* v. 56. Item

(f) *Idyll.* XIII. v. 5f

Straight he pulls out an handsome polish'd Bow,
 Once it a wanton He-goat's Horn did grow :
 A Goat, that coming from his wonted Rock
 He spy'd, and wounded with a mortal Stroak :
 The Dart pierc'd thro' his Breast, and straight the Ground
 Receiv'd him falling by so deep a Wound :
 Long were his Horns, and these a Workman wrought,
 And made the very Bow with which he fought :
 The Horn he smoothly polish'd, and affix'd
 A Golden Knob upon the Top.

E. D.

Whence *Lycophron*, who affects antiquated Customs and Expressions, speaks thus of *Apollo* encountering *Idas* with his Bow (a) :

——— ἐν χάρμασι βαιώσας κίεας.
 ——— In Battles bent his Horn.

But some ancient *Glossographers* by κίεας would rather understand τρίχους, or the Bow-string, which was composed of Horses Hair, and therefore call'd also ἰππεία (b) : To which Custom *Arcius* alludes,

Reciproca tendens nervo equino concita
Tela ———

Drawing the Arrows with an Horse's Hair.

Homer's Bow-strings are frequently made of Hides cut into small Thongs : Whence we read of τόξα βόεια.

Ἐλκε δ' ὁμῶ γλυφίδας τε λαβάν, καὶ τόξα βόεια.
 He drew the Arrow by the Leathern String :

As *Eustathius* observes upon that Place (c). One Thing more is remarkable in their Bows : It is that Part to which the String was fix'd, being upon the uppermost Part of the Bow, and call'd κορώνη, commonly made of Gold, and the last Thing towards finishing a Bow : Whence *Homer*, when he has describ'd the Manner of making a Bow, adds after all

——— χρυσέην ἐπέθηκε κορώνην.

Hence *Eustathius* tells us, χρυσῆν ἐπιτίθειναι κορώνην signifies to bring any Affair to a happy Conclusion.

The Arrows usually consisted of light Wood, and an Iron Head.

Of the Military Affairs of Greece.

Et manus biamatis utraque est armata sagittis.

Hook'd Arrows arm'd both Hands.

Sometimes they were arm'd with two, three, or four Hooks : Hence *Statius* (a) :

Aspera tergemini acies se condidit uncis.

The Head with three Hooks arm'd

Enter'd his Body.

In this Sense likewise *Hippocrates's* τετράγωνα βέλη are to be understood. The Heads of Arrows were sometimes besmear'd with Poison ; for which Piece of inhuman Skill *Virgil's* *Amycus* was famous (b) :

————— *ferarum*

Vasfatore *Amycum*, quo non felicior alter

Ungere tela manu, ferrumque armare veneno.

————— *Amycus* the Man,

Who many a wild and savage Beast had slain,

Fam'd for his Skill, and for his wond'rous Art

In giving double Force to any Dart,

Or Arrow, with his Poison.

This Practice was more frequent in barbarous Nations, but seldom us'd or understood in *Greece* : Wherefore *Minerva* in *Homer* having assum'd the Form and Titles of *Mentes* King of the *Taphians*, and Son to *Anchialus*, pretends that her Father, out of an extraordinary Love to *Ulysses*, oblig'd him with a Quantity of this deadly Ointment, after he had been at the Pains of a tedious Journey to *Ephyra*, to furnish himself ; but had been denied it by *Ilus* the Son of *Mermerus*, who (as the Poet tells us) rejected *Ulysses's* Request out of a Scruple of Conscience, being afraid that Divine Vengeance would prosecute so criminal an Action (c) :

Εξ Εφύρης ἀνίοντα παρ' Ἰλῦ Μερμερίδαο.

Νιχέτο γὰρ κἀκεῖσε δοῖς ἐπὶ νηὸς Ὀδυσσεύς,

Φάρμακον ἀνδροφόνον διζήμενον, ὅρα οἱ εἶν

Ἰὺς εἰχέσθαι χαλκήρεας· ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἔοι

Δῶκεν, ἐπεὶ ῥα θεὸς νεμεσίζετο αἰὲν ἔοντας,

Ἀλλὰ πατρὸς οἱ Δῶκεν ἑμὸς, φιλέεσκε γὰρ αἰνῶς.

————— When he had *Ilus* left

Return'd from *Ephyra* ; in Hopes to find

Some Poison he for Arrows Heads design'd,

Ulysses thither sail'd : *Ilus* rever'd

To grant what he desir'd ; but easier far
He found *Anchialus*, who straight took Care
To give the killing Poison which he ask'd,
For dearly well he lov'd him.

E. D.

Arrows were usually wing'd with Feathers, to encrease their Speed and Force ; whence *Homer's* *πτερόεις ἰδς* (a) ; *πτερόεις ὕϊδς* (b) ; *Oppian's* *οὔϊδς φερεπτερυξ* (c), and *εὐπτερω* (d) ; *Sophocles's* *ἰδς κομήτης* (e) ; with divers other Epithets and Names to the same Purpose (f). They were carried to the Battle in a Quiver, which was usually clos'd on all Sides, and therefore as (*Eustathius* (g) observes) join'd with the Epithet *ἀμφορεφής*. This with the Bow the Heroes carried upon their Backs : Thus *Apollo* in *Homer* (b) :

Τόξ' ἀμοισιν ἔχων, ἀμφορεφεία τε φερέτρην.
Carrying his Bow and Quiver on his Shoulders.

Hercules is represented by *Hesiod* in the same Manner (i) :

— κοίλῃν ὃ περὶ στήθεσι φερέτρην
Κατβάλειτ' ἐξόπιθεν, πολλοὶ δ' ἐντοσθεν οἶσσι
Πιγνηλοὶ, θανάτοιο λαθιφθόσγοιο δοτήρες.

— towards his Back

He turn'd the hollow Quiver, which contain'd
Great Shafts, whose Force no Mortal yet sustain'd,
And did not straight expire.

Likewise the famous Heroine in *Virgil* (k) :

Aureus ex humero sonat arcus & arma Dianæ.

The Golden Bow and Arrows loosely hung
Down from her Shoulders.

In drawing Bows, the primitive *Grecians* did not pull back their Hand towards the Right Ear, according to the Fashion of modern Ages, and of the ancient *Persians* (l) : but, placing their Bows directly before them, return'd their Hand upon their Right Breast (m) ; which was the Custom of the *Amazonian* Women, who are reported to have cut off their Right Breasts, lest it should be an Impediment to them in shooting ; on which Account their Name is commonly thought to have been deriv'd from the privative Particle *α* and *μαζός*, i. e. from their want of a Breast. Thus *Homer* of *Pandarus* (n),

Νευρὴν μὲν μαζῶν πάλασεν, τέξῃ δ' σίδηρον.

Up to the Head the mortal Shaft he drew,
The Bow-string touch'd his Breast.

There were several Sorts of Darts, or Javelins, as γρόσσοι, call'd in *Homer* αἰγανή (a), ὕαδες, and many others; some of which were projected by the Help of a Strap girt round their Middle, and call'd in *Greek* ἀγκύλη, in *Latin*, *amentum*: The Action is express'd by the Word ἀγκυλίσασθαι, which is also sometimes used in a more general Sense for any Sort of Darting, tho' without Straps. The Javelin thus cast was term'd μεσάγκυλον. The Custom is mentioned in the *Roman* as well as *Greek* Writers: Whence *Seneca* in his *Hippolytus*,

Amentum digitis tende prioribus,

Et totis jaculum dirige viribus.

The Strap with your Fore-finger draw,
Then shoot with all your Strength.

The ancient *Grecians* were wont to annoy their Enemies with great Stones. Thus *Agamemnon* in *Homer* (b);

Αὐτὰρ ὁ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπεπωλεῖτο σίχας ἀνδρῶν.

Εγχεῖ τ', ἄορί τε, μεγάλοις τε χερμαδίοισιν.

But he to other Ranks himself betook,

And here his Spear, his Sword, and Stones too struck
The flying Enemy.

These were not Stones of an ordinary Size, but such as the joint Strength of several Men in our Days would be unable so much as to lift. With a Stone of this Bigness *Diomedes* knocks down *Aeneas* in *Homer* (c);

— — — ὁ δ' ἔχερμαδιον λάβε χερσὶ

Τυδείδης, μέγα ἔργον, ὃ δ' δύο γ' ἀνδρε φέροιεν

Οἷτοι νῦν βεβήκοι εἰς, ὃ δέ μιν ῥέα πάλλε καὶ οἷ

Τῷ βάλεν Αἰνείας κατ' ἰσχίον — — —

————— a vast and monstrous Stone

The brave *Tydidēs* took and threw alone;

A Stone it was, so heavy and so great,

Not two the strongest Men could bear the Weight





Ajax likewise and *Hector* encounter'd one another with the same Weapons; and the latter (as the Poet tells us) had his Buckler broken with a Stone scarce inferior in Bigness to a Mill-stone (a);

Εἶσω δ' ἀσπίδ' ἑαζέβαλὼν μυλοειδέϊ πέτρῳ.

A Stone so big, you might a Mill-stone call,

He threw, which made the Shield in Pieces fall.

Nor did the Gods themselves disdain to make use of them; as appears from *Homer's Minerva*, who attack'd the God of War with a Stone of a prodigious Size, which had been in former Ages placed for a Land-mark (b);

Ἡ δ' ἀπαχασσάμενυ, λίθον εἶλετο χαρὶ παχείῃ
Κείμενον ἐν πεδίῳ, μέλανα, τρηχύν τε, μέγαν τε,
Τῶν ῥ' ἀνδρῶν πρότεροι δέξαν ἔμμεναι ἔρον ἀρένης.
Τῷ βάλε θῆρον Ἀρηὰ κατ' αὐχένα, λῦσε δ' γῆα.

———here stepping back,

A Stone, that long had lain to part the Land,

She forces up with her commanding Hand;

A sharp, black, heavy Stone, which, when 'twas thrown,

Struck *Mars's* Neck; the helpless God falls down

With shiv'ring Limbs.

Virgil has elegantly imitated some of these Passages in his twelfth *Æneid* (c); where he speaks of *Turnus* in this Manner:

*Nec plura effatus, saxum circumspicit ingens,
Saxum antiquum, ingens, campo quod forte jacebat
Limes agro positus, litem ut discerneret arvis:
Vix illud lecti bis sex cervice subirent,
Qualia nunc hominum producit corpora tellus:
Ille manu raptum trepidæ contorsit in hostem
Altior insurgens, & cursu concitus Heros.*

He spake no more, but straight a Stone he spy'd,

An old prodigious Stone, which to divide

The Lands there lay, lest Quarrels might ensue,

And one should claim what was another's Due.

Should fix the lustiest Men together try

To bear this Stone, it would their Strength defy;

On all which Relations, several modern, especially *French* Criticks, insult with Triumph, imagining them grossly absurd and ridiculous; whilst forming what they call Rules of Probability from the Manners of their own Times, there is scarce any Passage in all the Volumes of ancient Poetry, which does not, on some Score or other, foully disgust their curious and distinguishing Palates.

But however the heroic Fights were carried on in this Manner, as most of the ancient Poets witness; yet in nearer Ages, when they tell us Men's Strength and Courage were lessen'd, but their Policy and Conduct improv'd, we seldom find any Mention of Stones, except in Sieges, where the Defenders frequently roll'd down vast Rocks upon their Enemies Heads. They were likewise cast out of several Engines, of which the most common in Field Engagements was,

Στενδόν, a Sling; which, we are told by some, was invented by the Natives of the *Balearian* Islands, where it was managed with so great Art and Dexterity, that young Children were not allow'd any Food by their Mothers, till they could sling it down from the Beam, where it was plac'd aloft (a); and when they arrived to be of Age to serve in the Wars, this was the principal of their offensive Arms; it being customary for all of them to be furnish'd with three Slings, which either hung about their Necks, according to *Eusebius* (b); or were carried, one on their Necks, one in their Hands, a third about their Loins (c). Hence the *Balearian* Slings are famous in antient Writers. I observe this one Instance only out of *Ovid* (d):

*Non secus exarsit, quam cum Balearica plumbum
Funda jacit; volat illud, & incandescit eundo,
Et quos non habuit, sub nubibus invenit ignes.*

—————He burnt within,
Just like the Lead the *Balearian* Sling
Hurls out; you hear the Bullet whistling fly,
And Heat attends it all along the Sky,
The Clouds the Fire, it wants itself, supply.

E. D.

It was likewise common in *Greece*, especially among the *Acarnanians* (e), who were well skill'd in managing it, and are by some thought to have invented it: Others give that Honour to the *Ætolians* (f). But none of the *Grecians* managed it with so great Art and Dexterity as the *Achaians*, who inhabited *Ægium*, *Dyma*, and *Patra*: They were brought up to this Exercise from their Infan-

Whence it became a Custom to call any Thing directly levell'd at the Mark *Αχαιὸν βέλος* (*a*). This Weapon was us'd for the most Part by the common and light-arm'd Soldiers: *Cyrus* is said to have thought it very unbecoming any Officer (*b*); and *Alexander*, endeavouring to render his Enemies as contemptible to his own Soldiers as he could, tells them, "They were a confus'd and disorderly Rabble, some of them having no Weapon, but a Javelin; others were design'd for no greater Service, than to cast Stones out of a Sling, and very few were regularly arm'd (*c*)."
The Form of a Sling we may learn from *Dionysus*, by whom the Earth is said to resemble it, being not exactly spherical, but extended out in Length, and broad in the Middle; for Slings resembled a platted Rope, somewhat broad in the Middle, with an oval Compass, and so by little and little decreasing into two Thongs, or Reins. The *Geographer's* Words are these (*d*);

Οὐ μὲν πᾶσα διαπρὸ περίδρομος, ἀλλὰ διαμφίς
Εὐρυτέρῃ βεβαυῖα πρὸς ἡλίοιο κελεύθους,
Σφενδόνῃ ἐοικυῖα—————

It's Matter seems not to have been always the same; in *Homer* we find it compos'd of a Sheep's Fleece; and therefore, one of the Heroes being wounded in the Hand, *Agenor* binds it with his Sling (*e*);

Αὐτὴν (sc. χεῖρα) ᾗ ξυνέδησαν ἑὺσρόφῳ οἶδς αὐτῷ,
Σφενδόνῃ, ἣν ἄρα οἱ θεράπων ἔχε ποιμένι λαῶν.

A Sling of Wool he to his Hand apply'd,
One of his Servants held it.

Out of it were cast Arrows, Stones, and Plummets of Lead, call'd *μολυβδίδεις*, or *μολυβδῖναι σφαῖραι*, some of which weigh'd no less than an *Attic* Pound, i. e. an hundred Drachms. It was distinguish'd into several Sorts; some were managed by one, others by two, some by three Cords.

The Manner of Slinging was by whirling it twice or thrice about their Head, and so casting out the Bullet. Thus *Mexentius* in *Virgil* (*f*):

Ipse ter adducta circum caput egit habena.

Thrice round his Head the loaded Sling he whirl'd.

Fundam Varro vocat, quem possis mittere funda.

It's Force was so great, that neither Head-piece, Buckler, or any other Armour was a sufficient Defence against it ; and so vehement it's Motion, that (as *Seneca* reports) the Plummets were frequently melted.

Lastly, we find Mention of Fire-balls, or Hand-granado's, call'd πυρσφοί λίθαι, &c. One Sort of them are call'd σκυτάλα, or σκυταλίδες, which were compos'd of Wood, and some of them a Foot, others a Cubit in Length : Their Heads were arm'd with Spikes of Iron, beneath which were plac'd Torches, Hemp, Pitch, or such like combustible Matter, which being set on Fire, they were thrown with great Force towards the Enemy's first Ranks, Head-foremost, whereby the Iron-spikes being fasten'd to whatever came in their Way, they burn'd down all before them (a) : Wherefore they seem to have been of the greatest Use, in Leaguers, to demolish the Enemy's Works ; tho' my Author mentioneth no such Thing.

Concerning Military Apparel, nothing certain or constant can be related ; only it may be observ'd, that *Lycurgus* order'd the *Lacedæmonians* to cloath their Soldiers with Scarlet. The Reason of which Institution seems either to have been, because that Colour is both soonest imbib'd by Cloth, and most lasting and durable (b) : Or on the Account of it's Brightness and Splendor, which the Law-giver thought conducive to raise Men's Spirits, and most suitable to Minds animated with true Valour (c) ; or, lastly, because 'twas most proper to conceal the Stains of Blood, a Sight of which might either dispirit the raw and unexperienc'd Soldiers of their own Party, or inspire their Enemies with fresh Life and Vigour (d) : Which *Eusebius* observes to have been well and wisely consider'd, when he comments on that Passage of *Homer*, where the cowardly *Trojans*, upon seeing *Ulysses'* Blood flow from his Wound, receive new Courage, and, animating one another, rush with mighty Force upon the Hero (e) :

Τρῶες δ' ἐμεγαθυμοί, ἐπεὶ ἴδον αἷμ' Ὀδυσῆος,
Κεκλόμενοι καὶ δ' ὀμίλον, ἐπ' αὐτῷ πάντες ἔστησαν.

—The *Trojans* saw *Ulysses'* Blood

Gush from his Wounds ; then with new Life inspir'd,

Each stirr'd the other up, and with Joint-Force

Rush'd on the Hero.

Tis farther remarkable of the *Lacedæmonians*, that they never engag'd their Enemies, but with Crowns and Garlands upon their Heads (f),

ning themselves of Success, and, as it were, anticipating
ry. Crowns being the ordinary Rewards presented to Con-
all the Parts of *Greece*. So wonderful, indeed, were the
monians Courage and Fortune, that they encounter'd their
arless and unconcern'd, joining Battle with Assurance of
hich was a Thing so common to them, that for their
esses they seldom sacrific'd to the Gods any more than a
were they much elevated when the happy News ar-
ade Presents of any Value to the Messengers thereof, as
ther Cities: For, after the famous Battle of *Mantineæ*,
erson, that carried the Express of Victory, rewarded on-
e of powder'd Beef (a).

s usually carried their own Provisions, which consisted,
rt, of Salt-Meat, Cheese, Olives, Onions, &c To
ry one had a Vessel of Wickers (b), with a long, nar-
d γύλιον, whence Men with long Necks are by the
d in Derision γυλλιαύχες (c).

CHAP. V.

Of the Athenian and Lacedæmonian Armies.

* Cities being govern'd by different Laws, the Na-
tles of Offices, whether in Military or Civil Af-
fluence be distinguished. Wherefore it being an
g to recount the various Commands throughout the
ion, I shall only present you in this Place with a
chief Offices in the *Athenian* and *Lacedæmonian*

times, when most States were govern'd by Kings,
nd belong'd to them of Course; and it was one
r Duty towards their Subjects, to lead them forth
r Enemies, and in single Combat to encounter
the Head of their Armies. And it may be ob-
Prince thro' Cowardice, or other Weakness,
protect his People, it was customary for them,
giance, to substitute a Person better qualify'd
able Instance whereof we have in *Thymetes* an
eclining a Challenge sent by *Xanthus* King of
without farther ado, and succeeded by a Fo-
a *Messenian*, who undertook to revenge the
e *Boeotians* (d).

Yet on some Occasions it was not impracticable for the King to nominate a Person of eminent Worth and Valour to be his Πολέμαρχος, or General, who either commanded under the King, or, when the Emergency of other Affairs requir'd his Absence, supply'd his Place : Which honourable Post was conferr'd by King *Erechtheus* upon *Ion* the son of *Xuthus*, in the *Eleusinian War* (a).

But, the Government being at length devolv'd upon the People, Affairs were managed after a new Method : For, all the Tribes being invested with an equal Share of Power, 'twas appointed that each of them should nominate a Commander out of their own Body. That this was done in the Time of *Cimon*, appears from *Plutarch* (b). But whether each of the Tribes perpetually made Choice of one of their own Body, or sometimes nam'd Men of other Tribes, is not very certain. No Person was appointed to this Command, unless he had Children and Land within the Territory of *Athens* (c). Those were accounted Pledges to the Commonwealth : And sometimes the Children were punish'd for the Treason of their Fathers. Which, tho' seemingly cruel and unjust, was yet *Antiquum & Omnium Civitatum*, an antient Custom, and receiv'd in all Cities, as *Cicero* hath observ'd (d). He gives us in the same Place an Instance in *Themistocles's* Children, who suffer'd for the Crimes of their Father. Hence *Sidon* in *Virgil*, pretending to have quitted the *Grecian* for the *Trojan* Interest, speaks thus of his Children (e) :

Quos illi fors ad pœnas ob nostra reposit
Effugia, & culpam banc miserorum morte piabunt.

To return to our Subject. The Nomination of the Generals was made in an Assembly of the People, which on this Occasion was conven'd in the *Pnyx*, and frequently lighted upon the same Persons, if they behav'd themselves with Courage and Prudence, and executed their Office for the Safety and Honour of their Country ; insomuch that 'tis reported of *Phocion*, that he was a Commander five and forty Times, tho' he never sued, or canvas'd for that Honour, but was always promoted by the free and voluntary Choice of the People (f). Before their Admission to Office, they took an Oath of Fidelity to the Commonwealth, wherein one Thing is more peculiarly remarkable, viz. That they oblig'd themselves to invade the *Megarians* twice every Year : Which Clause was first inserted in the Oath by a Decree preferr'd by *Charinus*, on the Account of *Anthemocritus* an *Athenian* Herald, whom the *Megarians* had barbarously murder'd about the Beginning of the *Peloponnesian War* (g). This done, the Command of all the Forces, and warlike Preparations, was entrusted in their Hands. to be employ'd and manag'd as they judg'd convenient : Yet

that, upon the Expiration of their Command, they should be liable to render an Account of their Administration: Only, on some extraordinary Occasions, it seem'd fit to exempt them from this Restraining, and send them with full and uncontrollable Authority, and then they were stil'd *Αυτοκράτορες* (a): Which Title was conferr'd on *Aristides*, when he was General at the famous Battle of *Plataea*; upon *Nicias*, *Alcibiades*, and *Lamachus* in the *Sicilian Expedition*, and several others (b). These Commanders were Ten, according to the Number of the *Athenian Tribes*, and all called *Στρατηγοί*, being invested with equal Power; and about the first Times of their Creation frequently dispatch'd all together in Expeditions of Concern and Moment, where every one enjoy'd the supreme Command by Days. But, left in controverted Matters an Equality of Voices should retard their Proceedings, we find an eleventh Person join'd in Commission with them, and call'd *Πολέμαρχος*, whose Vote, added to either of the contesting Parties, weigh'd down the Ballance, as may appear from *Herodotus's* Account of the *Athenian Affairs* in the *Median War*. To the same Person the Command of the left Wing of the Army belong'd of Right (c).

But afterwards it was look'd on as unnecessary, and perhaps not very expedient, for so many Generals to be sent with equal Power to manage Military Affairs: Wherefore, tho' the antient Number was elect'd every Year, they were not all oblig'd to attend the Wars; but one, two, or more, as Occasion requir'd, were dispatch'd to that Service: The *Polemarchus* was diverted to civil Business, and became Judge of a Court, where he had Cognizance of Law-suits between the Natives, or Freemen of *Athens*, and Foreigners: The rest of the Generals had every Man his proper Employment; yet none were wholly free from Military Concerns, but determin'd all Controversies that happen'd amongst Men of that Profession, and order'd all the Affairs of War that lay in the City (d). Hence they came to be distinguish'd into two Sorts, one they term'd, *τὰς ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως*, because they *administred* the City-Business; the other, *τὰς ἐπὶ τῶν ὁπλῶν*, from their Concern about Arms. The latter of these list'd and disbanded Soldiers as there was Occasion (e), and, in short, had the whole Management of War devolv'd upon them during their Continuance in that Post, which seems not to have been long, it being customary for the Generals who remain'd in the City, to take their Turns of serving in the War (f).

Ταξιάρχοι were likewise ten, (every Tribe having the Privilege of electing one) and commanded next under the *Στρατηγοί*. They had the Care of *Marshalling* the Army, gave Orders for their Marches, and what Provisions every Soldier should furnish himself with, which were convey'd to the Army by public *Criers*. They had also Power to cashier any of the common Soldiers, if convicted of Misdemeanors.

Ἰππάρχοι were only two in Number (a), and had the chief Command of the Cavalry next under the Στρατηγοί (b).

Φύλαρχοι were ten; one being nominated for every Tribe. They were subordinate Officers to the Ἰππάρχοι, and invested with Authority to discharge Horsemen, and to fill up the Vacancies, as Occasion required (c).

Thus much of the general Officers. The Inferiours usually derived their Titles from the Squadron, or Number of Men under their Command: As λοχαγοί, χιλιάρχοι, ἐκατόνταρχοι, δεκάδραρχοι, πεμπάδραρχοι, &c. Proceed we in the next Place to the Commanders of the Spartan Army.

The supreme Command was lodged in one Person; for the Lacedæmonians, however fond of Aristocracy in civil Affairs, found by Experience, that in War a Monarchical Government was on several Accounts preferable to all others (d): For it happening that once upon a Difference in Opinion between their two Kings, Demaratus and Cleomenes, the former withdrew his Part of the Army, and left his Colleague expos'd to the Enemy, a Law was hereupon enacted, that for the future they should never command the Army together, as had been usual before that Misfortune (e). Yet upon extraordinary Occasions, when the Safety and Honour of the State was in Dispute, they had so much Prudence, as rather by transgressing the Letter of the Law to secure their Country, than by insisting on Niceties to bring it into Danger: For we find that, when Agis was engaged in a dangerous War with the Argians and Mantineans, Plistonax his Fellow-King, having raised an Army out of such Citizens, as by their Age were at other Times excused from Military Service, went in Person to his Assistance (f).

The General's Title (as some say) was Βάσις (g), which others will have common to all other Military Officers. He was ordinarily one of the Kings of Sparta; it being appointed by one of Lycurgus's Laws, that this Honour should belong to the Kings: But in Cases of Necessity, as in their King's Minority, a Protector, or Viceroy, called ἀνὴρ δυνάμεως, was substituted for the Management of military, as well as civil Affairs (h). 'Twas under this Character that Lycurgus reform'd and new-modell'd the Lacedæmonian Polity, and commanded their Armies during the Infancy of King Charilaus (i). Pausanias also was Tutor to Plistarchus, when he led the Lacedæmonians, and the rest of the Grecians against Mardonius, Xerxes's Lieutenant at Plataea (k).

This only concern'd their Land Armies, for the Laws made no Provision for their Fleets, the Law-giver having positively forbidden them to meddle with Marine Affairs. Wherefore when they became Masters of a Navy, they confined not their Elections of Admirals to the Royal House, but rather chose to commit that great Trust to their

most able and experienced Seamen; as may appear from the Instances of *Lyfander*, and several others, who commanded the *Spartan* Fleets, tho' never invested with Royal Power. Nor was it ordinarily permitted their Kings, when entrusted with Land-Armies, to undertake the Office of Admiral: The only Person honour'd with those two Commands at the same Time, was the *Great Agesilaus* (a).

The King, however limited and restrain'd when at Home, was supreme and absolute in the Army, it being provided by a particular Precept of the Law, that all others should be subordinate to him, and ready to obey his Commands (b). Notwithstanding this, he was not always left wholly to himself, and the Prosecution of his own Measures; it being customary for some of the Magistrates call'd *Ephori*, to accompany him, and assist him with their Advice (c). To these, on some Occasions, others were joined. When *Agis* had unadvisedly enter'd into a League with the *Argians*, at a Time when it lay in his Power to have forc'd them to accept of Terms far more honourable to his Country, the *Spartans* highly resent'd his Imprudence, and enacted a Decree, that he should never again command an Army, without ten Counsellors to go along with him. Whether the succeeding Kings were hereby obliged, does not fully appear; but it seems probable, they were not sent to the Wars without a Council, consisting, if not of the same, however of a considerable Number of the wisest Men in *Sparta*. *Agesipolis* was attended with no less than thirty (d): And tho' the Tenderness of his Age might occasion that extraordinary Provision, yet in Wars of great Concern, or Danger, and such as were carried on in remote Countries, Kings of the greatest Experience, and most eminent for Conduct, were not trusted without a great Number of Counsellors: For we are told, that *Agesilaus* himself, when he made his Expedition into *Asia*, was obliged by a Decree of the People to take thirty along with him (e).

Besides these, the General was guarded by three hundred valiant *Spartans*, call'd *Ιππῆες*, or Horse-Men, who fought about his Person (f), and were much of the same Nature with *Romulus's* Life-Guards, call'd *Celeres*, or Light-Horse, as *Dionysius of Halicarnassus* reports. Before him fought all those that had obtained Prizes in the Sacred Games, which was look'd upon as one of the most honourable Posts in the Army, and esteem'd equivalent to all the glorious Rewards conferr'd on those Victors in other Cities (g).

The chief of the subordinate Officers was call'd *Πολέμαρχος*. The Titles of the rest will easily be understood from the Names of the Parties under their Command, being all deriv'd from them: Such as *Δοχαγωγοί*, *Πεντηκόςτρες*, *Ενωμοτάρχαι*, &c.

C H A P. VI.

*Of the several Divisions, and Forms of the Grecian Army,
with other Military Terms.*

THE whole Army, as compounded of Horse and Foot, was call'd *στρατία*. The Front *μέτωπον*, or *πρῶτον ζυγὸς*; the Right-Hand Man of which, as in other Places, was *πρωτοστάτης*: The Wings, *κέρατα*, of which some make *Pan*, *Bacchus's* General in his *Indian Expedition*, to have been the first Inventor; The Soldiers herein, and their Leader, *παρεστάται*; Those in the middle Ranks *ἐπιστάται*: The Rear, *ἑσχατον*, or *ὀπισθοφυλαξ (α)*; which seem to have been common Names for any others that obtain'd the like Places in smaller Bodies.

Πεμπάς was a Party of five Soldiers; it's Leader, *Πεμπάδαρχον*. *Δεκάς* of ten; it's Leader, *Δεκάδαρχον*. And so of the rest.

Λόχος consisted of eight, as others of twelve, or as some, of sixteen, which was a compleat *λόχος*, tho' some make that to contain no less than twenty-five. It is sometimes term'd *σίχον*, or *δεκανία*, and it's Leader *Λοχαγός*.

Διμοίρια, or *Ημιλοχία*, was an half *λόχος*; it's Leader, *Διμοιρίτης*, or *Ημιλοχίτης*.

Συλλοχισμός was a Conjunction of several *λόχοι*: Sometimes 'tis term'd *σύσασις*, which consisted of four half, or two compleat *λόχοι*, containing thirty-two men.

Πεντηκονταρχία, however the Name imports only fifty, was usually a double *σύσασις*, consisting of four *λόχοι*, or sixty-four Men: Whence it's Leader was not only term'd *Πεντηκόνταρχον*, but *Τετράρχης*, and, for *πεντηκονταρχία*, we sometimes find *τετραρχία*.

Εκατονταρχία, sometimes call'd *τάξις*, consisted of two of the former, containing an hundred and twenty-eight Men. It's Commander was antiently call'd *Ταξίαρχον*, but afterwards the Name of *Εκατόνταρχον* generally prevail'd. To every *Εκατονταρχία* were assign'd five necessary Attendants, call'd *ἑκτακτοι*, as not being reckon'd in the Ranks with the Soldiers. These were,

1. *Στρατοκλήυξ*, the Cryer, who convey'd by Voice the Words of Command. He was usually a Man of strong Lungs: The most re-

Ἐνθα ᾤσ' ἥυσε θεὰ λευκώλενος Ἥρη
 Στήν' ἰοι εἰσαμένη μεγάλητοιοι, χαλκροφώνω,
 Ὃς τόσον αὐδῆσας χ', ὅσον ἄλλοι πενήκοντα.

Justo there clamours with imperious Sway,
 Like bawling *Stentor*, when his Lungs gave way,
 Whose Voice would open in a mighty Shout
 As loud as fifty Men's.—

2. *Σημαιοφόρος*, the Ensign, remitted by Signs the Officers Commands to the Soldiers; and was of Use in conveying Things not to be pronounced openly, or discover'd; and when the Noise of War drown'd the Cryer's Voice.

3. *Σαλπικτής*, or Trumpeter, was necessary, as well to signify to the Soldiers the Will of their Commanders, when Dust render'd the two former useless, as to animate and encourage them, and on several other Accounts.

4. *Υπηρέτης*, was a Servant, that waited on the Soldiers to supply them with Necessaries. These four were placed next to the foremost Rank.

5. *Ουραγός*, the Lieutenant, brought up the Rear, and took care that none of the Soldiers were left behind, or deserted.

Σύνταγμα, *παράταξις*, *φιλαγία*, and, according to some, *ξεναγία*, was compounded of two *τάξεις*, being made up of two hundred fifty-six Men. The Commander, *Συνταγματάρχης*.

Πεντακοσιάρχία, or *ξεναγία*, contain'd two *σύνταγματα*, i. e. five hundred and twelve Men. The Commander's Name was *Πεντακοσιάρχης*, or *Ξεναγός*.

Χιλίανρχία, *σύσρεμμα*, and (as some think) *ξεναγία*, was the former doubled, and consisted of a thousand and twenty-four. The Commander, *Χιλίαρχος*, *Χιλιοςός*, or *Συσρεμματάρχης*.

Μεσσηρχία, by some call'd *τέλος*, by others *ἐπιξεναγία*, contain'd two of the former, i. e. Two thousand forty-eight. The Commander, *Μεσσηρχης*, *Τετάρχης*, or *Επιξεναγός*.

Φαλαγγαρχία, sometimes call'd *μέγας ἀποτομή κέρατος*, *σίρ*, and by the Antients *σεσθηγία*, was compounded of two *τέλη*; and contained four thousand fourscore and sixteen, or four thousand thirty-six, according to others. The Officer, *Φαλαγγάρχης*, and *Σίρηνος*.

Διφασγία *κέρας*, *ἐπίταγμα*, (and as some think) *μέγας*, was almost a Duplicate of the former, for it consisted of eight thousand

signify'd by this Name, it being frequently taken for the whole Body of Foot, and as often in general for any Company of Soldiers. Indeed the Grecian Battles were usually rang'd into an Order peculiarly term'd *Phalanx*; which was of such Strength, that it was able to bear any Shock with what Violence soever charg'd upon them. The *Macedonians* were the most famous for this Way of Imbattling; their *Phalanx* is describ'd by *Polybius* to be a square Battail of Pike-Men, consisting of sixteen in Flank, and five hundred in Front; the Soldiers standing so close together, that the Pikes of the fifth Rank were extended three Feet beyond the Front of the Battail: The rest, whose Pikes were not serviceable by reason of their Distance from the Front, couch'd them upon the Shoulders of these that stood before them, and so, locking them together in File, press'd forward to support and push on the former Ranks, whereby the Assault was render'd more violent and irresistible. The Commander was call'd *Φαλαγγάρχης*.

Μῆκος φαλαγγος was the Length or first Rank of the *Phalanx*, reaching from the farthest Extremity of one Wing to that of another. 'Tis the same with *μέτωπον, πρῶτον, τόμα, παράταξις, πρωτολοχία, πρωτοστάται, πρῶτος ζυγός, &c.* The Ranks behind were call'd, according to their Order, *δευτέραι, τρίτος ζυγός, &c.*

Βάθος or *στάχος φαλαγγος*, sometimes call'd *ταῖχος*, was the Depth, consisting in the Number of Ranks from Front to Rear.

Ζυγοὶ φαλαγγος, were the Ranks taken according to the Length of the *Phalanx*.

Σίχαι or *λόχαι*, were the Files measur'd according to the Depth.

Διχοστομία φαλαγγος, the Distribution of the *Phalanx* into two equal Portions, which were term'd *πλευραὶ κέρατα, &c.* or Wings: The Left of these was *κέραι ἐναντιμον*, and ἑρὰς The Right, *κέραι δεξιόν, κεφαλὴ, δεξιὸν ἀκρωτήριον, δεξιὰ ἀρχή, &c.*

Ἄραρες, ὁμοαλδός, συνοχή φαλαγγος, the Body, or Middle Part between the Wings.

Ἀσπίσμοδος φαλαγγος, the lessening the Depth of the *Phalanx* by cutting off some of it's Files.

Ορεθία, ἐτερομήκης, or παραμήκης φαλαγγος, acies recta, or the Horse, wherein the Depth exceeded the Length.

Πλαγία φαλαγγος differ'd from the former, being broad in Front, and narrow in Flank; whereas the other was narrow in Front, and broad in Flank (a).

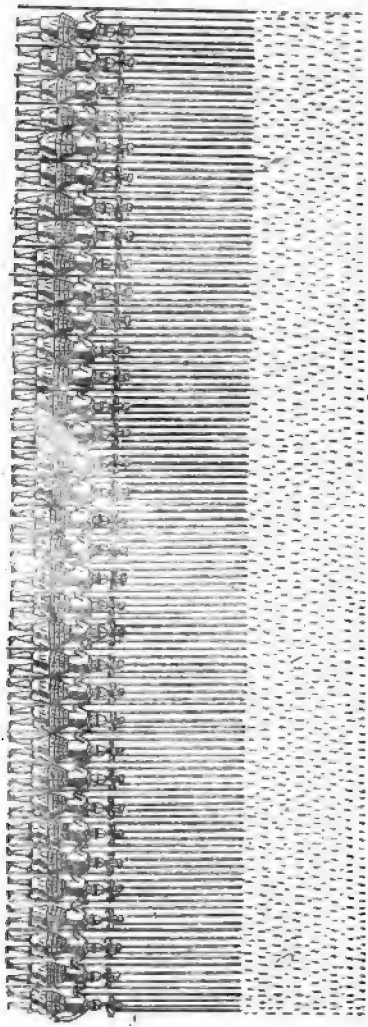
Λοξὴ φαλαγγος or *obliqua acies*, when one Wing was advanc'd near the Enemy's, to begin the Battle, the other holding off at a convenient Distance.

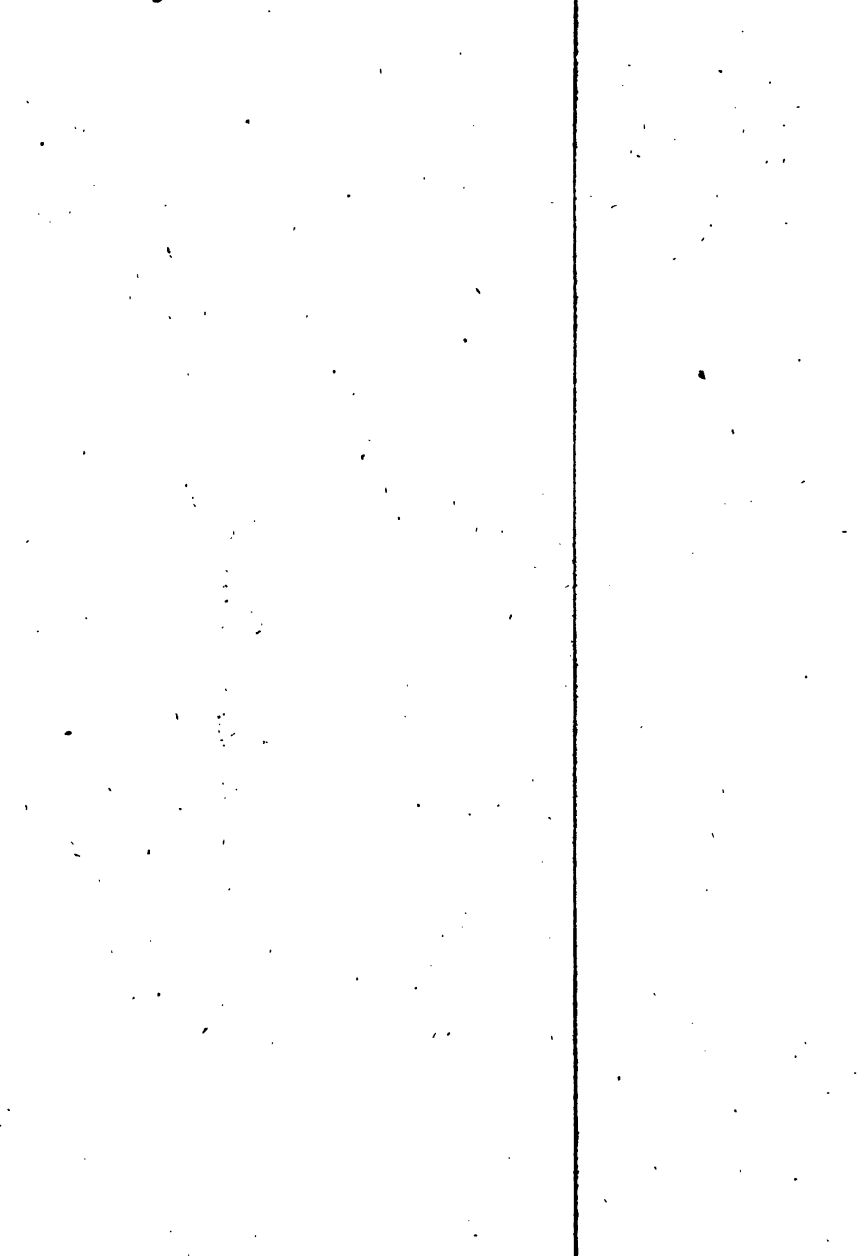
Ἀμφοῖσμον φαλαγγος, when the Soldiers were placed Back to Back, that they might every Way face their Enemies: Which Form of *Battalia* was used when they were in Danger of being surrounded.

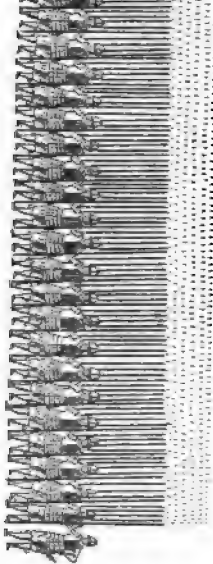
Ἀντισμῶν φαλαγγος differ'd herein from the former, that it was form'd Length-ways, and engag'd at both Flanks: whereas the former

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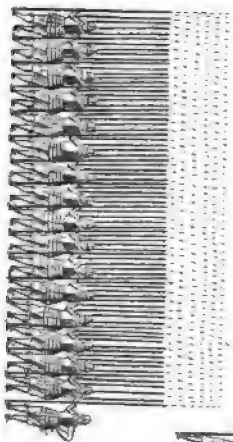
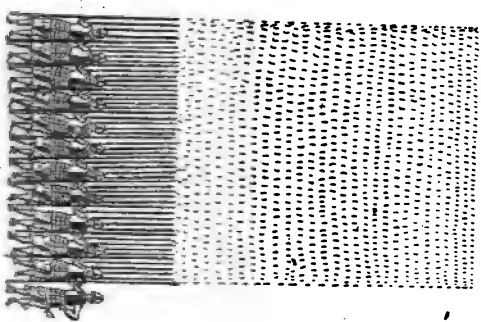
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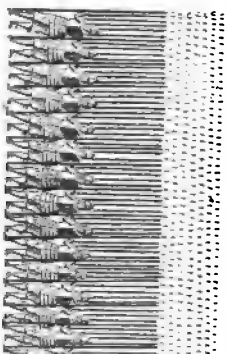


Orthophalanx or y^e Herse



The Front

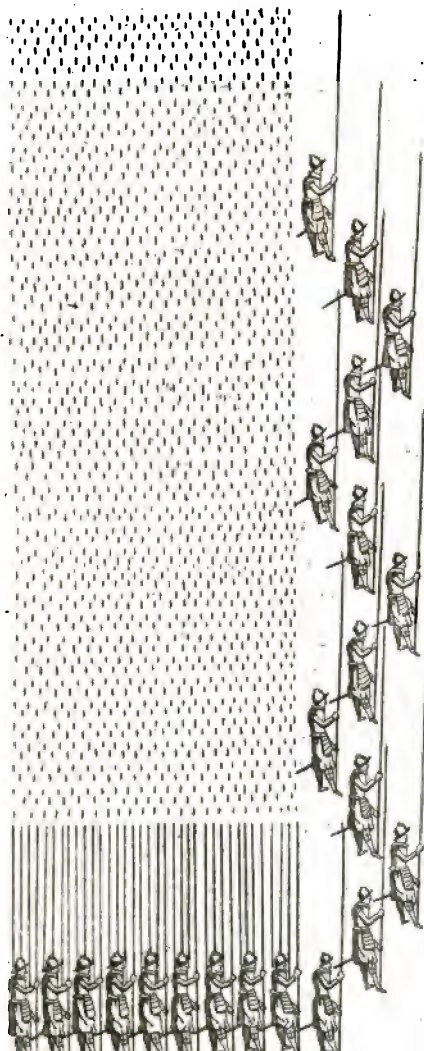
*Laxe Phalanx or y^e mixed
Phalange —*



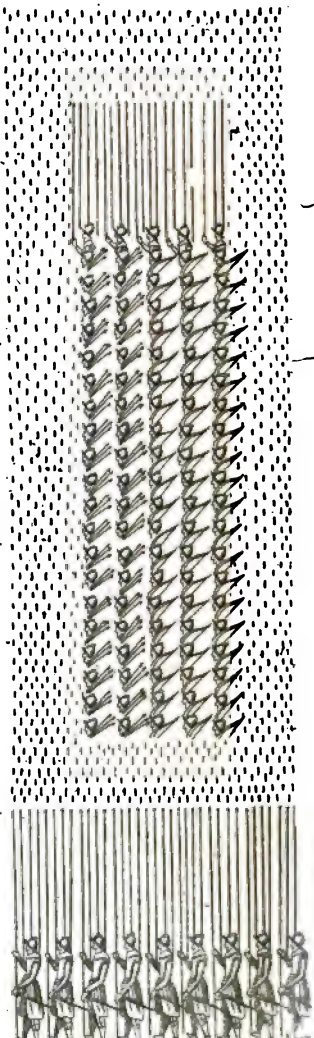


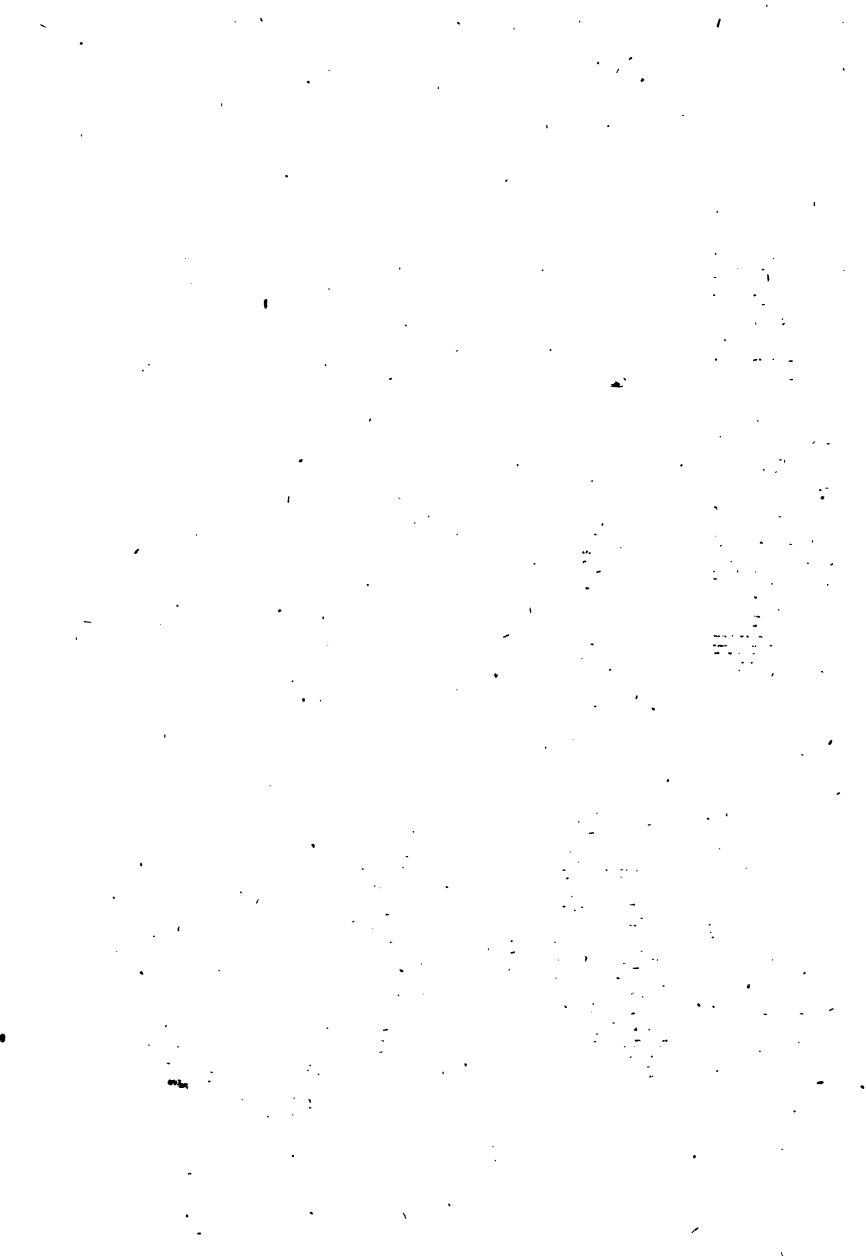


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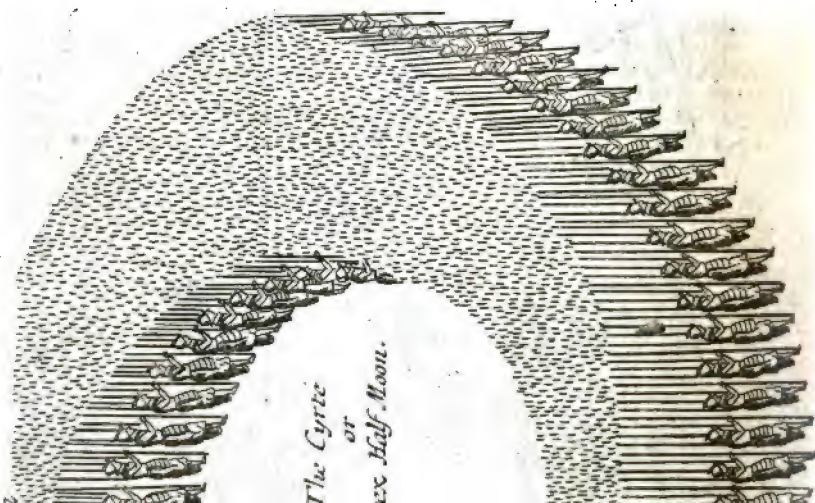
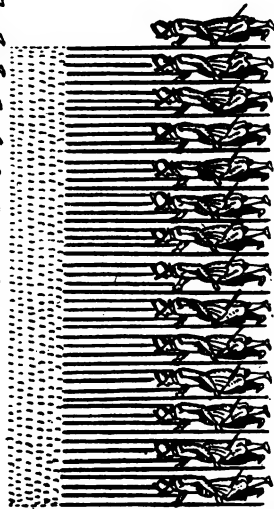
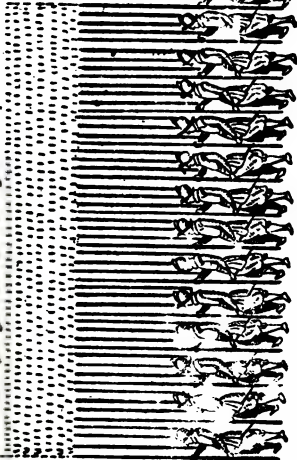
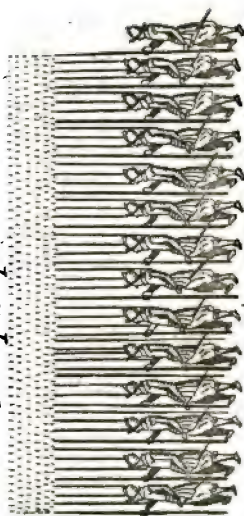


The Plæsum

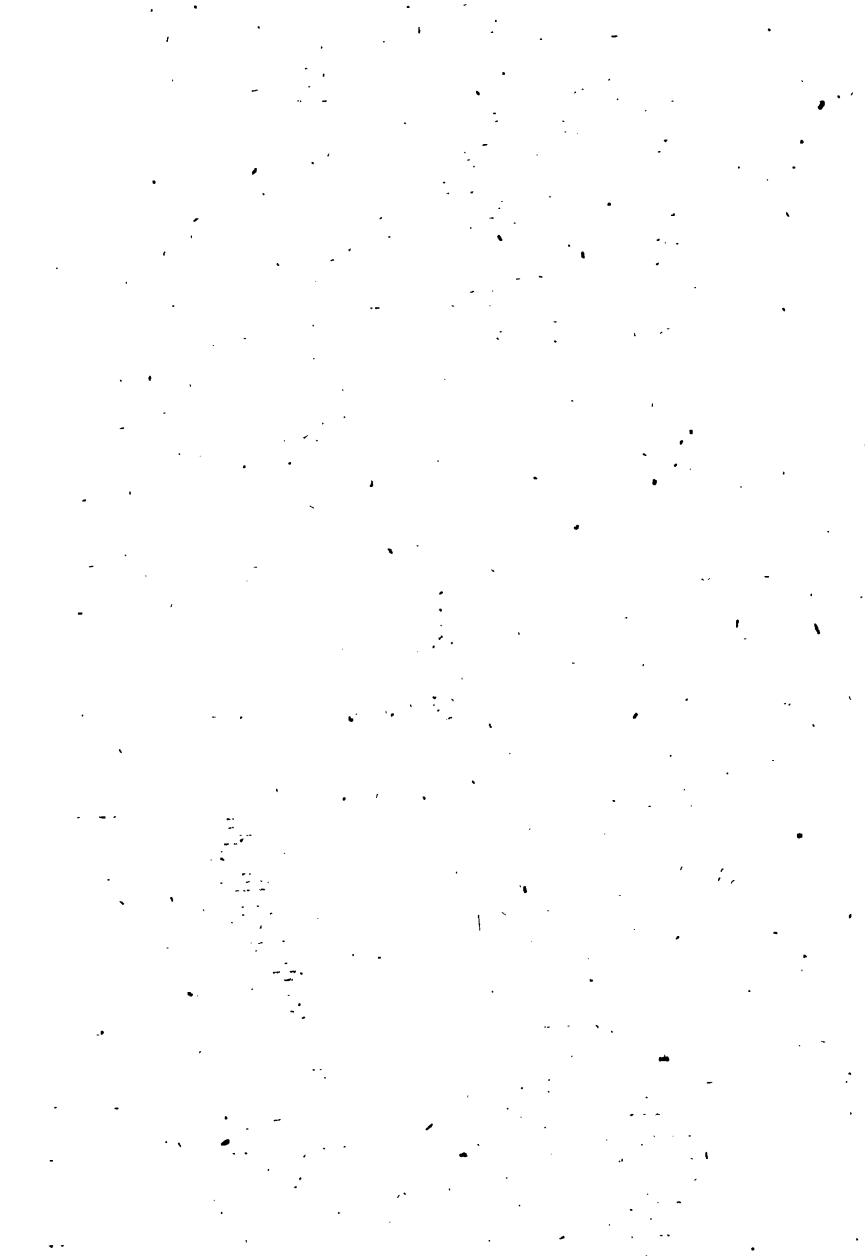




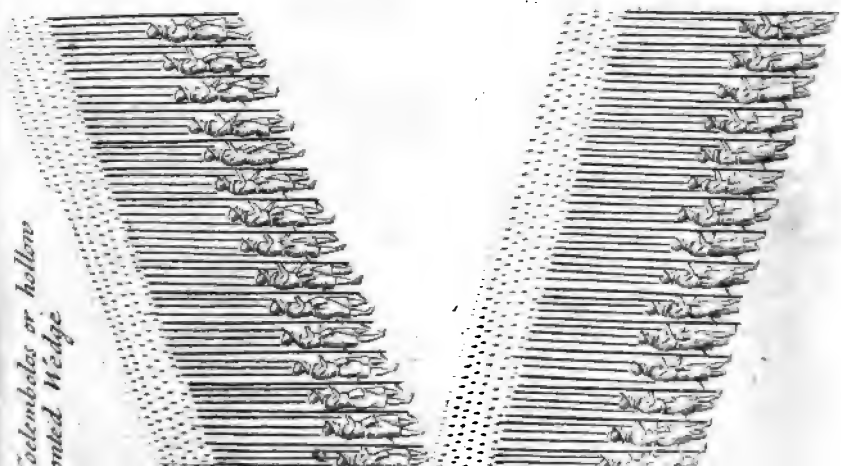
The epicurmas



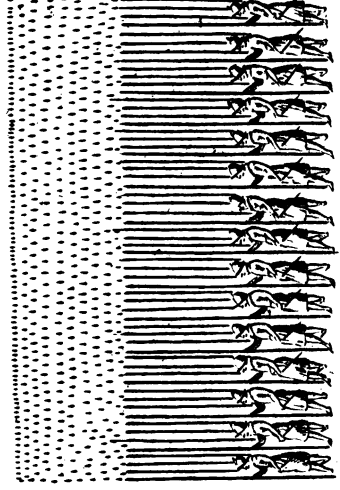
*The Cyrie
or
the Half Moon.*



Podembolas or hollow
pointed Wedge

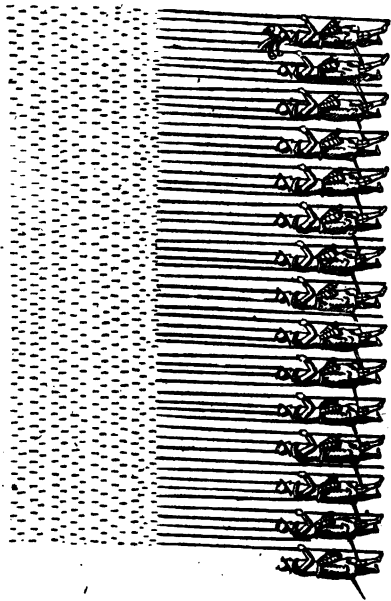


The Induction



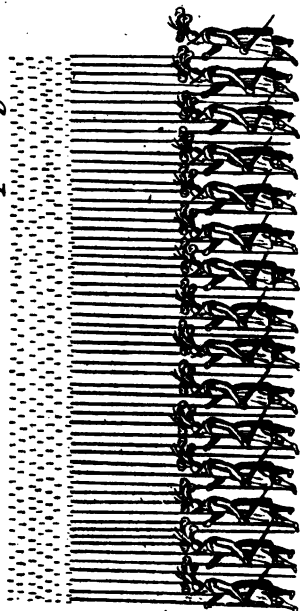
The Front

*The Battail call'd
Plinthum*



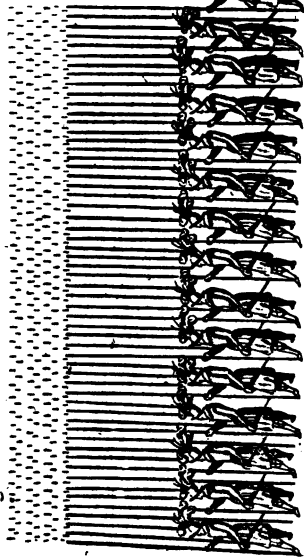
P. 57

The Diphulvigiis



Monwistomus

P. 59



Ἀμφιστοιμῶς διατάλυσια, when the Leaders were placed in both Fronts, but the Οὐραγοί, who followed the Rear, transplanted into the Middle, so that their Enemies were confronted on all Sides.

Ἀντίστοιχῶς διατάλυσια was contrary to the former, having the Οὐραγοί and their Rear on the two Sides, and the rest of the Commanders, who were placed at other Times in the Front, in the Middl, facing one another: In which Form, the Front, opening in two Parts, so clos'd again, that the Wings succeeded in it's Place, and the last Ranks were transplanted into the former Place of the Wings.

Ὁμοίοισιν ὁ διατάλυσια was, when both the *Phalanx's* had their Officers on the same Side, one marching behind the other in the same Form.

Ἐκρέστωσιν διατάλυσια, when the Commanders of one *Phalanx* were plac'd on the Right Flank, and the other on the Left.

Πεπλαγμένη φάλαγξ, when it's Form was changed, as the Way requir'd, thro' which it march'd.

Ἐπικαμπῆς φάλαγξ represented an Half-Moon, the Wings turn'd backwards, and main Body advanced toward the Enemy, or on the contrary.

The same was call'd κυρτὴ and κοίλη, being convex and hollow.

Ἐσπαρμένη φάλαγξ, when the Parts of the *Battalia* stood at an unequal Distance from the Enemy, some jetting out before others.

ὑπερφάλαγγις, when both Wings were extended beyond the adverse Army's Front; when only one, ὑπερκρήσις.

Ρουβειδῆς φάλαγξ, call'd likewise σφηνοειδῆς, a *Battalia* with four equal, but not rectangular, Sides, representing the Figure of a Diamond. This Figure was us'd by the *Thessalians*, being first contrived by their Country-Man *Jason*. Indeed most of the common Forms of *Battalia's* in *Greece*, in *Sicily* also, and *Perfia*, seem to have been devis'd after this, or some other Square (a).

Ἐμβέλαν. *Rostum*, or *Cuneus*, was a *Rhombus* divided in the Middle, having three Sides, and representing the Figure of a Wedge, or the Letter Δ. The Design of this Form was to pierce, and enter forcibly into the Enemies Body.

Κοιλέμβολον, or *Forfex*, was the *Cuneus* transvers'd, and wanting the *Bevis*: It represented a Pair of *Sheers*, or the Letter V; and seems to have been design'd to receive the *Cuneus*.

Πλατὺς, Πανθία, *lanceulus*, an Army drawn up in the Figure of a Brick or Tile, with four unequal Sides; it's Length was extended towards the Enemy, and exceeded the Depth.

Πυργός, *Turris*, was the *Brick* inverted, being an oblong Square, after the Fashion of a Tower, with the small End towards the Enemy. This Form is mention'd by *Homer* (b);

οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ περὶ γυνδὸν σφίεας αὐτὰς ἀρτύναντες.

Wheeling themselves into a Tower's Form.

Πλαίσιον had an oblong Figure, but approaching nearer to a Circle than Quadrangle.

Τερνδών, was an Army extended at Length with a very few Men in a Rank, when the Ways they march'd thro' could not be pass'd in broader Ranks: The Name is taken from a Worm that insinuates itself into little Holes in Wood. On the same Account we find mention of φάλαγξ ξιφοειδής, so rang'd, as it were, to pierce thro' the Passages.

Πυκνωσις φάλαγξ was the ranging Soldiers close together, so that, whereas in other *Battalia's* every Man was allow'd four Cubits Space on each Side, in this he took up only two.

Συνασπισμός was closer than the former, one Cubit's Room being allow'd to every Soldier: 'Tis so call'd from Bucklers, which were all joined close to one another.

Several other Forms of *Battalia* may occur in Authors, as those drawn in all the sorts of *Spherical* Figures. One of these was call'd ἴλη, first invented by *Ilion* of *Thessaly*, representing the Figure of an Egg, into which the *Thessalians* commonly rang'd their Horse (α). 'Tis commonly taken for any Party of Horse of what Number soever, but sometimes in a more limited Sense for a Troop of sixty-four.

Ἐπιλαρχία contained two ἴλαι, i. e. One hundred and twenty-eight.

Ταραντιναρχία was a Duplicate of the former, consisting of two hundred fifty-six: For they commonly us'd a Sort of Horsemen, call'd Ταραντίνοι, or ἵππαγωνισταί, who annoy'd their Enemies with missive Weapons, being unable to sustain a close Fight by reason of their light Armour. There was likewise another Sort of *Tarentine* Horsemen, who, having discharg'd their missive Weapons, engag'd their Enemies in close Fight. Their Name was deriv'd from *Tarentum* in *Italy*, which used to furnish out Horsemen of these Sorts: But whether the Name of this Troop was taken from the Sort of Horsemen, or the Number's being the same with that used by the *Tarentines*, is not certain.

Ἰππαρχία contained two of the former, i. e. Five hundred and twelve.

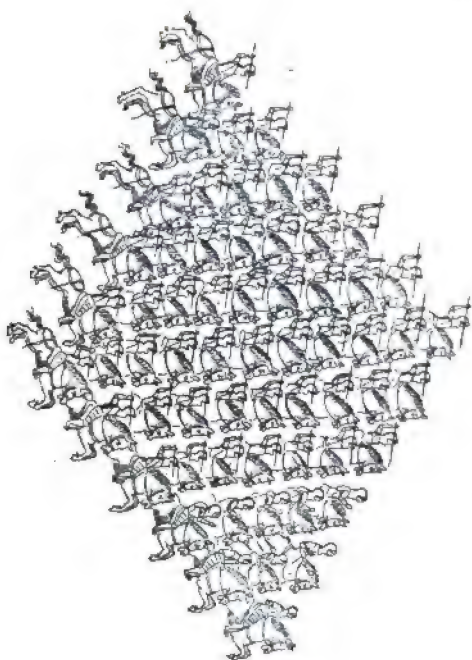
Ἐπιππαρχία was a double Ἰππαρχία, being made up of One thousand and twenty-four.

Τέλος was the former doubled, containing two thousand forty-eight.

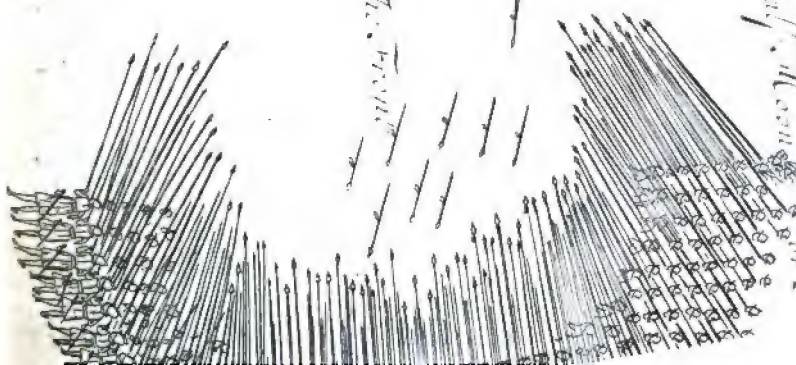
Ἐπίταγμα was equal to two τέλη, being composed of four thousand ninety-six.

The Rhinoceros of Africa

The Rhinoceros of Africa



The Rhinoceros





ceeded four hundred, who were all Footmen. The Commander was call'd *πολέμαρχος* (a); to whom was added a subordinate Officer call'd *Συμπορεύς* (b): The former was a Colonel, the latter his Lieutenant.

Λόχος was the fourth Part of a *Μόρα*: And tho' some affirm there were five *Λόχοι* in every *Μόρα* (c), yet the former Account seems more agreeable to the antient State of the *Spartan* Army: For we are assur'd by *Xenophon*, that in every *Μόρα* there were four *Λοχαγωγοί*.

Πεντηκοῦς was the fourth Part, or, as others, half of a *Λόχος*, and contain'd fifty Men, as appears from the Name. The Commander thereof was styl'd *Πενήκων ἥρ*, *Πενήκων τατήρ*, or *Πενήκοσῆρ*: Of these there were eight in every *Μόρα*, as the foremention'd Author reports.

Ενωματία was the fourth Part, or, as others, the half of *πεντηκοῦς*, contain'd twenty-five Men, and so call'd because all the Soldiers therein were *ἐνωμοτοὶ διὰ σφαγίων* (d), or bound by a solemn Oath upon a Sacrifice to be faithful and loyal to their Country. The Commander was term'd *ἐνωμοτάρχης*, or *ἐνωμοτάρχος*. Of these *Xenophon* affirms there were sixteen in every *Μόρα*; which, together with his Account of the *Λόχοι*, and *Πεντηκοῦς*, makes it evident that the primitive *Μόραι* consisted only of four hundred: The Disagreement of Authors herein seems to have been occasion'd by the Increase of the *Lacedæmonian* Army; for in succeeding Ages the *Spartans*, having augmented their Forces, still retain'd their antient Names, so that the eighth Part of a *Μόρα*, tho' perhaps containing several *Fifties*, was still term'd *πενήκοσῆς*. The *Roman* Battalions, in like manner, however increased by new Additions, were still call'd *Legiones*; which, tho' at first they contain'd no more than three thousand, were afterwards vary'd as Necessity requir'd, and consisted of four, five, or six thousand. The same may be observ'd of their *Cohortes*, *Manipuli*, *Ordines*, &c.

There are several other Military Terms, an Explication of some of which may be expected in this Place.

Πρόταξις is the Placing of any Company of Soldiers before the Front of the Army; as *πρόταξις ψιλῶν*, when the light-arm'd Men are drawn before the rest of the Army, to begin the Fight at a Distance with missive Weapons.

Επίταξις is contrary to the former, and signifies the Ranging of Soldiers in the Rear.

Πρόσταξις, when to one, or both Flanks of the Battle, Part of the Rear is added; the Front of those that are added being plac'd in the same Line with the Front of the Battle.

Τρόταξις, when the Wings are doubled, by bestowing the light-arm'd Men under them in embow'd Form, so that the whole Figure resembles a three-fold Door.

Επισταξις, *παρένταξις*, or *προένταξις*, the Placing together of different Sorts of

Παραμολή is distinguish'd from the former, as denoting the Completion of vacant Spaces in the Files by Soldiers of the same Sort.

Επαγωγή is a continued Series of Battalions in Marches drawn up after the same Form behind one another, so that the Front of the latter is extended to the Rear of the former: Whence this Term is sometimes taken for the Rhetorical Figure *Inductio*, where certain Consequences are inferr'd, in a plain and evident Method, from the Concession of some Antecedents (a).

Παραγωγή differs herein from *επαγωγή*, that the *Phalanx* proceedeth in a Wing not by File, but by Rank, the Leaders marching not directly in the Front, but on one Side: When toward the left, 'twas call'd *ἐξουμῶ παραγωγή*: When toward the right, *δεξιὰ παραγωγή*.

Επαγωγή and *παραγωγή* are distinguish'd into four Sorts; for when they expected the Enemy, and march'd on prepar'd for him only on one Side, they were call'd *επαγωγή*, or *παραγωγή μονόπλευρῶ*: When on two Sides, *δίπλευρῶ*: When on three, *τρίπλευρῶ*: When every Side was ready for an Assault, *τετραπλευρῶ*.

The Motions of the Soldiers at their Officers Command were term'd *κλίσεις*.

Κλίσεις ἐπὶ δεξυ, to the right: Because they manag'd their *Spears* with their right Hands.

Επανόκλισεις, the Retrograde Motion.

Κλίσεις ἐπ' ἀσπίδα, to the left: For their Bucklers were held in their left Hands.

Μεταβολή is a double Turn to the same Hand, whereby their Backs were turn'd on what before lay to their Faces. There were two Sorts of it.

1. *Μεταβολή ἐπ' ἑρῶν*, whereby they turn'd from Front to Rear, which is term'd *ἑρῶ*, so that their Backs were toward their Enemies; whence 'tis call'd *μεταβολή ἀπὸ τοῦ πολεμίου*. It was always effected by turning to the Right.

2. *Μεταβολή ἀπ' ἑρῶς, or ἐπὶ πολεμίων*, from Rear to Front, whereby they turn'd their Faces to their Enemies, by moving twice to the Left.

Επιστροφή, when the whole Battalion, close join'd Man to Man, made one Turn, either to the Right or Left.

Αναστροφή is oppos'd to *επιστροφή*, being the Return of such a Battalion to it's former Station.

Περισπασμός, a double *επιστροφή*, whereby their Backs were turn'd to the Place of their Faces, the Front being transferred to the Place of the Rear.

Εκπερισπασμός, a treble *επιστροφή*, or three Wheelings.

Εἰς ὁρθὸν ἀποδυναί, or *ἐπ' ὁρθὸν ἀποκατάσῃσαι*, to turn about

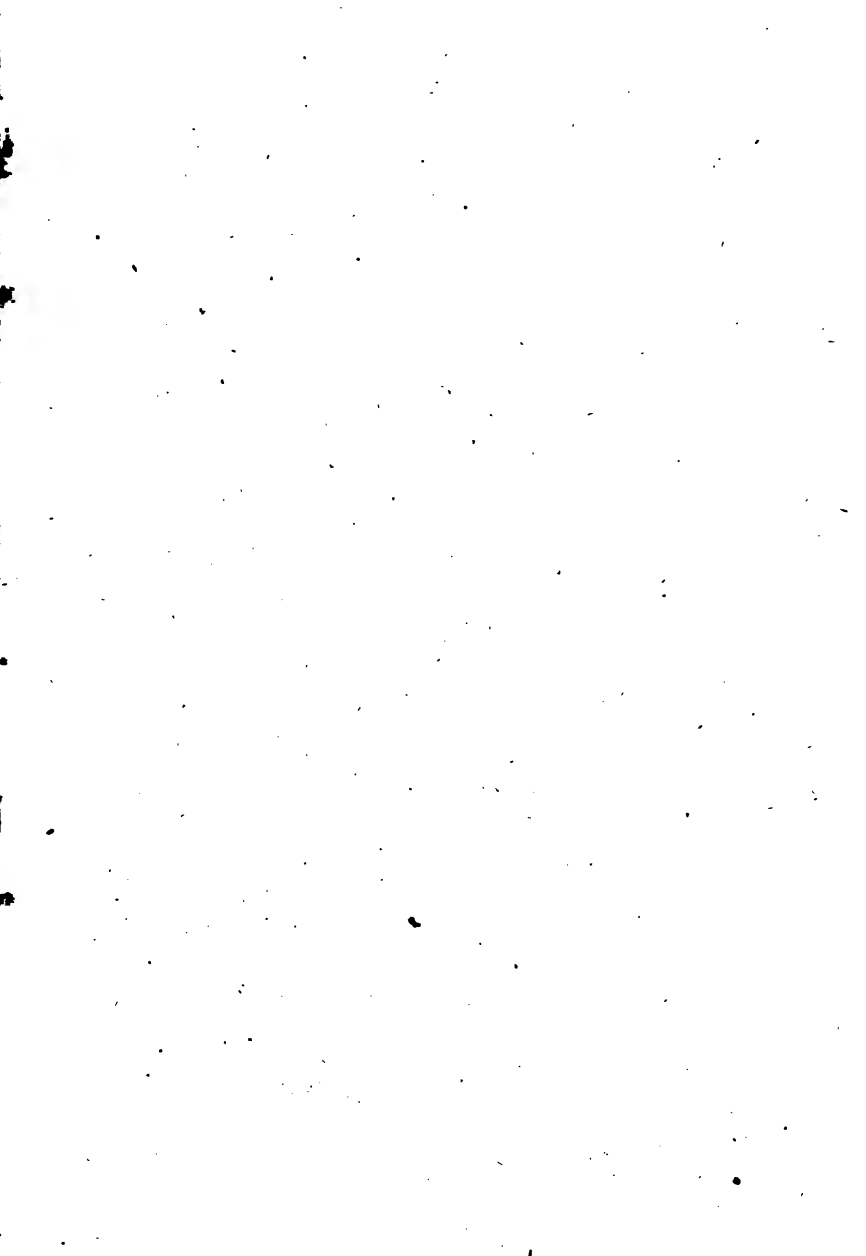


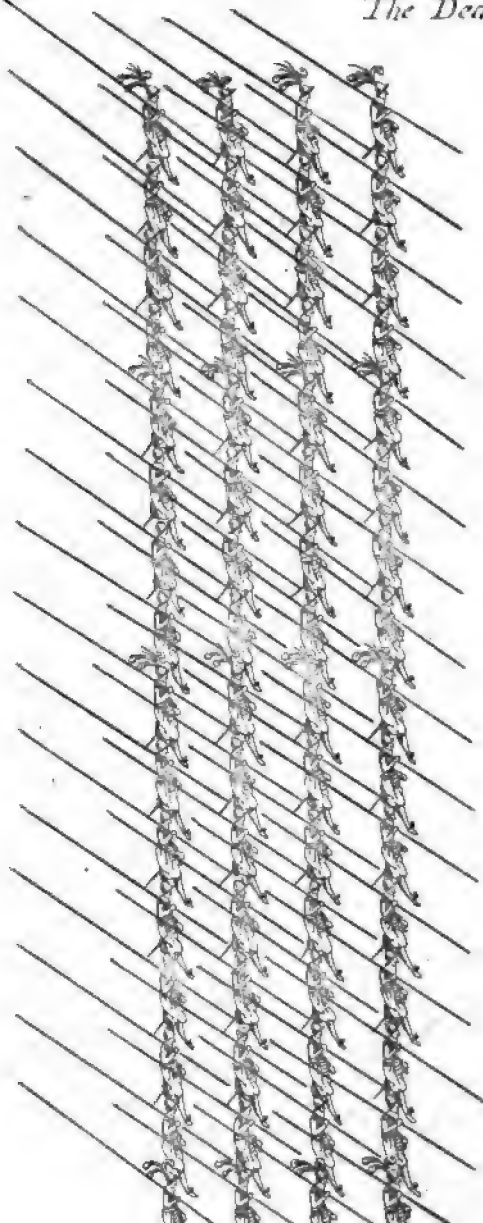
The Rear.

*The
Macedonian
Countermaneuver
by File*

*The
Faces* *File =* *leaders* *with* *their*
about *stand* *ing* *firme*







ter-marches, κατὰ λόχους, and κατὰ ζυγά, one by Files, the other by Ranks; both are farther divided into three Sorts.

1. Εξελισμὸς Μακεδὼν κατὰ λόχους, invented by the *Macedonians*, was thus: First the Leaders of the Files turn'd to the Right, or Left about, then the next Rank pass thro' by them on the same Hand, and, being come into the distant Spaces, placed themselves behind the Leaders of their Files, then turn'd about their Faces the same Way: In like Manner the third Rank after them, with the fourth, and all the rest, till the Bringers up were last, and had turn'd about their Faces, and again taken the Rear of the Battle. Hereby the Army was remov'd into the Ground before the Front, and the Faces of the Soldiers turn'd backward. This appear'd like a Retreat, and was for that Reason laid aside by *Philip of Macedon*, who us'd the following Motion in it's stead.

2. Εξελισμὸς Λακων κατὰ λόχους, invented by the *Lacedaemonians*, was contrary to the former: That took up the Ground before the *Phalanx*, this the Ground behind it, and the Soldiers Faces turn'd the contrary Way: In that the Motion was from Rear to Front, in this from Front to Rear. *Ælian* (a) describes it two Ways; One was, when the Bringers-up first turn'd about their Faces, the next Rank, likewise turning their Faces, began the Counter-march, every Man placing himself directly before his Bringer-up; the third did the like, and so the rest, till the Rank of File-Leaders were first. The other Method was, when the Leaders of Files began the Counter-march, every one in their Files following them orderly: Hereby they were brought nearer to their Enemies, and represented a Charge.

3. Εξελισμὸς Περσικὸς, or Κρητικὸς, κατὰ λόχους, was us'd by the *Persians* and *Cretans*; it was sometimes term'd χορείος, because managed like the *Grecian Chori*, which, being order'd into Files and Ranks, like Soldiers in Battle-Array, and moving forward toward the Brink of the Stage, when they could pass no farther, retir'd one thro' the Ranks of another; the whole *Chorus* all the Time maintaining the same Space of Ground they were before possess'd of; wherein this Counter-march differ'd from the two former, in both which the *Phalanx* chang'd it's Place.

Εξελισμὸς κατὰ ζυγά, Counter-march by Rank, was contrary to the Counter-march by File: In the Counter-march by File the Motion was in the Depth of the *Battalia*, the Front moving toward the Rear, or the Rear toward the Front, and succeeding into each other's Place: In this the Motion was in Length of the *Battalia* flank-wise, the Wing either marching into the Midst, or quite thro' the opposite Wing: In doing this, the Soldiers that stood last in the Flank of the Wing, mov'd first to the contrary Wing, the rest of every Rank following in their Order. It was likewise perform'd three Ways.

1. The *Macedonian* Counter-march began it's Motion at the Corner of the Wing nearest the Enemies, upon their appearing at either Flank, and remov'd to the Ground on the Side of the contrary Wing, so resembling a Flight.

2. The *Lacedæmonian* Counter-march, beginning it's Motion in the Wing farthest distant from the Enemy, seiz'd the Ground nearest to them, whereby an Onset was represented.

3. The *Cborean* Counter-march maintain'd it's own Ground, only removing one Wing into the other's Place.

Διπλασιάζει is to double, or increase a Battalia, which was effected two Ways. Sometimes the Number of their Men was augmented, remaining still upon the same Space of Ground; sometimes the Soldiers, continuing the same in Number, were so drawn out by thinning their Ranks, or Files, that they took up a much larger Space than before. Both these Augmentations of Men, or Ground, being made either in Length or Depth, occasion'd four Sorts of *διπλασιασμοί*, which were made by Counter-marches.

1. *Διπλασιασμός ἀνδρῶν κατὰ ζυγὰ*, or *κατὰ μῆκος*, when fresh Men were inserted into Ranks, the Length of the Battalia being still the same, but the Soldiers drawn up closer and thicker than before.

2. *Διπλασιασμός ἀνδρῶν κατὰ λόχους*, or *κατὰ βάθος*, was when the Files were doubled, their Ground being of no larger Extent than before, by ranging them close to one another.

3. *Διπλασιασμός τόπῳ κατὰ ζυγὰ*, or *κατὰ μῆκος*, when the Length of the Battalia was increas'd, without the Accession of new Forces, by placing the Soldiers at greater Distances from one another.

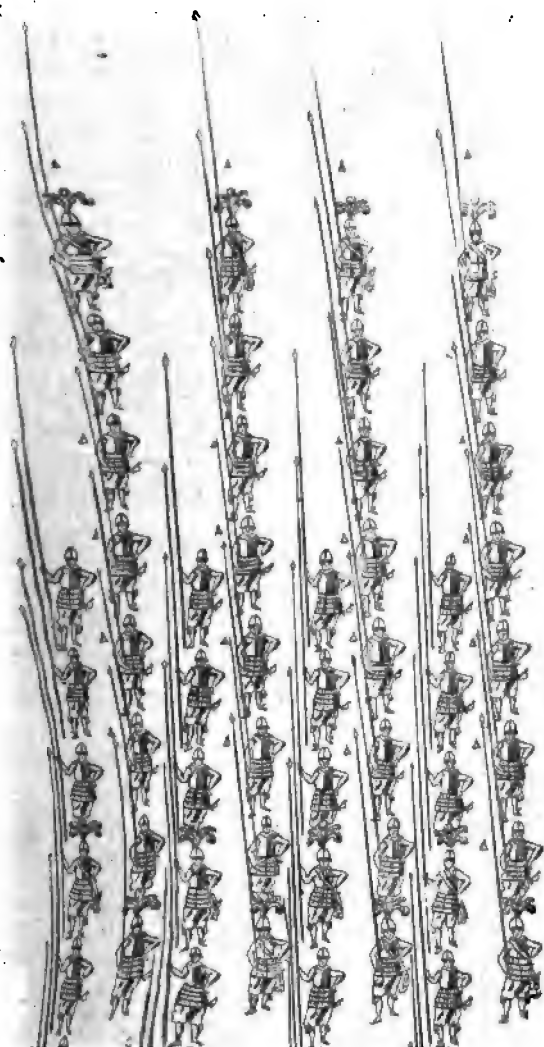
4. *Διπλασιασμός τόπῳ κατὰ λόχους*, or *κατὰ βάθος*, when the Depth of Ground taken up by an Army was render'd greater, not by adding new Files, but separating the old to a greater Distance.

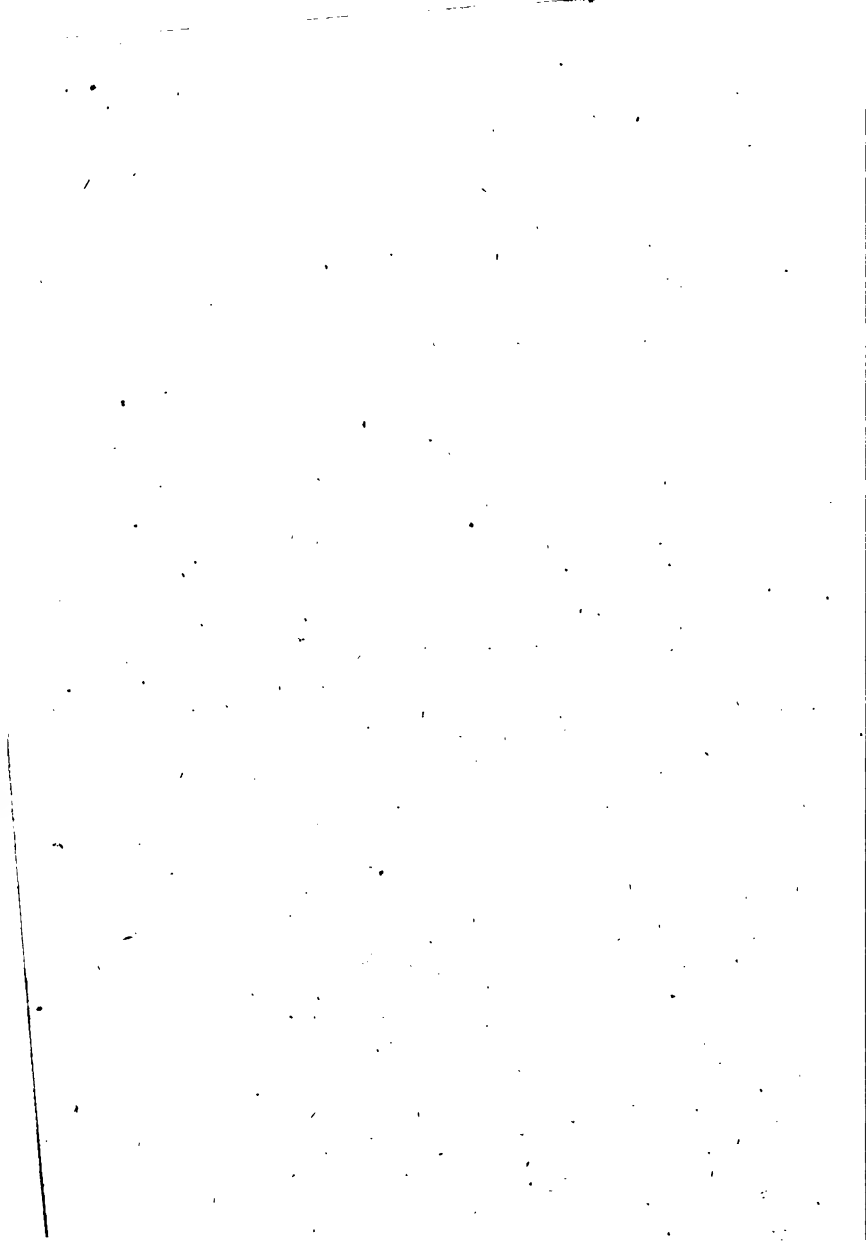
To conclude this Chapter, it may be observ'd, that the *Grecians* were excellently skill'd in the Method of embattling Armies, and maintain'd public Professors call'd *τακτικοί* from *τάττειν*, who exercis'd the Youth in this Art, and render'd them expert in all the Forms of Battle, before they adventur'd into the Field.

C H A P. VII.

Of their Manner of making Peace, and declaring War; their Embassadors, &c.

BEfore the *Grecians* engag'd themselves in War, it was usual to publish a Declaration of the Injuries they had receiv'd, and to demand Satisfaction by Embassadors: For however prepar'd or excellently skill'd they were in the Affairs of War, yet Peace, if to be procur'd upon honourable Terms, was thought more eligible: Which Custom was observ'd even in the most early Ages, as appears from the Story of *Tydeus*, whom *Polinices* sent to compose Matters with his

Doubling of Ranks in Action



————— *potior cunctis sedit sententia, fratris*
Prætentare fidem, tutosque in regna precando
Explorare aditus : Audax ea munera Tydeus
Sponte subit —————

The Council then vote it expedient,
 That to the King a Legate shou'd be sent,
 Who might to prove his Faith the Oath declare,
 And stop the Ferment of intestine War :
 This Treaty *Tydeus* bravely undertook.

Nor was the *Trojan* War prosecuted with so great Hazard and Loss to both Parties till these Means prov'd ineffectual ; for we find that *Ulysses* and *Menelaus* were dispatch'd on an Embassy to *Troy* to demand Restitution : Whence *Antenor* thus bespeaks *Helen* (a) :

Ἡδὴ γὰρ καὶ δεῦρ' ὅτ' ἦλυθε δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς
 Σὺν ἔνec' ἀγγελίας σὺν ἀρσιφίλῳ Μενελάῳ.

With stout *Atrides* sage *Ulysses* came
 Hither as Envoys, *Helen*, thee to claim.

The same Poet in another Place acquaints us, that their Proposal was rejected by the *Trojans* over-rul'd by *Antimachus*, a Person of great Repute amongst them, whom *Paris* had engag'd to his Party by a large Sum of Money (b) :

————— *Ἀντιμάχοιο δαΐφρονος, ὃς ῥα μάλιστα*
Χρυσὸν Ἀλεξάνδροιο δέδωγμένους, ἀγλαὰ δ' ὤρας,
Οὐκ εἶασχ' Ἑλένην δόμεναι ξανθῷ Μενελάῳ.

Antimachus o'erfway'd the Embassy
 Refus'd, and did fair *Helena* deny,
 Since *Paris* had by Largeſſes of Gold
 Secur'd his Trust —————

Invasions without Notice were look'd on rather as Robberies than lawful Wars, as design'd rather to spoil and make a Prey of Persons innocent and unprovided, than to repair any Losses, or Damages sustain'd, which, for aught the Invaders knew, might have been satisfy'd for an easier Way. 'Tis therefore no Wonder, what *Polybius* (c) relates of the *Ætolians*, that they were held for the common Out-laws and Robbers of *Greece*, it being their Manner to strike without Warning, and make War without any previous and public Declaration, whenever they had Opportunity of enriching themselves with the Spoil and Booty of their Neighbours. Yet there want not Instances of Wars began

without previous Notice, even by Nations of better Repute for Justice and Humanity: But this was only done upon Provocations so great and exasperating, that no Recompence was thought sufficient to atone for them: Whence it came to pass, that such Wars were of all others the most bloody and pernicious, and fought with Excess of Rage and Fury; the contesting Parties being resolv'd to extirpate each other, if possible, out of the World.

Embassadors were usually Persons of great Worth, or eminent Station, that by their Quality and Deportment they might command Respect and Attention from their very Enemies; and what Injuries or Affronts soever had been committed, yet Embassadors were held sacred by all Sides. Gods and Men were thought to be concern'd to prosecute with utmost Vengeance all Injuries done to them. Whence (to omit several other Instances) we read that the *Lacedæmonians* having inhumanly murder'd *Xerxes's* Embassadors, the Gods would accept none of their Oblations and Sacrifices, which were all found polluted with direful Omens, till two Noblemen of *Sparta* were sent as an expiatory Sacrifice to *Xerxes*, to atone for the Death of his Embassadors by their own. That Emperor indeed gave them leave to return in Safety, without any other Ignominy, than what they suffer'd by a severe Reflection on the *Spartan* Nation, whose barbarous Cruelty he profess'd he would not imitate, however provok'd by them: Yet Divine Vengeance suffer'd them not to go unpunish'd, but inflicted what those Men had assum'd to themselves, upon their Sons, who, being sent on an Embassy into *Asia*, were betray'd into the Hands of the *Athenians*, and by them put to Death; which my Author concludes to have been a just Revenge from Heaven for the *Lacedæmonian* Cruelty (a).

Whence this Holiness was deriv'd upon Embassadors, has been Matter of Dispute: Fabulous Authors deduce it from the Honour paid by the Antients to the *κέρυκες*, or Heralds, who were either themselves Embassadors, or, when others were deputed to that Service, accompany'd them, being held sacred on the Account of their Original, because descended from *Ceryx*, the Son of *Mercury*, who was honour'd with the same Employment in Heaven these obtain'd upon Earth. 'Tis true that these Men were ever had in great Esteem, and their Persons held sacred and inviolable; whence, as *Enstatbius* observes, *Ulysses* in *Homer*, when cast upon foreign and unknown Coasts, usually sends an Herald to protect the Men deputed to make Discovery of the Country and it's Inhabitants, Persons of that Character being revered even in barbarous Nations, except some few, such as the *Læstrygones*, or *Cyclopes*, in whom all Sense of Humanity was extinguish'd (b). They were likewise under the Care and Protection

Χαίρετε κήρυκες, Διὸς ἄγγελοι, ἡδὲ καὶ ἄνδρες.

All Hail! ye *Envoys* of great *Power* and Men.

But these Honours seem not to have been conferr'd upon them so much because they were descended from *Mercury*, (several other Families, to whom no such Respect was due, bearing themselves much higher on their Original) as upon Account of their Office, which, being common to them with other Embassadors, seems to have challeng'd an equal Reverence to both. License, indeed, being once granted to treat Persons of that Character injuriously, all Hopes of Peace and Reconciliation amongst Enemies must be banish'd for ever out of the World; and therefore in the most rude and unpolish'd Ages all Sorts of Embassadors were civilly entertain'd, and dismiss'd with Safety: Whence *Tydeus's* Lady in *Statius* (a) is prevail'd with to let her Husband go Embassador to *Thebes*, because that Title would afford him Protection in the Midst of his Enemies;

— *Te, fortissimo gentis*
Ætolium, multum lachrymis conata morari est
Deiphile, sed jussa patris, tutique regressus
Legato, justæque preces vicere sororis.

Thy tender Wife, *Heroic Soul*, did pine,
 And scarce admit thy generous Design,
 Until her boiling Passion did abate
 By *Argia's* Prayers, and a Parent's Threat,
 And that *Tutelar* God, who does on Envoys wait.

The *Athenian* Heralds were all of one Family, being descended from *Ceryx* the Son of *Mercury*, and *Pandrosus* Daughter to *Cecrops* King of *Athens*.

The *Lacedæmonian* Heralds were all descended from *Talthybius*, *Agamemnon's* Herald, who was honour'd with a Temple, and Divine Worship at *Sparta* (b).

They carry'd in their Hands a Staff of Laurel, or Olive, call'd κήρυκτον, round which two Serpents, without their Crests erected, were folded, as an Emblem of Peace and Concord (c). Instead of this the *Athenian* Heralds frequently made use of the *Εἰρεσιώδη*, which was a Token of Peace and Plenty, being an Olive-Branch cover'd with Wool, and adorn'd with all Sorts of Fruits of the Earth.

Κήρυκες, or Heralds, are by some thought to differ from πρέσβεις, or Embassadors, in this; that Embassadors were employ'd in Treaties of Peace, whereas Heralds were sent to declare War (d). But this Di-

function is not constant or perpetual, the *κέρυκες* being frequently taken for Persons commission'd to treat about accommodating Differences, which may appear, as from some of the fore-cited Places of *Eustathius*, so from several Passages in *Homer*, and other Authors.

Embassadors were of two Sorts, being either sent with a limited Commission, which they were not to exceed, or invested with full Power of determining Matters according to their own Discretion. The former were liable to be call'd in Question for their Proceedings; the latter were subject to no After-reckoning, but wholly their own Masters, and for that Reason stiled *Πρέσβεις αὐτοκράτορες*, Plenipotentiaries (a).

It may be observ'd that the *Lacedaemonians*, as in most other Things their Customs were different from the rest of the *Greeks*, so likewise in their Choice of Embassadors had this Peculiar, that for the most Part they deputed Men, between whom there was no very good Correspondence; supposing it most improbable, that such Persons should so far trust one another, as to conspire together against the Commonwealth. For the same Reason it was thought a Piece of Policy in that State to raise Dissensions between their Kings (b).

Their Leagues were of three Sorts: 1. A bare *σπονδῇ, συνθήκη, εἰρήνῃ*, or Peace, whereby both Parties were oblig'd to cease from all Acts of Hostility, and neither to molest one another, nor the Confederates of either.

2. *Επιμαχία*, whereby they oblig'd themselves to assist one another in case they should be invaded.

3. *Συμμαχία*, whereby they covenanted to assist one another as well when they made Invasions upon others, as when themselves were invaded, and to have the same Friends and Enemies (c).

All these Covenants were solemnly confirm'd by mutual Oaths, the Manner of which I have already describ'd in a former Book (d). To the End they might lie under a greater Obligation to preserve them inviolate, we find it customary to engrave them upon Tables, which they fix'd up at Places of general Concourse, that all the World might be Witnesses of their Justice and Fidelity: Thus we find the Articles of Treaty between *Athens* and *Sparta* not only publish'd in those Cities, but at the Places where the *Olympian*, *Pythian*, and *Isthmian* Games were celebrated (e). Others exchange'd certain *Tesserae*, in Greek, *σύμβολα*, which might be produc'd on any Occasion, as Evidences of the Agreement. The Covenant itself was also call'd by the same Name (f). Farther, to continue the Remembrance of mutual Agreements fresh in their Minds, it was not uncommon for States thus united, interchangeably to send Embassadors who on some appointed Day.

League, the *Spartan* Embassadors presenting themselves at *Athens* upon the Festival of *Bacchus*, and the *Athenians* at *Sparta* on the Festival of *Hyacinthus*.

Their Manner of declaring War was to send an Herald, who bad the Persons who had injur'd them to prepare for an Invasion, and sometimes in Token of Defiance cast a Spear towards them. The *Athenians* frequently let loose a Lamb into their Enemies Territories; signifying thereby, that what was then an Habitation for Men, should be laid waste and desolate, and become a Pasture for Sheep (a). Hence ἀρα προέδλθεν came to be a proverbial Phrase for entering into a State of War.

This was rarely done without the Advice and Encouragement of the Gods; the Soothsayers and all Sorts of Diviners were consulted, the Oracles enrich'd with Presents, and no Charge or Labour spar'd to engage Heaven (so they imagin'd) to their Party: Instances of this Kind are almost as common as the Declarations of War, which was never undertaken before the Gods had been consulted about the Issue. Nor was the Verdict of a single Deity thought sufficient; but in Wars of great Moment and Consequence, whereon the Safety of their Country and Liberties depended, they had Recourse to the whole Train of prophetic Divinities, soliciting all with earnest Prayers lifted up to Heaven on the Wings of costly Offerings and magnificent Presents, to favour them with wholesome Counsel. A remarkable Example whereof we have in *Cæsus*, before he declar'd War against the *Persians*; when not content with the Answers of his own Gods, and all the celebrated Oracles in *Greece*, in consulting which he had lavishly profus'd vast Quantities of Treasure, he dispatch'd Embassadors as far as *Lybia* loaden with Wealth, to ask Advice of *Jupiter Hammon* (b).

When they were resolv'd to begin the War, it was customary to offer Sacrifices, and make large Vows to be paid upon the Success of their Enterprize. Thus when *Darius* invaded *Attica*, *Callimachus* made a Vow to *Minerva*, that, if she would vouchsafe the *Athenians* Victory, he would sacrifice upon her Altars as many He-goats as should equal the Number of the Slain among their Enemies. Nor was this Custom peculiar to *Greece*, but frequently practis'd in most other Countries: Many Instances occur in the Histories of *Rome*, *Persia*, &c. The *Jews* us'd the same Method to engage the Divine Favour, as may appear from *Jephthah's* Vow, when he undertook to be Captain over *Israel* against the *Ammonites* (c).

After all these Preparations, tho' the Posture of Affairs appear'd never so inviting, it was held no less impious than dangerous to march against their Enemies, till the Season favour'd their Enterprize: For being extremely superstitious in the Observation of Omens, and Days, till those became fortunate, they durst not make any Attempts upon their Enemies. An Eclipse of the Moon, or any other of those they

And if all other Things promis'd Success, yet they deferr'd their Expedition till one of the Days, they look'd on as fortunate, invited them to it. The *Athenians* could not be perswaded to march *εὐτὸς ἐς δόμους*, before the Seventh (a); which gave Occasion to the Proverb, whereby Persons, who undertook any Business unseasonably, and before the proper Time, were said to do it *εὐτὸς ἐς δόμους* (b). But the *Lacedæmonians* were of all others the most nice and scrupulous in these Observations; their Law-giver having commanded them to pay a critical and inviolate Obedience to the celestial Predictions, and to regulate all their Proceedings, as well in Civil as Military Affairs, by the Appearances of the Heavenly Bodies: Amongst the rest they were oblig'd by a particular Precept never to march before the Full Moon (c): For that Planet was believ'd to have a particular Influence upon their Affairs, to bless them with Success, when itself was in the Height of it's Splendor, but till it was arriv'd there, to neglect, or suffer them to be blasted for want of Power to send Assistance. So constant a Belief of this they had entertain'd, that the greatest Necessity could not prevail upon them to alter their Measures; for when the *Athenians* were like to fall into the Hands of *Darius*, and sent to implore their Assistance, they agreed indeed to send them a Supply of Men, but, rather than march before the Full Moon, forced them to run the Hazard of a decisive Battle, and with a small Force to encounter an hundred thousand *Medians* (d).

C H A P. VIII.

Of their Camps, Guards, Watches, and Military Course of Life.

OF the Form of the *Grecian* Camp nothing exact and constant can be deliver'd, that being not always the same, but vary'd, as the Custom or Humour of different States, or the Conveniencies of Place and Time requir'd. The *Lacedæmonians*, indeed, are said to have been prescrib'd a constant Method of building Towns and Encamping, by their Law-giver, who thought a spherical Figure the best fitted for Defence (e); which was contrary to the Custom of the *Romans*, whose Camps were Quadrangular; but all Forms of that Sort were rejected by *Lycurgus*, the Angles being neither fit for Service, nor defensible, unless guarded by a River, Mountain, Wall, or some such Fortification. It is farther observable of the *Lacedæmonians*, that they frequently mov'd their Camps, being accusom'd vigorously to prosecute all their Enterprizes, impatient of Delays, and tedious Procras-

situations, and utterly averse from passing their Time without Action: Wherefore the Reason of this being demanded of *Lycurgus*, he reply'd, " 'Twas that they might do greater Damage to their Enemies (a). " To which *Xenophon* adds a second, " That they might give more early Relief to their Friends (b). "

Of the rest of the *Grecian* Camps it may be observ'd, that the valiantest of the Soldiers were plac'd at the Extremities, the rest in the Middle; that the Stronger might be a Guard to the Weaker, and sustain the first Onsets, if the Enemy should endeavour to force their Entrenchments. Thus we find *Achilles* and *Ajax* posted at the Ends of the *Grecian* Camp before *Troy*, as Bulwarks on each Side the rest of the Princes, who had their Tents in the Middle, as we learn from *Homer* (c):

Στῆ δ' ἐπ' Ὀδυσσῆος μεγακῆτεϊ νηὶ μελαίνῃ,
 Ἡ ῥ' ἐν μεσάτῳ ἔσκε, γεγωνέμεν ἀμφοτέρωσσι,
 Ἡ μὲν ἐπ' Αἴαντος κλισίης Τελαμωνιάδαο,
 Ἡ δ' ἐπ' Ἀχιλλῆος τοί ῥ' ἔσχατοι νῆας ἱῖσας
 Εἵρυσαν, ἠγορήευσσιν, καὶ ἀρρίτῃ χειρῶν.

Atrides stood i'th' Midst o'th' Fleet, hard by
 Where th' high-built *Odyssean* Ship did lie,
 That all his Orders equally might hear,
 As far as *Ajax's* on one Side, as far
 As *Peleus' Sons* o' th' other; for they were
 At each Extremity, like Fortresses.

}

When they design'd to continue long in their Encampments, they contriv'd a Place, where Altars were erected to the Gods, and all Parts of Divine Service solemnly perform'd. In the same Place public Assemblies were call'd together, when the General had any Thing to communicate to his Soldiers; and Courts of Justice were held, wherein all Controversies among the Soldiers were decided, and Criminals sentenced to Punishment: Which Custom was as antient as the *Trojan* War, and is mention'd by *Homer* (d);

—καὶ δ' νῆας Ὀδυσσῆος Δείδο
 Ἰξε Δεῶν Πάτροκλος, ἵνα σφ' ἀγορή τε, Δέμεις τε
 ἦεν, τῇ δὲ καὶ σφί Δεῶν ἐτελεύχαιο βωμοί.

Sweating to th' *Ulyssean* Ships he came,
 Where their Assemblies and their Courts were held,
 And the Gods worshipp'd.

When they were in Danger of having their Camp attack'd, it was usual to fortify it with a Trench and Rampire, or Wall, on the Sides whereof they erected Turrets not unlike those upon the Walls of Cities, of which they appear'd to their Enemies with missive Weapons.

Thus the *Grecians* in *Homer* were forc'd to defend themselves in the ninth Year of the *Trojan War*, when *Achilles* refus'd to assist them ; whereas till that Time they had wanted no Fortifications, but immur'd the *Trojans* within their own Walls : The Poet has thus describ'd their Works (a) :

——— τείχε' ἰδεύσαν,

Πύργους θ' ὑψηλούς, εἰλαρ νηῶν τε, καὶ αὐτῶν.

Εν δ' αὐτοῖσι πύλας ἐνεποίηον εὖ ἀσπίδας,

Ὅρα δ' αὐτῶν ἱππηλασίη ὁδὸς εἴη,

Ἐκτοδὼν ὃ βάθειαν ἔπ' αὐτῷ τάφρην ὀρυξαν,

Εὐρεῖαν, μεγάλην, ἐν ὃ σκόλοπας κατέπηξαν.

A thick substantial Wall of vast Extent

They rais'd with Turrets, as a Muniment

To them and th' Fleet ; And, that there might a Way

Be for their Cavalry upon Survey,

They fram'd great Gates, the Wall too they intrench'd

With Stakes infix'd.———

The Manner of Living in Camps depended upon the Disposition of their Generals ; some of which allow'd their Soldiers in all Sorts of Excess and Debauchery ; others oblig'd them to the strictest Rules of Temperance and Sobriety ; a remarkable Instance whereof we have in *Philip of Macedon*, who (as *Polyænus* reports) condemn'd two of his Soldiers to Banishment for no other Offence, than because he had found them with a Singing-woman in his Camp. But the *Grecian* Discipline was not always so severe and rigid, as may appear from *Plutarch* (b), who tells us, that the *Lacedæmonians* alone of all the *Grecians* had no Stage-players, no Jugglers, no Dancing or Singing-women attending them, but were free from all Sorts of Debauchery and Looseness, of gaudy Pomp and Foppery ; the young Men, when commanded nothing by their General, were always employ'd in some Exercise, or manly Study ; the old were busied in giving Instructions, or receiving them from Persons more skilful than themselves ; and their looser Hours were diverted with their usual Drollery, and rallying one another facetiously after the *Laconic* Fashion : Yet their Law-giver allow'd them greater Liberty in the Camp than at other Times, to invite them to serve with Delight in the Wars ; for, whilst they were in the Field, their Exercises were more moderate than at Home, their Fare not so hard, nor so strict a Hand kept over them by their Governors ; so that they were the only People in the World, to whom War gave Repose. They were likewise allow'd to have costly Arms, and fine Cloaths, and frequently perfum'd themselves, and curl'd their Hair : Whence we read that *Xerxes* was struck with Admiration, when the Scouts brought him Word, the *Lacedæmonian* Guards were at Gymnical

It was a customary at *Athens* for Horlemen to nourish their Hair. Hence the following Words of *Ariforbanes* (a) :

—ὁ δὲ κόμην ἔχων
Ἰππάζεται τε, καὶ ξυνωρικεύεται.

And, in another Place of the same Poet, there is an Allusion to this Practice (b) :

Νῦς ἐκ ἐνι ταῖς κόμαις
Τμῶν. —————

The Custom seems to have been derived from the primitive Times, there being scarce any Expression so frequent in *Homer*, as that of κομώμενος ἄχαιοι. Afterwards *Cynias* and *Pbrynus*, besides several other Changes in the *Athenian* Discipline of Soldiers, procured a Law to be enacted, which forbad them κομᾶν, καὶ ἀερόδισαίτους εἶναι: To nourish their Hair, and to live delicately (c).

Their Guards may be distinguished into φυλακαὶ ἡμεῖναι and νυκτεῖναι: The first were upon Duty by Day, the other by Night. At several Hours in the Night certain Officers, called περιπολοὶ, did περιπολεῖν, or walk round the Camp, and visit the Watch. To try whether any of them were asleep, they had a little Bell, term'd κωδων, at the Sound of which the Soldiers were to answer (d): Whence to go this Circuit was call'd κωδωνίζεῖν, and κωδωνοφορεῖν :

—κωδωνοφορεῖται, πανταχῇ
Φυλακαὶ κατετήκασιν. —————

Hence also κωδωνίζεῖν is used for παρὰζεῖν, to try, to prove (e); and ἀκωδωνίζεσθαι for ἀπειρεσθαι, untry'd, or unprov'd (f). This Custom furnish'd *Brasidas* with an Advantage against *Potidea* in the *Peloponnesian* War; for, having observ'd [the Sounding of the Bell to be over, he took his Opportunity, before the Bell's Return, to set up Ladders in an unguarded Place of the Wall, and so enter'd the City (g).

The *Lacedæmonian* Watch were not permitted to have their Bucklers, that, being unable to defend themselves, they might be more cautious how they fell asleep. To which Custom *Tzetzes* alludes in one of his *Historical Chiliads* (h) :

Ποτε καὶ τὶς ὅρ' ἑρατηγῶν μᾶλλον φρονέοντων πάντας
Γυμνὸς ἀσπίδων ἀνυθετὰς φύλακας ἔωσεν,
Ὅσως ἐπαγρυπνότερα τὴν φυλακὴν ποιῶνται,
Καὶ μὴ θάρρησαντες αὐταῖς εἰς ὕπνον ἐκτραπῶσιν.

(a) *Nubius*, Act I. Sc. I.
Scholiastes ad Equites. (c)
Isisbrote, (g) *Thucydi*

One of the Gen'als once most eminent
 In Stratagems and warlike Policy
 Gave out, that all the Guards should march *unarm'd*
With Bucklers, to secure them vigilant,
 Left they supinely negligent should sleep.

The rest of the *Spartan* Soldiers were obliged to take their Rest arm'd, that they might be prepar'd for Battle upon any Alarm (a).

It may be farther observ'd of the *Spartans*, that they kept a double Watch; one within their Camp, to observe their Allies, lest they should make a sudden Defection; the other upon some Eminence, or other Place, whence there was a good Prospect, to watch the Motions of their Enemies (b).

How often the Guards were reliev'd doth not appear; as neither whether it was done at set and constant Times, or according to the Commander's Pleasure. Φυλακή indeed, which signifies a Watch, is frequently taken for the fourth Part of the Night, answering to the *Roman Vigiliæ*; as appears from several Places of the *New Testament*, as well as other Authors: But it seems to have this Signification rather from the *Roman* than *Grecian* Watches, those being changed four Times every Night, *that is*, every third Hour, (computing the Night from Six to Six, or rather from Sun to Sun) for the Time between the two Suns was divided into twelve equal Parts, which were not always the same, like our Hours, but greater or less, according to the Season of the Year; and are therefore by Astronomers term'd *unequal* and *Planetary Hours*.

C H A P. IX.

Of their Battles, the General's Harangues, the Sacrifices, Musick, Signals, Ensigns, the Word, and Way of ending Wars by single Combat, &c.

BEfore they join'd Battle, the Soldiers always refresh'd themselves with Victuals, eating and drinking plentifully: Which Custom with it's Reasons we have largely accounted for in *Ulysses's* elegant Oration to *Achilles* (c), where he advises the young General by no Means to lead out the Army fasting:

Μηδ' ἔτις ἀγαθὸς περ ἰὼν, θεοίκελ' Ἀχιλλεῦ,
 Νήσιας ὄτρυνε περὶ Ἴλιον ἦας Ἀχαιῶν
 Τρωσὶ μαχασομένους, ἐπεὶ ἐκ ὀλίγον χρόνον ἔσαι

Ἀνδρῶν, ἐν ᾗ θεὸς πνεύσῃ μὲν ἀμφοτέρωσιν.
 Ἀλλὰ πάσαδ' ἀνωχθεὶ θεῷ ἐπὶ νηυσὶν Ἀχαιῶς
 Σίτε καὶ οἶνοιο, τὸ δ' μὲν ἐς τὴν ἀλκήν.
 Οὐδ' ἀνὴρ πρόπαν ἡμᾶς ἐς ἡέλιον καταδύνα
 Ἄλκῃ σίτοιο δυνήσεται ἄλλα μάχεσθαι.
 Ἔσπερ δ' θυμῷ γε μενοινάα πολέμιζαν,
 Ἀλλὰ τε λάβρῃ γῆα βαρύνεσθαι, ἡδὲ κινάει
 Δίψα τε, καὶ λιμὸς, βλάττει δ' ἐπεὶ γένετ' ἰόντι,
 ὅς δ' ἐκ' ἀνὴρ οἶνοιο κορυψάμενος καὶ ἐδωδῆς
 Ἀνδράσι δυσμένεσσι πανημίᾳ πολέμιζαν,
 Θαρσαλέον νύ οἱ ἦτορ ἐνὶ φρεσὶν, ἡδὲ τι γῆα
 Πρὶν κάμνει, πρὶν πάντας ἐρωῆσαι πολέμοιο.

Noble Achilles, tho' with martial Rage
 Thy gen'rous Mind is fir'd thy Foes t'engage,
 Let not thy valiant Troops to Troy repair,
 There to sustain the great Fatigues of War,
 Before brisk Wines and Viands animate
 Their Souls with Vigour to repel their Fate ;
 That Troy to their embattled Force may yield,
 And with amazing Terror quit the Field ;
 For such is th' Energy of sparkling Juice,
 With such Heroick Zeal it warms, such Prowess doth infuse ;
 No Man hath Puissance the whole Day to fight,
 'Till the Phœbean Carr brings on the Night,
 Unless rich Wine and wholesome Food prepare
 His Courage for the Dust and Din of War :
 His strenuous Limbs then Marches undergo,
 And he with dauntless Rage assails the Foe ;
 Inflaming Wine incites his Fury on,
 And thus he'll venture 'till the Battle's won.

J. A.

We are told also by *Livy*, that the *Romans* thought this a Preparative absolutely necessary, and never omitted it before Engagements (a).

This done, the Commanders marshall'd the Army in order to an Engagement : In which Art the *Grecians* were far inferior to the *Romans* ; for drawing up their whole Army, as it were, into one Front, they trusted the Success of the Day to a single Force ; whereas the *Romans*, ranging their *Habati* in distinct Bodies behind

three several Victories. Yet something not unlike this we find practised as long since as the *Trojan War*, where old *Nestor* is said to have placed a Body of Horse in the Front; behind these the most infirm of the Foot, and last of all, such of them as surpass'd the rest in Strength and Valour (a):

Ἰππῆας μὲν πρῶτα σὺν ἱπποισιν ὃ χεσφι,
Πεζὺς δ' ὀπίθεν ἤσεν πολέας τε, καὶ ἰδλῆς,
Ἐκθ' ἔμεν πολέμοισ' ἀκλῆς δ' ἐς μέσων ἔλασεν,
Ὅφρα καὶ ἐκ ἰθέλων τις ἀναγκάη πολεμίζῃ.

Nestor the Horse plac'd first in all the Host,
I' th' Rear the Infantry maintain their Post,
Such as he had detach'd from all the rest,
For Courage, Hardship, and for Strength the best:
And, to the End that none should run away,
I' th' midst of all were order'd in Array
The Rude, th' Infirm, the Inexpert.—

J. A.

Where tho' some interpret τὸ πρῶτον and τὸ ὀπίθεν of the Right and left Wings, and others several other Ways, yet the most natural and genuine Sense of the Poet seems to be, that they were drawn up behind one another (b).

At this Time the General made an Oration to his Soldiers, wherein, with all the Motives suitable on such Occasions, he exhorted them to exert their utmost Force and Vigour against the Enemy; And so wonderful was the Success that attended these Performances, that many Times, when Affairs were in a declining and almost desperate Condition, the Soldiers, animated with fresh Life and Courage, have instantly retriev'd them, and repuls'd those very Enemies, by whom themselves had before been defeated: Several of these Instances may be found in the *Grecian* and *Roman* Histories, few of which are more remarkable than that of *Tyrtæus* the lame *Athenian* Poet, to whom the Command of the *Spartan* Army was given by the Advice of an Oracle in one of the *Messenian* Wars. The *Spartans* had at that Time suffer'd great Losses in many Encounters, and all their Stratagems prov'd ineffectual, so that they began to despair almost of Success, when the Poet by his Lectures of Honour and Courage, delivered in moving Verse to the Army, ravish'd them to such a Degree with the Thoughts of dying for their Country, that, rushing on with a furious Transport to meet their Enemies, they gave them an entire Overthrow, and by one decisive Battle put an happy Conclusion to the War (c).

Before they adventur'd to join their Enemies, they endeavour'd by

The *Lacedæmonians* had a peculiar Custom of sacrificing to the *Muses*; which was either design'd to soften and mollify their passionate Transports, it being their Custom to enter the Battle calm and sedate (a); or to animate them to perform noble and heroical Exploits, deserving to be transmitted by those Goddesses to Posterity (b). The Soothsayers inspected all the Sacrifices, to presage the Success of the Battle; and, till the Omens prov'd favourable, they rather chose tamely to resign their Lives to the Enemy, than to defend themselves. The *Spartans* especially were above Measure addicted to this Superstition: For in the famous Battle at *Platæa*, when *Mardonius* the *Persian* General had fallen upon the *Grecians*, *Pausanias* the *Spartan*, who at that Time commanded the *Grecian* Army, offering Sacrifice, found it not acceptable to the Gods, and thereupon commanded his *Lacedæmonians*, laying down their Bucklers at their Feet, patiently to abide his Commands: The Priests offer'd one Sacrifice after another, but all without Success, the *Barbarians* all the Time charging upon them, and wounding and slaying them in their Ranks; till at length *Pausanias* turning himself towards the Temple, with Hands lifted up to Heaven, and Tears in his Eyes, besought *Juno* of *Cithæron*, and the rest of the tutelar Deities of the *Platæans*, that, if the Fates would not favour the *Grecians* with Victory, they would grant at least, that by some remarkable Exploit they might demonstrate to their Enemies, that they waged War with Men of true Courage and Bravery. These Prayers were no sooner finished, when the Sacrifices appearing propitious, the Signal was given, and they fell with such Resolution upon the *Persians*, that in a short Time they entirely defeated their whole Army (c).

Their Signals are commonly divided into *σύμβολα*, and *σημεία*, which Words sometimes indeed are us'd promiscuously, but in Propriety of Speech are distinguish'd.

Σύμβολα were of two Kinds, either *φωνικά*, or *ὁρατά*, i. e. pronounced by the Mouth, or visible to the Eye: The first are term'd *συνθήματα*, the latter *παρασυνθήματα*.

Συνθήματα, in Latin, *Tessera*, or the *Word*, communicated by the General to the subordinate Officers, by them to the whole Army, as a Mark of Distinction to know Friends from Enemies (d). It commonly contain'd some good Omen, or the Name of some Deity worshipped by their Country, or General, and from whom they expected Success in their Enterprizes. *Cyrus*, for Example, us'd *Ζεὺς σύμμαχος*, ἡγεμὼν, or *σωτήρ* (e); *Cæsar*, *Venus genitrix* (f); *Augustus*, *Apollo* (g): But this Custom often prov'd of fatal and pernicious Consequence; for by frequently questioning one another they bred Confusion among themselves, and (which was no less dangerous) discovered the *Word* to the Enemies: As we find happening in the Fight between the *Athenians* and the *Syracusan*. (spoken of by *Thucydides*) (h). It became likewise

gaging in the Night, all the *Tessera* he gave his Soldiers was, That they should forthwith kill whoever demanded the *Word*; whereby they easily distinguish'd, and slew the *Spartans*, themselves being undiscover'd, and therefore secure (a).

Παράστυμμα was a visible Character of Distinction, as nodding their Heads, waving their Hands, clashing their Weapons, or such like (b).

Σημεία were Ensigns, or Flags, the Elevation whereof was a Signal to join Battle, the Depression to desist (c). Of these there were different Sorts, several of which were adorn'd with Images of Animals, or other Things bearing peculiar Relations to the Cities they belong'd to; the *Athenians*, for Instance, bore an Owl in their Ensigns (d), as being sacred to *Minerva*, the Protectress of their City: The *Thebans* a *Sphinx* (e), in Memory of the famous Monster overcome by *Oedipus*: The *Persians* paid Divine Honours to the Sun, and therefore represented him in their Ensigns (f).

The σημεῖον was frequently a Purple Coat upon the Top of a Spear, as appears from *Conon's* in *Polyænus*, and *Cleomenes's* in *Plutarch*: Nor was it uncommon to use other Colours. *Polybius*, speaking of the Fight between *Antigonus* and *Cleomenes* (g), tells us, "That the *Illyrians*, having Orders to begin the Battle, were to receive a Signal by a white Flag, that should be spread from the nearest Post to *Olympus*: But the Signal to be given to the *Megalopolitans* and the Cavalry, was a Purple Coat, which was to be advanced in the Air, where *Antigonus* himself was posted."

The antient Grecian Signals were lighted Torches thrown from both Armies by Men call'd πυρφόροι, or πυροφόροι, who were Priests of *Mars*, and therefore held inviolable; and, having cast their Torches, had safe Regress (h): Whence of Battles fought with Transport of Fury, wherein no Quarter was given, it was usual to say, ἐς δ' ὁ πυρφόρος ἐσώθη, i. e. Not so much as a Torch-bearer escaped. To this Custom there are frequent Allusions in *Greek* and *Latin* Poets: *Lycophron*, speaking of the *Phœnicians*, who by stealing *Io* began the Quarrel between *Europe* and *Asia*, saith,

Ἐχθερὸν ὃ πυρσὸν ἦσαν ἡπειρώτις διπλαῖς (i).

They rais'd envenom'd Discord, who then shook
Her baleful Torch within two Continents.

Hence also *Statius* (k);

*Prima manu rutilam de vertice Larissæo
Ostendit Bellona facem.*—

Bellona first from the *Larissæan* Tow'r
Shakes the dire Torch.—

Claudian likewise, with others, whom I shall forbear to mention, takes notice of this Custom (a) :

*Tisiphone quatiens infesto lumine pinum,
Armatus ad cuspida vocat pallentia manes.*

*Tisiphone summons the Ghosts to appear,
Shaking a livid Flame as Signal of the War.*

These being laid aside, Shells of Fishes succeeded, which they sounded in the manner of Trumpets, which in those Days were not invented (b). Hence Theognis's Riddle may easily be interpreted,

Ἡδὴ γὰρ με κέκληκε θάλαττιον οἶκαδ' εὐκρὸς,
Τεθνηκὸς ζῶν φθειγόμενος στόματι.

*A Sea-Inhabitant with living Mouth
Spoke to me to go Home, tho' dead it was.*

Triton's Shell-Trumpet is famous in Poetical Story : Whence Ovid speaking of Neptune (c),

— *supraque profundum*
Extantem, atque humeros innato murice testum
Ceruleum Tritona vocat, conchaque sonaci
Inspirare jubet, fluctusque et flumina signo
Jam revocare dato, cava buccina sumitur illi
Tortilis, in latum quæ turbine crescit ab imo.

Already Triton at his Call appears
Above the Waves, a Tyrian Robe he wears,
And in his Hand a crooked Trumpet bears.
The Sov'reign bids him peaceful Sounds inspire,
And give the Waves the Signal to retire :
His writhen Shell he takes, whose narrow Vent
Grows by Degrees into a large Extent.

Mr Dryden.

And most of the Poets mention this Custom in their Description of the primitive Wars : Whence Theocritus in his Poem about the Exploits of Castor and Pollux (d),

Ἡ ῥ' Ἀμυκῶ, καὶ κόχλον ἐλὼν μυκάσατο κοῖλον,
Οἱ δ' ὁσῶς συνάγερθεν ὑπὸ σκιερᾶς πλαταγίσῳ,
Κόχλω φουσαθὲν, αἰεὶ βέβρυκες κομόαντες.

This said, Amycus did his Trumpet sound,

Thro' every distant Field the Noise was heard,
And Crouds of stout *Bebrycians* soon appear'd.

Mr Creech.

Lycophron also, speaking of the *Trojan War* (a),

Καὶ δὴ κατὰ ἴδαν γαῖαν ὀρχήσῃς Ἀρης,
Στρόμβῳ τὸν αἵματηρὸν ἐξάρχων νόμον.

Great *Mars*, that nimble God of War,
Invigorates the Youth by Sound of Shell
Twining and circling into various Rounds ;
Thus was the Land laid waste, thus rag'd the fiery God.

Where tho' the *Scholiast* falls foul upon the Poet for introducing Shells at a Time when Trumpets were in use, which he tells us may be made appear from *Homer* ; yet herein he seems to be too audacious, it being observable (b), that, tho' *Homer* mentions Trumpets, yet they never make any Part of the Description of his heroical Battles, but only furnish him with a *Simile*, or Allusion ; as happens in the Place cited by *Tzetzes* (c),

Ὡς δ' ὅτ' ἀειζήλη φωνή, ὅτε τ' ἴαχε σάλπιγγξ,
Ἀσυ περιπλομένων δητίων ὑπὸ θυμορρίστων.
Ὡς τότε ἀειζήλη φωνή γένητ' Αἰακίδαιο.

When Foes encamp'd around a City lie,
And wait Surrender from the Enemy,
Great Fear runs thrilling thro' their Breasts within
The Walls, when echoing Trumpets do begin ;
Such was *Achilles'* Voice, such Dread appear'd
In all the *Dardan* Host, 'twas so distinctly heard.

J. A.

Whence it may be presum'd, that Trumpets were indeed us'd in *Homer's* Time, being then only a late Invention, and not so antient as the *Trojan War*, as the old *Scholiast* hath also observ'd (d). *Virgil* indeed appears to give some Countenance to *Tzetzes's* Opinion, when he speaks of *Misenus*, whom he makes to have serv'd *Hector* in the *Trojan War*, and afterwards *Aeneas*, in the Office of a Trumpeter (e) ;

—— illi *Misenum* in littore sicco,

Ut venere, vident indigna morte peremptum ;

Misenum *Æoliden*, quo non præstantior alter

Ære ciere viros, Martemque accendere cantu :

*Postquam illum victor vita spoliavit Achilles,
Dardanio Æneæ sese fortissimus heros
Addiderat socium, non inferiora secutus.*

As soon as they approach'd, they spy'd their Friend
Misennus, dead by some untimely End,
The brave *Misennus*, above all renown'd
To make with swelling Notes the chearful Trumpet sound.
New Vigour would encourage on the War,
Whene'er his Trumpet echo'd from afar.
He was th' illustrious *Heſtor*'s Intimate,
The Ranks he'd traverse in Heroic State,
With Spear he'd exercise, with Trumpet animate ;
But when *Achilles Heſtor* overcame,
And slew him in the Field, as great a Name
H' atchiev'd by cleaving to *Æneas*' Side,
A Prince for's Prowels no less dignify'd.

}

J. A.

But here the *Braxen Trumpet* and *Litus* are taken from the Practice of the Poet's own Age, by a Figure familiar to Men of his Profession ; for *Misennus* was never acquainted with so rare a Contrivance ; and though we find him so proud of his Art, as to challenge the Gods of the Sea, yet 'twas not to a Contention on the Trumpet, but on a Shell, the Instrument us'd by these Deities : Whence the same Poet, who may be suppos'd to be the best Interpreter of his own Words, speaks thus in the Verses immediately following :

*Sed tum forte, cava dum personat æquora concha
Demens, & cantu vocat in certamina Divos,
Æmulus exceptum Triton, si credere dignum est,
Inter saxa virum spumosa immererat unda.*

But whilst the *Sea-Gods* proudly he defy'd,
Sounding a Writen Shell by th' Ocean's Side,
As his due Fate for his ambitious Sound,
Him, if Report deceive not, *Triton* drown'd.

Nevertheless, in the most Eastern Countries Trumpets were us'd several Ages before. They are several Times mention'd in the Sacred History of the *Jews*, whose Priests Office it was to sound the Alarm upon that Instrument (a).

There were six several Sorts of Trumpets (b), which have occasioned the Disagreement in antient Writers concerning the first Author of the Invention ; it being common for them to ascribe to the Inventor of any one Sort, the Invention of all.

1. The first Trumpet was contriv'd by *Minerva*, the common Mother and Patroness of almost all Arts and useful Inventions: Whence she was honour'd with the Title of. Σάλλιγξ, mention'd in *Lycophron* (a):

Αὐτὴ γὰρ ἄκρον ἄρδιν εὐθυρεῖ χερεῖν
Σάλλιγξ—————

Under this Name she was worshipp'd in a Temple dedicated to her at *Argos* (b): But *Pausanias* is rather of Opinion, that this Trumpet was the Invention of one of *Hercules's* Sons, call'd *Tyrrhenus*, whose Son *Hegelaus* (having communicated it to a Party of *Dorians*, the Subjects of *Temenus*) in Memory of the Invention, and out of Gratitude to the Goddess for her Assistance therein, gave her this Surname (c).

2. The second was the *Egyptian* Trumpet, call'd *χένιν*, *Osiris's* Contrivance: It was round, and us'd at Sacrifices to call the Congregation together (d).

3. The third was invented in *Gallia Celtica*, where it was term'd *κάρνυξ*: It gave a very shrill Sound, but was not very large: It was cast in a Mould, and had it's Mouth adorn'd with the Figure of some Animal. They had a Pipe of Lead, thro' which they blew into the Trumpet when they sounded.

4. The fourth was first us'd in *Paphlagonia*, and call'd *Βόων*, from *βῶς*, or the Figure of an Ox upon it's proper Orifice; it had a deep Bass Sound.

5. The fifth was invented in *Media*, had also a deep Note, and was sounded by the Help of a Pipe compos'd of Reeds.

6. The sixth was call'd Σάλλιγξ *Τυρρηνικὴ*, because invented by the *Tyrrhenians*, from whom it was communicated to the *Grecians* by one *Archondas*, who came to assist the *Heraclidae*, or Posterity of *Hercules's* (e). Others attribute the first Contrivance of it to *Tyrrhenus*, *Hercules* Son (f). It's Orifice was cleft, and sent forth an exceeding loud and shrill Sound, not unlike the *Phrygian* Flute; whence it became of all the rest the most proper for Engagements: *Ulysses*, in *Sophocles*, compares it to the Goddess *Minerva's* Voice (g):

ὦ φθίγμ' Ἀθάνας φιλτάτης ἐμοὶ θεῶν,
ὡς εὐμαδὲς σε κἂν ἀποπλῶ ἦς, ὅμως,
Φώνημ' ἀκέω, καὶ ξυναρπάζω φρενὶ,
Καλκὸς ὅμω κώδων ὡς Τυρρηνικῆς.

How clear, *Minerva*, and distinct thy Voice,
Thou, whom I reverence above the rest
Of Deities, who croud th' Ætherial Court;
Thy Voice I know, and perfectly retain,
Altho' thou art unseen as if I'd heard

Where the *Scholiast* observes, that *Minerva's* Voice is resembled to the *Tyrrhene* Trumpet, because it was easily known by Reason of it's Loudness, as that Trumpet excell'd all others, and was at the first Hearing easy to be distinguish'd from them.

These were the most common and remarkable Sorts of Trumpets; others may perhaps now and then occur in Authors; such as the *Lybian* mention'd by *Suidas*, and one of *Sophocles's* *Scholiasts* (a), but seem to be of less Note, and not so frequently us'd.

Several other Instruments were us'd in sounding Alarms; the *σύριγξ*, or Pipe in *Arcadia*; the *πικτις*, sometimes term'd *μυγαδης*, in *Sicily* (b). The *Cretans* were call'd to Battle by the Sound of *αὐλοί*, or Flutes (c); as others, of *Cithara*, Lutes or Viols (d); but, as most of the ancient Writers affirm, of *Lyra*, or Harps (e), which, *Plutarch* tells us, were not laid aside for many Ages (f): The Person that sounded the Alarm, the *Cretans* call'd *Ικεα*, and others term'd him *Ικυκτής* (g) from a Sort of Trumpet call'd *ικυξ*.

The *Lacedaemonians* are particularly remarkable for beginning their Engagements with a Concert of Flutes (h); the Reason of which Practice being demanded of *Agefilas*, he reply'd, "That it was to distinguish "Cowards;" such being unable, by Reason of their Consternation, to keep Time with their Feet to the Musick, as was their Custom. This Answer is indeed facetious, and not wholly without Truth; yet seems not fully to comprehend the Design of this Custom. *Valerius Maximus* is yet farther from the Truth, and stands in direct Opposition to it, when he supposes it intended to raise the Courage of the Soldiers, that they might begin the Onset with greater Violence and Fury; for *Thucydides*, with whom the rest of the ancient Historians agree, assures us, that the Design of it was rather to render them cool and sedate, Trumpets and other Instruments being more proper to inspire with Heat and Rage; but these Passions they thought rather apt to beget Disorder and Confusion, than to produce any noble and memorable Actions; Valour being not the Effect of a sudden and vanishing Transport, but proceeding from a settled and habitual Firmness and Constancy of Mind: Wherefore they endeavour'd not with Noise and Haste, but with compos'd Minds and settled Countenances, to advance in a majestick and deliberate Pace towards their Enemies. The Manner of it is describ'd by *Plutarch* (i), who tells us, "That the Army being drawn "up in Battle-Array, and the Enemy near, the King sacrific'd a She-

(a) Loco citato. (f)
(d) *A. Gellius*, lib. I. c.
Athenaeus, lib. XII.
scimus. (b) *Ii*
mus *Tyrrius* Dissert
Valerius Maximus
curge,

“ goat, and at the same Time commanded the Soldiers to adorn their
 “ Heads with Garlands, and the Fluters to play *Κασόρειον μέλον*,
 “ the Tune of *Cassor's* Hymn ; and himself, advancing forward, be-
 “ gun the *ἐμβαλίνειον παίδαν*, or Alarm : So that it was at once a
 “ delightful and terrible Sight to see them march on, keeping Pace
 “ to the Tune of their Flutes, without ever troubling their Order,
 “ or confounding their Ranks, their Musick leading them into Dan-
 “ ger chearful and unconcern'd. For (proceeds my Author) Men
 “ thus dispos'd were not likely to be possess'd with Fear, or trans-
 “ ported with Fury ; but they proceeded with a deliberate Valour
 “ full of Hope and good Assurance, as if some Divinity had sensibly
 “ assisted them.” *Maximus* the *Tyrian* attributes to this Method those
 great Successes and numerous Victories, that have render'd the *Spar-
 tan* Name famous in all succeeding Ages ; but it seems peculiarly cal-
 culated and adapted to the Discipline and Temper of that State ; and
 scarce to be imitated, till the old *Lacedæmonian* Resolution and un-
 parallel'd Firmness of Mind shall be recall'd.

The rest of the *Grecians* advanc'd with eager Haste and Fury, and
 in the Beginning of their Onset gave a general Shout to encourage
 and animate themselves, and strike Terror into their Enemies : This
 was call'd *ἀλαλαγμός*, from the Soldiers repeating *ἀλάλ*. *Suidas*
 makes them to have cry'd also *ἐλελεύ*. The first Author of it was
Pan, *Bacchus's* Lieutenant-General in his *Indian Expedition* ; where,
 being encompass'd in a Valley with an Army of Enemies far superior
 to them in Number, he advis'd the God to order his Men in the
 Night to give a general Shout, which so surprized the opposite Army
 that they immediately fled from their Camp : Whence it came to pass,
 that all sudden Fears impress'd upon Mens Spirits without any just
 Reason, were call'd by the *Greeks* and *Romans*, *Panick Terrors* (a).

This Custom seems to have been us'd by almost all Nations, bar-
 barous as well as civil ; and is mention'd by all Writers that treat of
 Martial Affairs : *Homer* hath oblig'd us with several elegant Descrip-
 tions of it, too numerous to be insert'd in this Place : I shall however
 give you one out of the fourth *Iliad* (b), where he resembles the Mi-
 litary Noise to Torrents rowling with impetuous Force from Moun-
 tains into the subjacent Vallies :

Ὡς δ' ὅτε χεῖμαρροι ποταμοὶ, κατ' ὄρεσφι ῥέοντες,
 Ες μισγάγκηαν συμβάλλετον ὀμβρεῖμον ὕδωρ
 Κρηνῶν ἐκ μεγάλων, κοίλης ἔντοδ' αὖ χαράδρης,
 Τῶν δέ τε τηλόσε δ' ἔπειν ἐν ἔρεσιν ἔκλυε παιμὴν,
 Ὡς τῶν μισγομένων γίνετο ἰαχὴ τε, φόβος τε.

As with impetuous Torrent Rivers flow

Into the Vales with mighty Floods they pour,
 Praught with Destruction and an hideous Roar:
 Thus fled, thus posted all the Trojan Rout
 In eager Flight with dismal Noise and Shout.

J. A.

Some may infer from the Beginning of *Homer's* third *Iliad*, that this Noise was only a barbarous Custom, practis'd indeed by the *Trojans*, but laugh'd at by the more civiliz'd *Grecians* (a):

Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ κόσμηθεν ἄμ' ἡγεμόνεσσιν ἕκαστοι,
 Τρῆες μὲν κλαγγῇ τ', ἐνοπῇ ἴσαν ὄρνιθες ὤες,
 ἥτε περ κλαγγῇ γεράνων πέλει ἐρανόδι πρὸς,
 Αἷ τ' ἐπεὶ ἔν χειμῶνα φύγον, καὶ ἀδίσφατον ὄμβρον.
 Κλαγγῇ ταίγε πέτονται ἐπ' ὠκεανοῖο ῥόδων,
 Ἀνδράτε Πυγμαίοισι φόνον καὶ κῆρα φέρεσαι
 Ηἵεαι δ' ἄρα ταί γε κακὴν εἶδα περὶφρονταί.
 Οἱ δ' ἄρ' ἴσαν σιγῇ μένεα πνεύοντες, Ἀχαιοί,
 Ἐν θυμῷ μεμαῶτες ἀλεξέμεν ἀλλήλοισιν.

As, when the nipping Winter's Season's past,
 To a Pygmean Combat Cranes make haste,
 In chearful Flights they blacken from afar
 The Clouds, and gladly meditate a War;
 With Noise and Clangor eagerly they fly;
 Such were the clam'rous Shouts of th' Trojan Enemy.
 Silent and wise the Argian Legions move,
 Fix'd and united by a mutual Love,
 Auxiliary Aid resolv'd to shew,
 If an impending Loss came threat'ning from the Foe. J. A.

But this is only to be understood of their March; as appears likewise from another Passage in the fourth *Iliad*, where the Poet has admirably represented the Order and regular March of the *Grecians*, with the Confusion and disorderly Motion of the *Barbarians* (b):

ἵπασσύτεραι Δαναῶν κίνυντο φάλαγγες
 Νωλεμέως πόλεμόνδε, κέλευε δὲ οἷσιν ἕκαστος
 ἡγεμόνων, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἀκὴν ἴσαν (ὃδὲ κε φαίης
 Τόσσον λαὸν ἔπειδαι ἔχοντ' ἐν σήδεσιν αὐδῇν)
 Σιγῇ δειδιότες σημάντορας ἀμφὶ ὃ πᾶσι
 Τεύχεα ποικίλ' ἔλαμπε, τὰ εἰμένοι ἐσιχθώντο.

Ἀρχῆς μεμακύνται, ἀκέσασαι ὅπα ἀνῶν
 Ως Τρώων ἀλαλητὸς ἀνὰ στρατὸν εὐρὺν ὀρώρει.

With stern and awful Visage Chiefs bear Sway,
 While all their Forces silently obey ;
 In thick Battalions they march along :
 But who wou'd think that such a num'rous Throng
 Shou'd fill the Plains, and scarce e'er use a Tongue ?
 Such pow'rful Chiefs the Grecian Heroes were,
 Thus did their Conduct gracefully appear ;
 And thus they march ; their burnish'd Arms afar
 Display the Lustre of a future War.
 Not in such State advant'd the Trojan Rout,
 With thund'ring Peals of Noise and pompous Shout
 A Tumult they did raise, and th' Air did rend.
 Thus, when a Swain large Flocks of Ewes hath pen'd
 To milk their burthen'd Dugs, they doleful bleat
 Hearing their Lambkins bleating for the Teat. J. A.

Where 'tis manifest he only speaks of their March, because a few Verses after, where he comes to describe the Engagement of the two Armies, he does it in the Words before-cited ; and in all other Places he mentions the great Noise and Clamour of both Parties in their Encounters. Thus in the sixteenth *Iliad* he speaks of *Achilles's Myrmidons* (a),

Ἐν δ' ἔπεσον Τρώεσσι πολλέες ἀμφὶ ῥῆνες
 Σμερδάλειον κονάβησαν αὐσάντων ὑπ' Ἀχαιῶν.

The Grecians press o' th' Trojans with a Noise,
 The Ships reflect the Echo of their Voice.

And a little before (b) ;

Ἐκ νηῶν ἐχέοντο, βοὴ δ' ἄσβεστος ὀρώρει.

They throng out of their Ships with joyful Shout.

Nay so necessary, and almost essential, was this Shout to a Battle, that φύλοπις, αὐτῇ, and βοή, are us'd by the Poet as equivalent Terms for μάχη : And when he commends his Heroes for being βοὴν ἀγαθοί, he often means no more than μάχην ἀγαθοί, excellent Warriors, 'Twas also one Part of a good Soldier's and Commander's Character, to have a strong Voice, not only because it was the Custom to signify their Orders by Word of Mouth before Trumpets were invented, but for the Terror wherewith it surpriz'd and astonish'd their Enemies (c) : Instances of this Nature are very frequent in *Homer*, where *Hector*,

Achilles, and several others strike a Consternation into the adverse Party with a Shout : And, later Authors give this good Quality it's peculiar Commendation ; *Plutarch* in particular, in his Character of *Martinus Coriellanus* the Roman General, observes, that he was not only dreadful to meet in the Field by Reason of his Hand and Stroke, but (what he tells us *Cato* requir'd in an accomplish'd Warrior) insupportable to an Enemy for the very Tone and Accent of his Voice, and the sole Terror of his Aspect.

In the heroical Wars the Generals fought at the Head of their Armies, as appears in all *Homer's* Battles : Whence they are frequently term'd *πρῶμαχοι*, and *πρόμοι*, because they did *πρῶμαχίζεν τῷ στρατῷ*, fight before their Armies : Thus when he led up the *Trojans* (a) :

Τρωσὲν μὲν πρῶμαχίζεν Ἀλέξανδρῳ Διοειδῆς.

At th' Head o' th' *Trojans* God like *Paris* fought.

And when *Achilles* sends out his Soldiers to defend the *Grecian* Ships, having allotted to the rest of his Officers their several Posts, he places *Patroclus* and *Automedon*, as chief Commanders, before the Front (b) :

Πάντων δ' προπάραιθε δὴ δ' ἄνερε θωρήσασθον,
Πάτερ κλῶς τε καὶ Αὐτομέδων, ἕνα θυμὸν ἔχοντες,
Πρόδεν Μυρμιδόνων πολεμιζέμεν.

Before the rest two well-arm'd Chiefs appear'd,

Patroclus and *Automedon*, prepar'd

With equal Courage to begin the Fight

At the Head o' th' *Myrmidons*.—————

To heap up more Instances in a Thing so well known, would be to no Purpose. In wiser Ages this Practice was laid aside, and Generals, considering how much the Event of the Battle depended upon the Preservation of their Persons, usually chose safer Posts, and were more cautious how they adventur'd themselves into Danger.

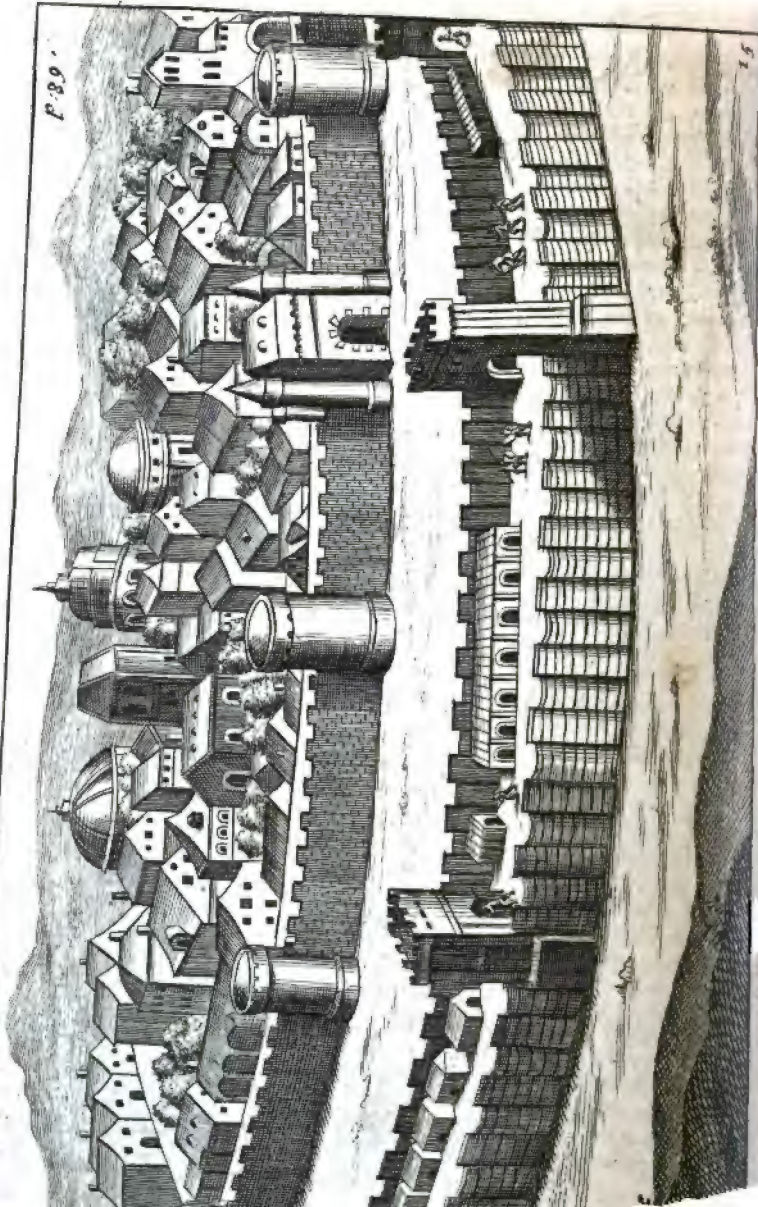
The Retreat, and other Commands, seem usually to have been sounded upon the same Instrument wherewith the Alarm was given : Yet in those Places where the Alarm was sounded by soft and gentle Music, the Retreat and other Orders we find sometimes signify'd upon louder Instruments : Which may be observ'd of the *Lacedemonians*, who seem to have us'd Trumpets in signifying the General's Orders, as appears from *Polybius* (c), who reports that *Cleomenes* commanded a Party of his Army to change their Posts by Sound of Trumpet.

The *Lacedemonians*, when their Enemies fled out of the Field, were not allow'd to prosecute their Victory, or make long and eager

Pursuits after them (a): While they made Opposition, and were able to fight for Mastery, they contended with invincible Courage and Resolution to bear them down; but, when they ceas'd to make Resistance, and yielded the Day, they gave them Liberty to provide for their Safety by Flight, pursuing them only a very short Space, and that by slow and easy Paces: The Reason of which Custom *Pausanias* (b) accounts for, from their strict and inviolate Observance of Order and Discipline, which made them rather chuse to let their Enemies escape, than by breaking their Ranks to overtake them. *Plutarch's* Relation seems also rational, and well-suited to the old Spartan Temper; "That the Spartans, having routed an Enemy, pursued him till they had compleated their Victory, and then sounded a Retreat; thinking it base, and unworthy of true Grecians, to cut Men in Pieces, that had ceas'd from resisting them, and left them the Field: Which Manner of Dealing with those they had conquer'd, did not only shew their Magnanimity and Greatness of Soul, but had a politick End in it too: For their Enemies, knowing that they kill'd only those who made Resistance, and gave Quarter to the rest, generally thought it their best Way to consult their Safety by an early Flight (c)."

One Thing farther remains before the Conclusion of this Chapter, viz. That it was frequent amongst the antient Grecians to put their Cause upon the Issue of a single Combat, and to decide their Quarrels by two, or more, Champions on each Side: And their Kings and great Commanders were so eager in their Pursuit after Glory, and so tender of the Lives of their Subjects, that they frequently sent Challenges to their Rival Princes, to end their Quarrel by a single Encounter, that by the Death of one of them they might prevent the Effusion of more Blood. Remarkable Instances hereof we have in *Xanthus* King of *Bæstia*, who, challenging the King of *Attica*, was slain by him, and so ended a dangerous War between those States (d); and in *Pittacus* the famous *Mitylenian*, who slew *Phryna* the *Athenian* General in a single Combat. Antient Histories are full of such Examples, as likewise of Wars happily concluded by a small Number commissiōn'd by mutual Agreement to decide the Controversy: The *Lacedæmonians* furnish us with one memorable Instance in their Wars with *Argos* about the Title to *Thyrea*, which was determin'd by three hundred on each Side: Nor was the Conclusion of the War between the *Tegeans* and *Pheneans*, two small States in *Arcadia*, less remarkable, being effected by a Combat of three Brothers on each Side (e), all the Circumstances of whose Story run exactly parallel to that of the *Horatii* and *Curiatii* so famous in Roman Histories. The Eastern Countries were acquainted with the same Custom, as may appear from *Goliath's* challenging the *Israelitish* Host to





give him a Man to fight with him, and the Flight of the *Philistines* upon *David's* Victory over their Champion.

C H A P. X.

Of their Sieges, with the most remarkable of their Inventions, and Engines us'd therein.

THERE are no Footsteps of any Siege among the primitive *Grecians*; their Cities were not fortify'd with Walls, but lay open to all the Invaders, and their Inhabitants, once vanquish'd in open Field, became an easy Prey to the Conquerors. Wherefore 'tis not to be wonder'd, that the People of those Times enjoy'd no fix'd and settled Habitations, but frequently remov'd from one Part of the Country to another, being forced to quit their Seats, whenever they were coveted by a Power superior to their own (a).

This moving and unsettled Condition, wherein they continued for some Ages, caus'd them to attempt several Methods to secure themselves: Some built their Cities upon the Tops of unaccessible Rocks and Mountains, whence they could easily repel a greater Force of Enemies: Others, whose Situation was not so defensible, were driven to seek other Ways for their Safety; till at length some Heads of no vulgar Understanding brought forth an amazing Contrivance to inclose their Houses and Possessions within Walls: This at first was look'd on as a Work so wonderful, so far above human Capacity, that the Gods were frequently call'd from their blessed Mansions to undertake it: The Walls of *Troy* (to mention no more) were of divine Workmanship, and rais'd by no meaner Persons than *Neptune* and *Apollo*: But, if Mortals had the Happiness to project and finish so great a Design, they seldom fail'd of being translated to Heaven, and having their Names enroll'd among the exalted Beings, to whom they were thought to make near Approaches, whilst on Earth.

And, since it was their Custom to immortalize the first Author of every little Contrivance, 'tis no Wonder if they conferr'd the same Honours on those great Benefactors to whom they were obliged for the Security and quiet Possession of whatever the rest of their Deities had gratify'd them with. Once, indeed, inclosed within Walls, they look'd upon themselves safe from all Assaults; and, had not a weak Opposition within been sufficient to repel much greater Forces of Invaders, such a Town as *Troy* could never have held out ten Years against an hundred thousand Besiegers.

Nor were the *Grecians* of later Ages, however renown'd for Knowledge in Military Affairs, very willing to undertake, or expert in managing Sieges = but rather chose to end their Quarrels, if possible, by

one decisive Battle, than to undergo the Fatigue and other Incommodities of so tedious, so dangerous, and expensive a Method.

Of all the *Grecians*, the most averse from undertaking Leaguers, and the most unskilful in carrying them on to Advantage, were the *Lacedæmonians*; infomuch that after *Mardonius's* Defeat at *Plataea*, when a Body of *Persians* had taken Refuge in some Wooden Fortifications, they could find no Means to drive them thence, but must have been forced to retire, had not the *Athenians* and some other *Grecians* advanced to their Assistance (a). For we are told by *Plutarch*, That their Law-giver oblig'd them by a special Injunction not easily to engage in besieging Towns; and to lose their Lives in such Undertakings was accounted inglorious, and unworthy a *Spartan*, as we learn from the same Author (b), who, speaking of *Lyfander's* being slain before the Gates of a little *Bæotian* Town call'd *Haliartus*, tells us, "That like
" some common Soldier, or one of the Forlorn Hope, he cast away
" his Life ingloriously, giving Testimony to the antient *Spartans*,
" that they did well to avoid Storming of Walls, where the stoutest
" Man may chance to fall by the Hand not only of an abject Fellow,
" but of a Boy or Woman; as they say *Achilles* was slain by *Paris* at
" the *Scaean* Gate of *Troy* (c);" *Pyrrhus* also, the great King of *Epirus*, fell by the Hand of a Woman at *Argos* (d).

When they endeavour'd to possess themselves of a Town or Castle, it was usual first to attempt it by Storm, surrounding it with their whole Army, and attacking it in all Quarters at once, which the *Greeks* call'd *σάγηνειν*, the *Romans*, *coronâ cingere*. When this Method prov'd ineffectual, they frequently desisted from their Enterprize: But, if resolved to prosecute it, they prepared for a longer Siege; in carrying on which they seem not to have proceeded in any constant and settled Method, but to have varied it according to the Direction of their Generals, as well as the Difference of Time, Place, and other Circumstances.

When they designed to lay close Siege to a Place, the first Thing they went about was *ἀποτειχισμός*, or *περιειχισμός*, the Works of Circumvallation, which we find sometimes to have consisted of a double Wall or Rampire, raised up of Turfs, called in *Greek* *πλίνθος*, and *πλινθία*, in *Latin*, *Cespites*. The interior Fortification was design'd to prevent sudden and unexpected Sallies from the Town, and to deprive it of all Possibility of Succour from without; the exterior to secure them from foreign Enemies, that might come to the Relief of the Besieged. Thus, when the *Peloponnesians* invested *Plataea*, *Thucydides* reports, they raised a double Wall, one towards the City, the other towards *Athens*, to prevent all Danger on that Side: The Middle Space, which was sixteen Feet, was taken up with Lodges for Guards

Engines were call'd by the antient Greeks *μάγισσα*, and afterwards *μαγὰς*. The first Invention of them the *Grecians* claim to themselves, being not easily induced to allow the Contrivance of any Art to other Nations; for it was their Custom to travel into *Egypt*, *India*, and other Eastern Countries, to furnish themselves with Sciences and Inventions, which afterwards they made public in *Europe*, and vented as Productions of their own: Hence was deriv'd most of the *Grecian* Philosophy; and as for Engines used in Sieges, it appears they were invented in the Eastern Nations many Ages before *Greece* had the least Knowledge of, or Occasion for, them: *Moses's* Times seem not to have been unacquainted with them (a); several of the *Jewish* Kings likewise appear to have known the Use of them; whereas the *Grecians* till *Homer's* Time are not found to have had the least Hint of any such Thing: *Statius* indeed carries them as high as the *Trojan* War, and, speaking of the various Presents sent to *Achilles* by the *Grecians*, in order to carry on the War, reports, that *Pylos* and *Messene* furnish'd him with Engines to batter the Walls:

Murorum tormenta Pylos Messenaeque tradunt.

Large batt'ring Engines are from *Pylos* sent,
And from *Messene*.——

But the Poet seems to have forgotten the rude and unskilful Age of this Hero, and to have form'd his Description from the Practice of his own Times; since Authors of better Credit have no Mention of any such Thing. *Homer* indeed speaks of *κράβηται*, which some antient Interpreters take for *κλίμακες*, Scaling-Ladders (b);

———ὁ μὲν ἑπείτα

Κραδάων ἐπίβαινον, ἀναχμένα δ' ἔρετ' ἔχοντες.

Bearing well-pointed Spears, these straight ascend
The Scaling-Ladders.——

But it may with no less Propriety be taken for the Pinnacles of Towers, as we find it us'd in the following Verse (c):

Κραυαὶ μὲν πύργων ἔρυον, καὶ ἔρεπον ἐπ' ἀλξείας.

The Tower's lofty Pinnacles they raz'd,

Demofides and all their Bulwarks.——

Others again will have them to have been as antient as the *Theban* War, and to have been the Contrivance of *Capaneus*, one of the seven Champions; the Story of whose being knock'd down with Thunderbolts was

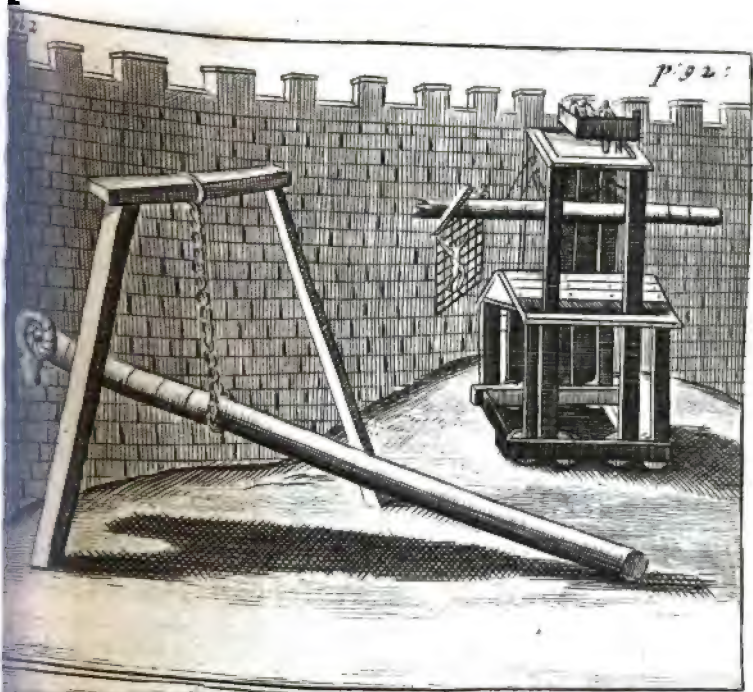
Walls of *Thebes* with Ladders, he was beaten down and slain with Stones : And, since the Contrivance is so easy and obvious, it may not be wholly improbable, that even those Ages were acquainted with it : However, the different Sorts of Ladders were invented afterwards, when some of them were *πηκταὶ* (*a*), *plicatiles*, folded ; others *διαλυταὶ*, *solutiles*, to be taken in Pieces (*b*), for the Convenience of Carriage. The Matter they were composed of was likewise very different, being not only Wood, but Ropes, Leather, &c.

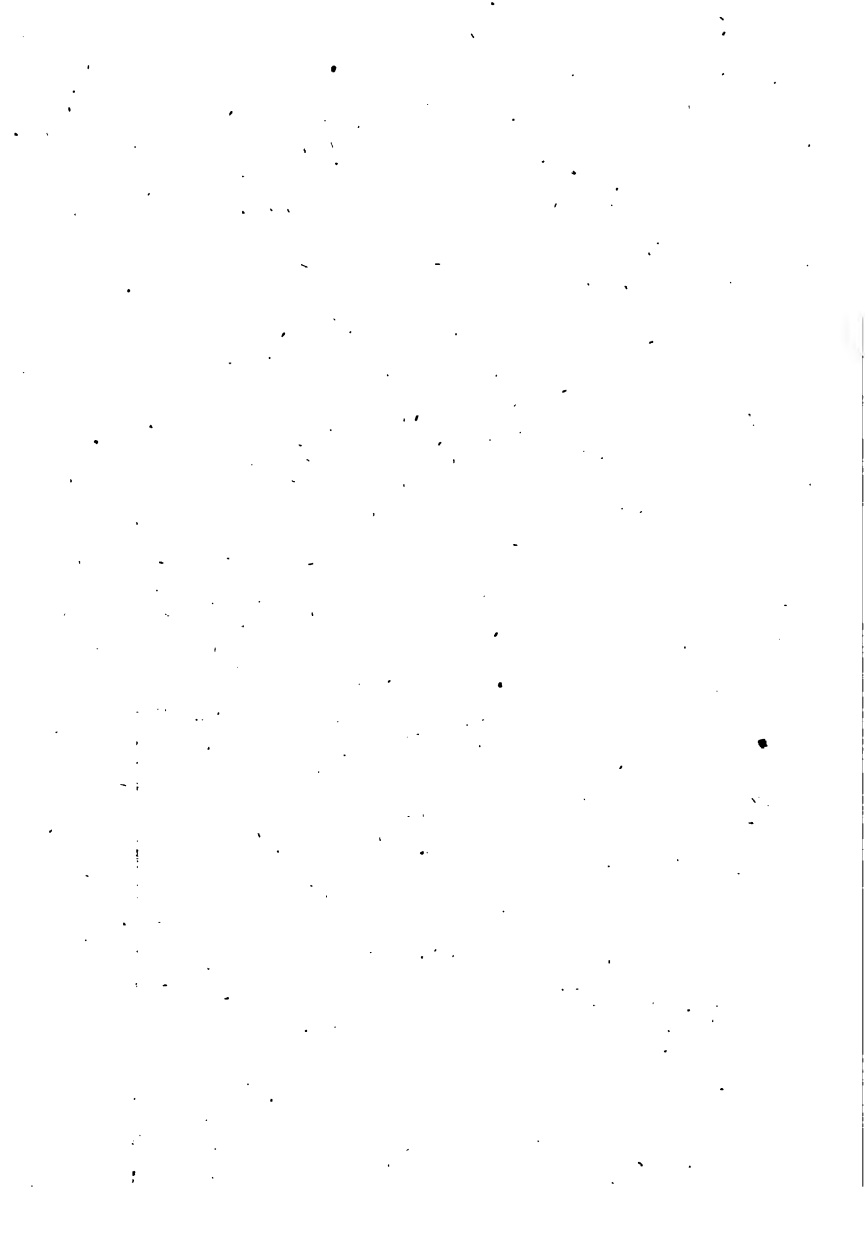
The rest of the Engines seem however to have been later : The *Ram* indeed is said by *Pliny* to have been invented in the *Trojan War*, and to have given occasion to the Fable of the Wooden Horse built by *Epeus* ; it being the constant Practice of those Times to wrap up the Original of every Invention in Fables : But this is only Conjecture, and may with the same Ease be deny'd, as asserted. *Athenæus* indeed speaks of this Engine as very antient (*c*), but doth not fix it's Invention to any determinate Time, only observes that the *Romans* were obliged for it to the *Grecians* ; and since *Vitruvius* gives the Honour of it's Contrivance to the *Carthaginians* in their Siege of *Gades*, and neither *Homer* nor any *Greek Writer* for many Ages after has the least Mention thereof, there seems little Reason to credit *Pliny's* Report. 'Tis probable, however, that those Ages might have some small Helps in Taking Towns contriv'd, as by several others, so particularly by *Epeus*, who is famous in poetical Story for being an Artificer, and (as *Lycophron* reports) was very serviceable on that Account to the *Grecian Army* :

Πύκτην μὲν ἐδλόν, πῶκα δ' ἐν κλύωφ δ' ὀρδς,
Καὶ παλῖσα τέχναις ὠφελήσαντα στρατὸν (*d*).

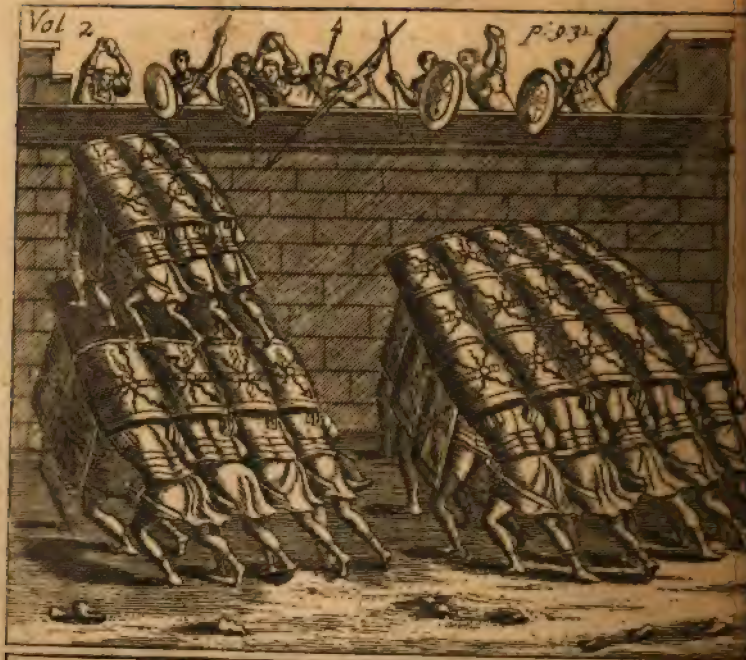
Dauntless in Boxing, but dismay'd at th' Sound
Of clashing Arms ; yet by his famous Art
He was most useful to the *Grecian Fleet*.

But these Devices seem to have been exceeding contemptible, and unartificial ; and therefore were wholly laid aside in wiser Ages, and, it may be, never practised but at their first Invention. The only constant Instruments used by the antient *Grecians* in demolishing Walls, were (for aught appears to the contrary) those they call'd *τρούπανα*, in *Latin*, *terebra*, which were long Irons with sharp Ends. Wherefore 'tis reasonable to conclude that most of their famous Engines were invented about the Time of the *Peloponnesian War*, wherein 'tis plain from *Thucydides* they were used. *Diodorus* and (*e*) *Plutarch* (*f*) will have *Pericles* to have contriv'd several of them by the Assistance of *Artemon*, an Artificer of *Clazomene*, as Rams, Tortoises, &c. yet *Cornelius Nepos* reports, that some of them were used in the Age before by *Miltiades*









Egones, that battering Engines were first employ'd in the *Samian War* by *Pericles*, and compos'd at that Time by *Artemon*, being then a strange and surprizing Sight, presently after adds, that *Heraclides* of *Pontus* will have that Engineer to have flourish'd several Ages before the *Samian War*; so that nothing of Certainty can be expected in this Matter. The Principal of the *Grecian Inventions* were these which follow:

1. *Χελών, testudo*, a Tortoise, a defensive Invention, so call'd from covering and sheltering the Soldiers, as a Tortoise is covered by it's Shell. Several Sorts we find of it; as,

1. *Χελών σκελιστων, testudo militaris*, termed sometimes *συναστιαδος*, when the Soldiers drawn up close to one another, and the hindermost Ranks bowing themselves, placed their Targets above their Heads; as if we suppose the first Rank to stand erect, the rest to stoop lower and lower by Degrees, till the last Rank kneel'd upon the Ground: the Men in the Front and on the Sides holding their Targets before their Bodies, the rest covering the Heads of those that were placed before them; so that the whole Body resembled a Pent-House or Roof cover'd with Tiles, down which the Enemy's missive Weapons easily glided without Prejudice to the Soldiers underneath. This Invention was us'd in Field-Battles, but more frequently in surprizing Cities before the Besieged were prepared for Defence; and serv'd to protect the Besiegers in their Approach to the Walls.

2. *Χελών χωσπικ* was four-square: The chief Design thereof was (as the Name imports) to guard the Soldiers in filling Ditches, and casting up Mounts.

3. *Χελών ορυξ* was triangular, with it's Front shelving downwards for the Protection of the Pioneers, who undermin'd Walls.

4. To these may be added *Testudo arietaria*, wherewith those that battered the Walls were protected; of which afterwards.

Γέφυρα, Wicker-Hurdles, resembling the *Roman vineæ*, which the Soldiers held over their Heads. The Word came at length to signify *Trifles*, from the Siege of *Syracuse*, where the *Athenians* calling continually for Hurdles to shelter them, the Besiegers in Derision cry'd *Γέφυρα, γέφυρα*.

Another Engine compos'd of Boards, and like the *Roman Pluteus*, was used by *Alexander's* Soldiers, as we read in *Curtius*.

5. *Σάμα, agger*, a Mount, which was raised so high as to equal, if not exceed, the Top of the besieged Walls: The Sides were walled in with Bricks or Stones, or secured with strong Rafter to hinder it from falling; the Fore-part only, being by Degrees to be advanced nearer the Walls, remained bare. The Pile itself consisted of all sorts of Materials, as Earth, Timber, Boughs, Stones, &c. as *Thucydides* reports in the Siege of *Plataea*: Into the Middle were cast also Wickers, and Twigs of Trees, to fasten, and, as it were, cement the other Parts. The whole Fabrick is thus described by *Lucan* (c):

— tunc omnia late

*Procumbunt nemora, & spoliantur robore silvæ;
Ut, cum terra levis mediam virgultaque molem
Suspendant, structâ laterum compage ligatam
Arctet humum, pressus ne cedat turribus agger.*

The Groves are fell'd, and strongest Timber sought,
From thickest Forests largest Oaks are brought,
To make strong Rafters to support the Pile,
Lest th' Earth break in, and frustrate all their Toil,
Unable to sustain the Tower's Weight.

H. H.

Πύργοι, *Turres*, moveable Towers of Wood, usually placed upon the Mount: They were driven upon Wheels, which were fix'd within the Bottom-Planks to secure them from the Enemies. Their Size was not always the same, but proportioned to the Towers of the City they besieg'd; the Front was usually cover'd with Tiles, and in later Times the Sides were likewise guarded with the same Materials; their Tops were cover'd with raw Hides, and other Shrowds, to preserve them from Fire-Balls and missive Weapons: They were form'd into several Stories, which were able to carry not Soldiers only, but several Sorts of Engines; whence *Silius* (a);

*Turris multiplici surgens ad fidera tedio
Exibat, tabulata decem cui crescere Grajus
Fecerat, & multas nemorum consumserat umbras.*

Thin were the Groves, and scarce cou'd boast a Shade,
When th' *Grajan* with ten Rooms a Tower made,
Whose various Turrets seem'd the Stars t' invade.

}

The first Contrivance is attributed to some Artificers of *Sicily* about the Time of *Dionysius* the Tyrant; by some to *Polyidus* a *Thessalian*, *Philip* of *Macedon's* Engineer (b); by others to *Diades* and *Chæreas* (c), who were *Polyidus's* Scholars, and entertain'd by *Alexander* in his Eastern Expedition: The last of these seem rather to have been Improvers of the former Invention, for we find mention of Wooden Towers in the elder *Dionysius's* Reign (d): It may be the Device of making *πύργους φορητὰς* portable *Turrets*, to be taken in Pieces and carry'd along with the Army, may be owing to them.

Κερας, *Aries*, the Ram, was an Engine with an Iron-Head, call'd in *Greek* κεφαλὴ or ἐμβολή, resembling a Ram's Head, wherewith they batter'd the Enemies Walls. Of this there were three Kinds:

1. The first was plain and unartificial, being nothing but a large

2. The second was hung with Ropes to another Beam, by the Help of which they thrust it forward with much greater Force.

3. The third differ'd only from the former, as being cover'd with a *χελών*, or Shroud, to guard the Soldiers, whence 'tis call'd *Tessudo arietaria*.

The Beam was sometimes no less than an hundred and twenty Feet in Length, and cover'd with Iron Plates, lest those who defended the Walls should set it on Fire; the Head was arm'd with as many Horns as they pleased: *Josephus* reports that one of *Vespasian's* Rams, the Length whereof was only fifty Cubits, which came not up to the Size of several of the *Grecian* Rams, had an Head as thick as ten Men, and twenty five Horns, each of which was as thick as one Man, and plac'd a Cubit's Distance from the rest; the Weight hung (as was customary) upon the Hinder-Part, weigh'd no less than one thousand and five hundred Talents; when it was remov'd from one Place to another, if it was not taken in Pieces, an hundred and fifty Yoke of Oxen, or three hundred Pair of Horses and Mules labour'd in drawing it; and no less than fifteen hundred Men employ'd their utmost Strength in forcing it against the Walls. At other Times we find these Rams driven upon Wheels.

Ελέπολις was first invented by *Demetrius*, Son to *Antigonus*, who, having taken *Rhodes*, with several other Towns, by the Help of this Engine, was honour'd with the Sirname of *πολιορκητής*. We have several Descriptions of it left by *Vitruvius* (a), *Plutarch* (b), and *Diodorus* (c), who, tho' differing in other Points, are thus far agreed, That it was a Machine of prodigious Bulk, not unlike the Ram cover'd with the Shroud, but vastly bigger, and of far greater Force; that it was driven both with Ropes and Wheels, and contain'd several other smaller Engines, out of which Stones and other missive Weapons were cast.

Καταπέλται are used in different Senses, sometimes for Arrows, sometimes for Engines, out of which Arrows were cast; in the latter of which Significations they were term'd *ὀξυβελεῖς*, and *βελοςάσεις*. They are likewise, tho' not very properly, taken for Engines to cast Stones; and we find them sometimes used to throw great Pieces of Timber. The Invention of them is ascrib'd to the *Syrians* by *Pliny*; but *Diodorus* (d) and *Plutarch* report, they were first contriv'd in *Sicily*, about the Time in which the elder *Dionysius* engag'd in the War with *Carthage*.

Engines to cast Stones were of several Sorts; some only for smaller Stones, such as *σφένδαυραι*, Slings; others for those also of a larger Size, call'd sometimes only by the general Names of *μάγαρα*, and *μαγχανικά ὄργανα*, or *αφετήρια ὄργανα*, the former of which seem to signify all Sorts of Engines, the latter all those design'd to cast missive Weapons; sometimes by more peculiar Titles, as *λιθοβόλοι*, *περιεβόλοι*, *περιεβολικά ὄργανα*, which Names are yet so general, as to comprehend all Engines that cast Stones: Nor is there any proper Term, that I know

of, for that famous Engine, out of which Stones, of a Size not less than Mill-stones, were thrown with so great Violence as to dash whole Houses in pieces at a Blow: 'Twas call'd indeed by the *Romans*, *Bal-lista*; but this Name, tho' of *Grecian* Original, appears not to have been us'd in *Greece*: This Engine however was known there, and was the same with that us'd by the *Romans*, the Force of which is thus express'd by *Lucan* (a);

*At saxum quoties ingenti verberis ictu
Excutitur, qualis rupes, quam vertice montis
Abscidit impulsu ventorum adjuta vetustas;
Frangit cuncta ruens, nec tantum corpora pressa
Exanimat, totus cum sanguine dissipat artus.*

Such is the Force, when massy Stones are thrown,
As when from some Mount's Top a Rock falls down,
Which now worn out with Age can't longer bear
The Shock of Winds, and Fury of the Year;
They break thro' all that in their Passage lie,
And do thro' Walls and Houses force their Way,
Not only kill the Man, but spread all o'er
The Ground his scatter'd Limbs and reeking Gore. H. H.

These were the most remarkable Engines the *Grecians* used in taking Towns. It will be expected in the next Place, that some Account be given of the Methods by which the Besieg'd defended themselves.

Upon the Enemy's Approach, they gave Notice to their Confederates (if they had any) to hasten to their Assistance: In the Day this was done by raising a great Smoke; in the Night by Fires, or lighted Torches, call'd *φρυκτοί* and *φρυκτωρία*, whence to signify the coming of Enemies was call'd *φρυκτωρεῖν* (b). These Torches were term'd *φρυκτοί πολέμιοι*, to distinguish them from those they call'd *φρυκτοί φίλαιοι*, which were lighted upon the Approach of Friends: They differ'd in this, that the latter were held firm and unmov'd, the former to's'd and wav'd to and fro in the Air.

They seem not to have had any constant Method of defending themselves; but thus much may be observ'd in general, that the Walls were guarded with Soldiers, who, with Stones, and all Sorts of missive Weapons, assaulted the Invaders; and the *καταπέλται*, with other Engines of that Kind, were planted within the Town, and play'd upon them. Several other Methods were practis'd against them, as when the *Tyrians* heating Brass Bucklers red hot, and filling them with Sand and Lime, pour'd it upon *Alexander's* Soldiers which getting between

without receiving any Hurt. Several Ways they had to elude the Force of their Engines, and defeat their Stratagems: Their Mines they render'd ineffectual by Countermines; their Mounts they let fall to the Ground by Undermining their Foundations: Their Towers and all their Engines they burn'd with Fire-balls; themselves they defended with Skins, Wool-packs, and other Things proper to ward off Stones, and other missive Weapons: The Heads of Battering-Rams they broke off with Stones of a prodigious Size from the Walls; or (as we read of the *Tyrians*) render'd them useless by cutting the Ropes, whereby they were govern'd, with long Scythes: And, if there remain'd no Hope of defending their Walls, they sometimes rais'd new ones with Forts within. Many other Contrivances were us'd, as the Posture of Affairs requir'd, and as the Besieg'd were ingenious in finding out Methods for their own Preservation.

The Manner of treating the Cities they had taken, was not always the same, depending upon the Temper of the General, who sometimes put all, at least all that were in Arms, to the Sword, demolish'd the Walls and Buildings, and made the rest Slaves; sometimes graciously receiv'd them into Favour, requiring only some tributary Acknowledgment. The *Athenians* had a Custom of sending Colonies to inhabit the Places they had depopulated, which they divided by Lots among some of the Commonalty, when met together in a public Assembly (a).

When they demolish'd a City, it was frequent to pronounce direful Curses upon whoever should endeavour to rebuild it; which some imagine was the Reason that *Troy* could never be rais'd out of it's Ashes, though several Persons attempted it, being devoted to eternal and irreparable Ruin by *Agamemnon* (b): This seems to have been a very antient Custom, and deriv'd from the Eastern Nations; for (to omit other Instances) we find *Joshua*, at the Destruction of *Jericho*, to have fix'd an Imprecation upon the Person that should rebuild it (c), which was accomplish'd in *Hiel* the *Bethelite* many Ages after, in the Reign of *Abab* (d).

C H A P. XI.

Of the Slain, and their Funerals.

THE antient *Grecians* seem to have treated the Bodies of their dead Enemies in a very undecent and inhuman Manner, basely revenging the Injuries they had receiv'd from them whilst living, by disfiguring, and stabbing their Carcasses, and exposing them to Scorn and Ignominy: Which custom had its source in a Religion was not thorough-

Iliads, where dead Enemies are dismember'd by insulting Conquerors; none of which is more remarkable than that of *Hector*, who lay unburied many Days, was dragg'd round *Troy's* Walls, and *Patroclus's* Sepulchre, and suffer'd all Sorts of Indignities. This indeed might be imputed to *Achilles's* extravagant Rage for the Loss of *Patroclus*, or (as the *Scholiast* (a) affirms) to a peculiar Custom of *Thessaly*, his native Country, where it was their constant Practice to drag at their Chariots the Murderers of their near Friends; did it not appear that the rest of the *Grecians* us'd him in a Manner no less brutish and barbarous, insulting over him, and stabbing his dead Body (b).

Ἡ ῥὰ καὶ ἐκ νεκροῦ ἐρύσσατο χάλκεον ἔγχος,
 Καὶ τὸ γ' ἀνέυθεν ἔθνηχ'· ἰδ' ἀπ' ὤμων τεύχε' ἐσύλα
 Αἱματόεντ'· ἄλλοι δ' ἐπερίδραμον ἦς Ληαιῶν,
 "Οἱ καὶ θήσαντο φωνὴν καὶ ἄδον ἀγυτὸν
 Ἐκτοροῦ, ἰδ' ἄρα οἱ τις ἀνιττεῖ γε παρῆσιν·
 ὦδε δὲ τις εἶπεσκεν ἰδὼν ἐς πλοσίον ἄλλον,
 ὦ πάροις, ἦ μάλα δὴ μαλακώτερόν μ' ἀμφαράαζ
 Ἐκτος, ἢ ὅτε νῆας ἐνέπρυσεν περὶ κελίφ.

Thus having said, with unrelenting Force
 He rends his vengeful Spear from *Hector's* Corse;
 Too small the Recompence one Death cou'd give,
 But, *Hector* dead, his *Manes* still must grieve:
 He then the bloody, lifeless Corps despoil'd;
 And Soldiers, with avenging Fury fill'd,
 With eager Haste about his Body press,
 Admire his Stature, and his Comeliness;
 Each vents his Rage upon th' already slain,
 As tho' they meant to kill him o'er again:
 Then thus one pointing to his Neighbour said,
 With vaunting Words insulting o'er the Dead,
 "Is this the *Hector*, whose tremendous Name-
 "Brought Fear and Terror wherefo'er it came?
 "Gods! How he's chang'd since when he threw his Fire
 "Amidst our Ships, and made whole *Greece* retire?" H. H.

Tydeus has no better Treatment in *Statius* (c);

Ducitur hostili (proh dura potentia Fati!)

Tydeus ille solo, modo cui Thebana sequenti

Agmina, sive gradum seu frena effunderet, ingens

Et formidatus impune laceffere vultus ;

Hic amor, hoc unà timidi, fortesque sequuntur

Nobilitare manus, insectaque fanguine tela

Conjugibus servant, parvisque ostendere natis.

At God-like *Tydeus* (wretched Turn of Fate !)

Th' avenging *Tyrians* level all their Hate ;

At God-like *Tydeus*, whose commanding Sway

Thro' *Theban* Troops did propagate Dismay ;

Whether he mounted on his Horse appear'd,

Or for destructive War on Foot prepar'd,

Th' opposing Squadrons dar'd not long to stay,

But, where he led, submissively gave Way ;

Yet he, brave Chief, is dragg'd along the Field,

And bears what Foes, with Pow'r and Fury fill'd,

Cou'd e'er inflict ; his dreadful Arms they seize ;

All stab his Corps, and tear his manly Face ;

The most opposing Minds in this conspire,

The Tim'rous and the Brave alike desire

To stab the Body of their Foe, when slain,

And with his Blood their glatted Blades to stain :

These they as Marks of highest Honour prize,

And keep to shew their Wives, and blooming Boys. *H. H.*

Whence it appears to have been their constant Practice, and look'd on as very consistent with Virtue and Honour ; as *Servius* hath likewise observ'd, when *Virgil's* *Mercutius* was us'd in the same Manner. The Poet indeed does not expressly affirm any such Thing, which notwithstanding plainly appears ; for whereas he only receiv'd two Wounds from *Aeneas* (a), we find his Breast-plate afterwards pierc'd thro' in twelve, i. e. a great many Places, a determinate Number being put for an indefinite (b) ;

— *his sex thoraca petitum*

Perfossunque locis.

Thro' twice six Places was his Breast-plate pierc'd.

The barbarous Nations were not less guilty of this inhuman Practice. *Leonidas* King of *Sparta*, having valiantly lost his Life in fighting against *Xerxes*, had his Head fix'd upon a Pole, and his Body gibbeted (c) : But the *Grecians* were long before that Time convinced of the Villany and Baseness of such Actions ; and therefore when *Pausanias* the *Spartan* was urg'd to retaliate *Leonidas's* Injury upon *Mardonius* *Xerxes's* General overcome at *Platæa*, he refus'd to be con-

Grecian : Even in the Times of the *Trojan War* the *Greeks* were much reform'd from the Inhumanity as well of their own Ancestors, as other Nations ; it had formerly been customary for the Conquerors to hinder their Enemies from interring their Dead, till they had paid large Sums for their Ransom ; and some Footsteps of this Practice are found about that Time ; *Heſtor's* Body was redeem'd from *Achilles* (a) ; *Achilles* was again redeem'd from the *Trojans* for the same Price he had receiv'd for *Heſtor* (b) ;

Λαζὼν ὃ ταύρε τῷ πεφασμένῳ δάνῳ
 Σκεδρῶν ταλάντῳ τρυτάνης ἡρτημένον,
 Αὔθις τὸν ἀτίποινον ἐκχέαις ἴσαν,
 Παικτώλιον σαδμοῖσι τηλαυγῇ μύδρον,
 Κεχτῆρα βάκχε δύσεται—————

A Ransom large as that which *Priam* gave,
 That Royal *Heſtor's* mangled Corps might have
 The happy Priv'lege of a decent Grave,
 By *Argian* Chiefs shall be repaid to *Troy*,
 And then the slain *Achilles* shall enjoy
 That honourable Urn the grateful God
 Upon his Mother *Thetis* had bestow'd.

H. H.

Nisus is introduc'd by *Virgil*, dissuading his Friend *Euryalus* from accompanying him into Danger, lest, if he were slain, there should be no Person that would recover by Fight, or redeem his Body (c) :

Sit, qui me raptum pugna, pretiove redemptum
 Mandet humo solita.—————

Let there be one, who, mov'd with pitying Care,
 Wou'd me redeem made Pris'ner of the War,
 Or, ransom'd, decently my Corps interr.

Whence it appears, that the Redemption of the Dead was practis'd in those Days, and if neglected, they were frequently suffer'd to lie unbury'd ; which Misfortune happen'd to many of *Homer's* Heroes, as we learn from the very Entrance of the first *Iliad*, where he thus speaks of *Achilles's* Anger,

Πολλὰς δ' ἰφθίμους ψυχὰς αἰεὶ προΐαψεν
 Ἡρώων, αὐτὰς δ' ἑλώρια τευχε κνευσοσιν,
 Οἰωνοῖσι τε παῖσι.—————

And num'rous Crowds of valiant Heroes Ghosts
 Sent mournful down unto the *Stygian* Coasts,
 Whilst uninterr'd on Earth their Bodies lay,

But this was not so common as in more early Ages, for we find *Achilles* himself celebrating the Funeral of *Eetion* King of *Thebes* in *Cilicia*, and the Father of *Andromache*, whom the Poet introduces, speaking thus (a);

Ητοι γδ πατέρ' ἀμὸν ἀπέκτανε δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς,
 Εκ δ' πόλιν πέρσεν Κιλίκων εὐ ναιετάσσαν,
 Θήσῃν ὑψίπυλον, κατὰ δ' ἔκτανεν Ηετίωνα·
 Οὐδέ μιν ἐξενάειξε, σεβδάωτο γδ τό γε θυμῷ,
 Ἀλλ' ἄρσ' μιν κατίκῃσιν σὺν ἔντεσι δαιδαλέοισιν,
 Ηδ' ἐπὶ σῆμ' ἔχεν.—

Then when the Walls of *Thebes* he overthrew,
 His fatal Hand my Royal Father slew,
 He slew *Eetion*, but despoil'd him not,
 Nor in his Hate the Fun'ral Rites forgot;
 Arm'd as he was he sent him whole below,
 And reverenc'd thus the *Manes* of his Foe;
 A Tomb he rais'd.—

Mr Dryden.

And *Agamemnon* granted the *Trojans* free Leave to perform the Funeral Rites of all their Slain, promising upon Oath to give them no Disturbance (b);

Ἀμφὶ δ' νεκροῖσιν κατὰ κῆμεν ἔτι μεγαίρω·
 Οὐ γὰρ τις φοιδῶ νεκρῶν κατὰ τεθνηῶτων
 Γίγνεται, ἐπεὶ κε θάνασι, πυρὸς μελισσόμεν ὥκα·
 Ὅρμισα δ' Ζεὺς ἴσῳ ἐρίγδυστος πόσις Ἡρῆς.

I envy not the Priv'lege of the Dead,
 I grant, that they upon the Pile be lay'd:
 Let *Jove* be Witness to the Vows I make,
 Nor will I e'er the binding Cov'nant break.

H. H.

Not long before, the *Grecians* were perfect Strangers to this Piece of Humanity, for we are told that *Hercules* was the first that ever gave Leave to his Enemies to carry off their Dead (c); and others report, that the first Treaty made for the recovering and burying the Bodies of the Slain, was that of *Theseus* with the *Thebans* to inter the Heroes that lost their Lives in the *Theban* War (d). In succeeding Ages it was look'd on as the greatest Impiety to deny what they thought a Debt to Nature, and was rarely, or never done to lawful Enemies, except upon

generous Temper, and unworthy *Grecians* to vent their Malice, when their Enemies were depriv'd of all Power to defend themselves.

The *Athenians* seem to have been careful to Excess and Superstition in procuring an honourable Interment for the Bodies of their own Soldiers that had valiantly lost their Lives; insomuch that the ten Admirals that gain'd that famous Victory over the *Lacedemonians* in the Sea-fight at *Arginusæ*, were put to Death chiefly on this Pretence, that they were said not to have taken due Care in gathering the Bodies that floated on the Waves; when yet they alledg'd, that they were hindered by a Tempest which might have been dangerous to the whole Fleet, had they not provided for their Safety by a timely Retreat (a): This, no doubt, was one Cause why, after a Battle upon the *Corinthian* Territories, *Nicias* the *Athenian* General, finding that two of his Men were left by an Oversight, when they carry'd off their Dead, made an Halt, and sent an Herald to the Enemy for Leave to carry them off, hereby renouncing all Title to the Victory, which belong'd to him before, and losing the Honour of erecting a *Trophy*; for it was presum'd that he who ask'd Leave to carry off his Dead could not be Master of the Field (b). After that, *Chabrias* having put to Flight the *Lacedemonians* at *Naxos*, rather than leave any of his Soldiers, or their Bodies, to the Mercy of the Waves, chose to desist from prosecuting his Victory, when he was in a fair Way to have destroy'd the Enemies whole Fleet (c).

When they carried their Arms into distant Countries, they reduc'd the Bodies of the Dead to Ashes, that those at least might be convey'd to their Relations, and repositied in the Tombs of their Ancestors: The first Author of which Custom (they say) was *Hercules*, who having sworn to *Licymnius* to bring back his Son *Argius*, if he would give him leave to accompany him in his Expedition against *Troy*; the young Man dying, he had no other Expedient to make good his Oath, but by delivering his Ashes to his Father (d): However, we find it practis'd in the *Trojan* War, where *Nestor* advis'd the *Grecians* to burn all their Dead, and preserve them there till their Return into *Greece* (e);

Αὐτοὶ δ' ἀγρόμενοι κυκλήσομεν ἐνθάδε νεκρὸς
 Βοτὶ καὶ ἡμιόνουσιν· ἀτὰρ κατακόμεν αὐτὸς
 Τυτθὸν ἀπο πρὸ νεῶν, ὃς κ' ὅςτα παῖσιν ἔκατο·
 Οἴκαδ' ἄγῃ, ὅταν αὐτὲς νεώμεθα πατρίδα γαῖαν.

Oxen and Mules, in solemn Order led,
 To us assembled here, shall bring our Dead,

The *Lacedæmonians* thought this an unprofitable Labour, and therefore bury'd their Dead in the Country where they died; only their Kings they embalm'd with Honey, and convey'd them Home, as we learn from *Plutarch* (a), who reports, that when *Agæfilas* resign'd his Life at the Haven of *Mensaus*, a desert Shore in *Africa*, the *Spartans*, having no Honey to embalm his Body, wrap'd it in Wax, and so carry'd it to *Lacedæmon*.

The Soldiers all attended at the Funeral Solemnities with their Arms turn'd upside down, it being customary for Mourners in most of their Actions to behave themselves in a Manner contrary to what was usual at other Times: In those Places where it was the Fashion to wear long Hair, Mourners were shav'd; and where others shav'd, Mourners wore long Hair: Their Conjecture therefore is frivolous, who imagine the Soldiers turn'd the Heads of their Shields downwards, lest the Gods, whose Images were engraven upon them, should be polluted with the Sight of a Corps (b); since not the Gods only, but any other Figures, were frequently represented there; nor some few only, but the whole Company held them in the same Posture: Besides, not the Shields alone, but their other Arms were pointed downwards: Thus *Evander's Arcadians*, with the rest of *Æneas's* Soldiers in *Virgil* (c), follow *Pallas's* *Herse*,

—*Tum mæsta Phalanx, Teucrique sequuntur,
Tyrrenique duces, & versis Arcades armis.*

Next went the mournful Troop, Captains from *Troy*,
Tyrrenia, and from pleasant *Arcady*,
With Arms turn'd downward.

The *Grecian* Princes in *Statius* (d) observe the same Custom;

—*versus ducunt insignibus ipsi
Grajugena reges.*—

The *Grecian* Chiefs the sad Procession led
With Ensigns downwards turn'd.—

Their Tombs were adorn'd with Inscriptions shewing their Names, and sometimes their Parentage, and Exploits, which Honour the *Spartan* Lawgiver granted to none beside Women who dy'd in Child-bed, and Soldiers (e) that lost their Lives in Battle: These were bury'd with green Boughs, and honour'd with an Oration in their Praise: Such of them as had excell'd the rest, and were judg'd compleat and perfect Warriors, had a farther Honour of being interr'd in their Red-Coats, which were the Soldiers Habit at *Sparta* (f). Their Arms were likewise fix'd upon their Tombs; whence *Leonidas* the *Spartan* King is introduced in the Epigram refusing *Xerxes's* purple Robe, and

Παλὺ Λεωνίδεω καλιδὼν δέμας αἰτοδάκτον
 Ξέρξης, ἐχλαίνε φάρει πορφύρεω
 Κῆκ τεκύνων δ' ἤχνησεν ὁ τὰς Σπάρτας μέγας Ἥρω·
 “ Οὐδέχομαι προδόταις μισθὸν ὀφειλόμενον.
 “ Ἀσπίς μοι τύμβε κόσμος μέγας ἔρρε τὰ Περσῶν,
 “ Ἡζω κ' εἰς αἶδην ὡς Λακεδαιμόνι.”

Whilst *Xerxes* mov'd with pitying Care beheld
 Th' unhappy *Spartan*, who himself had kill'd ;
 The Royal *Persian* with officious Haste
 His purple Robe about the Body cast ;
 'Till dying *Leonidas* Silence broke,
 And thus that gen'rous *Spartan* Hero spoke :
 “ Forbear, fond Prince, this unbecoming Pride,
 “ No *Persian* Pomp shall e'er these Reliques hide.
 “ Soft purple Palls are only us'd by those,
 “ Who have betray'd their Country to their Foes ;
 “ My Buckler's all the Ornament I'll have,
 “ 'Tis that which better shall adorn my Grave
 “ Than 'Scutcheon, or a formal Epitaph ;
 “ My Tomb thus honour'd, I'll triumphant go
 “ Like some brave *Spartan* to the Shades below.” *H. H.*

This Custom was not peculiar to *Sparta*, but practis'd over all *Greece* ; where, besides their Arms, it was usual to add the Badge of whatever other Profession they had borne. *Elpenor*, appearing in the *Shades below* to *Ulysses*, intreats him to fix the Oar he us'd to row with, upon his Tomb, and to cast his Arms into the Funeral Pile (a) ;

Ἀλλὰ με κάκκηαι σὺν τεύχεσιν ἅσα μοι ἐσὶν,
 Σῆμά τε μοι χεύσαι πολλῆς ἐπὶ θινὶ θαλάσσης
 Ἄνδρες δυσήνοιο καὶ ἑωμένοισι πυθέσθαι.
 Ταῦτά κ' ἐμοὶ τελέσαι, πῆξαι τ' ἐπὶ ῥύμβῳ ἑρετμάν,
 Τῷ καὶ ζῶδες ἔρεσσον, ἐὼν μετ' ἐμοῖς ἐτάρμισιν.
 Whatever Arms remain to me, when dead,
 Shall with my Corps upon the Pile be laid ;

Misemus, *Aeneas's* Trumpeter, has both his Arms, Oar, and Trumpet fix'd upon his Grave (a):

*At pius Aeneas ingenti mole sepulcrum
Imponit, suaque arma viro, remumque, tubamque.*

A Tomb of vast Extent *Aeneas* rear'd,
Where the dead Corps was decently interr'd,
And on't his Arms, his Oar, and Trumpet fix'd.

It was customary for the *Spartan* Matrons, when there had been a Fight near Home, to examine the Bodies of their dead Sons; and such as had received more Wounds behind than before, they conveyed away privately, or left them in the common Heap; but those who had a greater Number of Wounds in their Breasts, they carried away with Joy and Triumph, to be repositd amongst their Ancestors (b): They were carry'd Home upon their Bucklers; whence that famous Command of the Mother to her Son related in *Plutarch* (c), *ἢ τὰν, ἢ ἐπὶ τᾷ, i. e.* either bring this (meaning his Buckler) Home with you, or be brought upon it: To which Custom *Ausonius* alludes (d);

Arma super veberis quid, Thraſybulc, tua?

Why are you thus upon your Buckler borne,
Brave *Thraſybulus*?

The *Athenians* used to place the Bodies of their Dead in Tents three Days before the Funeral, that all Persons might have Opportunity to find out their Relations, and pay their last Respects to them: Upon the fourth Day a Coffin of Cypress was sent from every Tribe, to convey the Bones of their own Relations; after which went a covered Herse in Memory of those whose Bodies could not be found: All these, accompany'd with the whole Body of the People, were carry'd to the public Burying-place, call'd *Ceramicus*, and there interr'd: One Oration was spoken in Commendation of them all, and their Monuments adorn'd with Pillars, Inscriptions, and all other Ornaments usual about the Tombs of the most honourable Persons. The Oration was pronounced by the Fathers of the deceas'd Persons, who had behaved themselves most valiantly. Thus after the famous Battle of *Marathon*, the Fathers of *Callimachus* and *Cynægirus* were appointed to make the Funeral-Oration (e). And upon the Return of the Day, upon which the Solemnity was first held, the same Oration was constantly repeated every Year (f). This was their ordinary Practice at *Athens* (g), but

Bodies interr'd in the Place where they fell, to perpetuate the Memory of that wonderful Victory.

It may be observ'd farther, that in their Lists the Names of the Soldiers deceas'd were mark'd with the Letter θ , being the Initial of θ άvητες, i. e. Dead; those of the living with τ , the first in τ ηρέμενοι, i. e. Preserv'd: Which Custom was afterwards taken up by the Romans (a).

C H A P. XII.

Of their Booty taken in War; their Gratitude to their Gods after Victory; their Trophies, &c.

THEIR Booty consisted of Prisoners and Spoils. The Prisoners that could not ransom themselves, were made Slaves, and employ'd in the Service of their Conquerors, or sold.

The Spoils were distinguish'd by two Names, being either taken from the Dead and term'd σκῦλα; or from the Living, which they call'd λάφυρα: They consisted of whatever Moveables belong'd to the Conquer'd, whose Right and Title by the Law of Arms pass'd to the Conquerors (b).

Homer's Heroes no sooner gain a Victory over any of their Rivals, but without farther Delay they seize their Armour; Instances of this are as numerous as their Combats. But however this Practice might be usual among the great Commanders, who rode in Chariots to the Battle, fought by themselves, and encounter'd Men of their own Quality in single Combat; yet inferior Soldiers were not ordinarily permitted such Liberty, but gather'd the Spoils of the Dead, after the Fight was ended: If they attempted it before, they were even then look'd upon to want Discipline. Nestor gives the Grecians a particular Caution in this Matter (c);

Νέστωρ δ' Ἀργείοισιν ἐκέλευε μακρὸν αὔσας.
 Ω φίλοι ἦρώες Δαναοί, θεράποντες Ἄρηος,
 Μήτις νῦν ἐνάρων ἐπιβαλλόμενοι, μετόπισθε
 Μιμνεῖω, ὥς κεν πλεῖστα φέρων ἐπὶ νῆας ἵκηται,
 Ἀλλ' ἀνδρας κτείνωμεν, ἕποντα ὃ καὶ τὰ ἐκκλος
 Νεκρὸς ἀμπεδίον συλήσειε τεθνεώτας.

Then Nestor thus began his sage Advice;
 My Friends, and valiant Greeks, be timely wise,

Auspicious Sons of *Mars*, let no Delay,
No Hope of sordid Booty cause your Stay ;
But with united Force rush on the Foe,
Add certain Death to each becoming Blow ;
'Twill then be Time enough for to prepare
To seize the Booty of the horrid War,
To drag your mangled Foes along the Plain,
When weltering in their Blood they lie all slain.

H. H.

This Method was taken in succeeding Ages ; for no sooner were their Battles ended, but they fell to stripping and rifling the dead Carcasses of their Enemies : Only the *Lacedaemonians* were forbidden to meddle with the Spoils of those they had conquer'd (a) ; the Reason of which Prohibition being demanded of *Cleomenes*, he reply'd, " That " it was improper to offer the Spoils of Cowards to the Gods, and unworthy a *Lacedaemonian* to be enrich'd by them (b)." But this seems only a Pretence, since there are several Instances of their dedicating Part of their Booty to the Gods ; the true Reason perhaps may be collected from the Constitution of their State, whereby an Equality was maintain'd amongst them, and nothing more severely prohibited, or more repugnant to the very Foundation of their Government, than to acquire and possess large Estates : Wherefore, to prevent the Soldiers from seizing upon the Spoils, they had always three hundred Men appointed to observe their Actions, and to put the Law in Execution against Delinquents (c).

The whole Booty was brought to the General, who had the first Choice, divided the Remainder amongst such as had signaliz'd themselves according to their Quality and Merits, and allotted the rest equal Portions : Thus in the *Trojan War*, when the captive Ladies were to be chosen, *Agamemnon* in the first Place took *Astynome*, *Chryses's* Daughter, next *Achilles* had *Hippodamia*, Daughter to *Briſeis*, then *Ajax* chose *Tecmessa*, and so on (d) ; whence *Achilles* complains of *Agamemnon*, that he had always the best Part of the Booty ; himself who sustain'd the Burden of the War, being content with a small Pittance (e) ;

Οὐ μὲν σοὶ ποτὶ Ἴσον ἔχω γέρας, ὅππότε Ἀχαιοὶ

Τρώων ἐκπύρσωσ' ἐνυαίομενον πολίεθρον.

Ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν πλεῖον πολυδάκρυτον παλαιοί

Χεῖρας ἐμαὶ δ' ἑέπωσ'. ἄταρ ἦν ποτὶ δασυδὲς ἱκνται,

Σοὶ τὸ γέρας πολὺ μᾶλλον, ἐγὼ δ' ὀλίγον τε, φίλον τε

Εργὸν ἔχωσ' ἐπὶ νῆας, ἐπὴν κεκάμω πολέμῳ.

Yet when the Greeks some Trojan Town invade,

And Distribution of the Spoils is made,

How small a Part, compar'd to thine, I bear,
 I who have borne the Burden of the War!
 Nor do you envy me in this the largest Share.
 But when the so much wish'd-for Time arrives,
 That to each *Greek* th' allotted Portion gives,
 Laden with Spoils you haste into your Tent,
 Whilst I, with Fighting quite fatigu'd and spent,
 Come to the Navy with a grateful Heart
 For that small Pittance they to me impart.

H. H.

And whenever any Booty of extraordinary Value was taken, we find the Soldiers reserving it for a Present to their General, or the Commanders of their Party: Instances of this Sort are frequent, as in other Writers, so especially in *Homer*; *Ulysses's* Company always honour'd him with the best and choicest Part of what they took. *Herodotus* (a) reports, that after the Victory over *Mardonius*, *Xerxes's* Lieutenant, *Pausanias* the *Spartan*, being at that Time General of all the *Grecian* Forces, was presented with a great Booty of Women, Money, Horses, Camels, &c. over and above what was given to any other: This Practice indeed was so universal, that to be a Commander, and to have the first Share of the Booty, are used by the Poets as equivalent Expressions: Whence *Lycophron* (b),

Πολλὰς δ' αἰεεῖς, πρωτόλαιά δ' Ἑλλάδος
 Αἰχμὴ φέρωντας, καὶ σποραῖς ὠγκωμένους
 Αἱ σαὶ καλὰξανῶσιν ὀμβεῖμοι χεῖρες.

Thy Hands shall mighty Potentates subdue,
 And brave Commanders that the Prize first share,
 Chiefs too, that so much boast their Pedigree.

But before the Spoils were distributed, they look'd on themselves oblig'd to make an Offering out of them to the Gods, to whose Assistance they were indebted for them all; those separated to this Use were term'd ἀκροθίνια, either γ. ἀκροθίνια, παρὰ τὸ σίνεσθαι ἐν μάχῃ πολλὰς, because the War, wherein they were collected, had destroy'd many (c); or, ἀπὸ τῆς θινός, because after Sea-Engagements they were expos'd upon the Shore (d); or rather, from their being taken ἀπ' ἀκρὸς τῆς θινός, from the Top of the Heap; because all the Spoils being collected into one Heap, the First-Fruits were offer'd to the

The Gods, to whom this Honour was paid, were not only those, whom they look'd on as having a peculiar Concern in all Affairs of War, such as *Mars*, *Minerva*, &c. but several others, as *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and any to whom they thought themselves obliged for Success; those especially that were Protectors of their City, or Country, &c.

They had several Methods of consecrating Spoils: Sometimes they collected them into an Heap, and consum'd them with Fire; sometimes they made Presents, which were dedicated and hung up in Temples: So *Pausanias* the *Spartan* is reported to have consecrated out of the *Persian* Spoils a *Tripod* to *Delphian Apollo*, and a Statue of Brass seven Cubits long to *Olympian Jupiter* (a).

It was very frequent to dedicate their Enemy's Armour, and hang it in Temples; but the *Lacedæmonians* were forbidden this Custom; which perhaps may be the Meaning of *Cleomenes's* foremention'd Reply; for that they were allow'd to offer their other Spoils appears as from that of *Pausanias*, so from several other Instances. This Custom was very ancient (b), and universally receiv'd, not in *Greece* alone, but most other Countries: Hence *Heſtor* promises to dedicate his Enemy's Armour in *Apollo's* Temple, if he would vouchsafe him Victory (c);

Εἰ δ' ἐκ' ἐγὼ τὸν ἔλω δόνη δέ μοι εὖχῃ Ἀπόλλων,
Τεύχεα συλήσας, ὅσω ποτὶ Ἴλιον ἱρὴν,
Καὶ κρεμόω ποτὶ νηὸν Ἀπόλλων ἐκάτοισι.

If kinder *Phæbus* my Proceedings bless,
And crown my bold Attempt with good Success,
Make *Heſtor* conquer, whilst his Foe shall bleed,
And give me th' Honour of so brave a Deed;
When I've despoil'd my Foe, his Arms I'll bring,
And there devote them in his Temple.— H. H.

Virgil alludes to this Custom in his Description of the Temple, where *Latinus* gave Audience to *Æneas's* Ambassadors (d):

Multaque præterea sacris in postibus arma,
Captivi pendent currus, curvæque secures,
Et cristæ capitum, & portarum ingentia claustra,
Spiculaque, clypeique, ereptaque rostra carinis.
Axes and Arms did sacred Posts adorn,
And Chariots from their conquer'd Nations borne,

Many other Instances to the same Purpose occur in Authors. This Custom seems to have been deriv'd into *Greece* from the Eastern Nations, where, no doubt, it was practis'd ; what else can be the Meaning of *Goliath's* Sword being reposit'd in the *Jewish* Place of Worship (a) ?

Nor was it customary only to dedicate to the Gods Weapons taken from Enemies, but their own likewise, when they retir'd from the Noise of War to a private Life ; which seems to have been done, as a grateful Acknowledgment to the Gods, by whose Protection they had been deliver'd from Dangers. *Horace* alludes to this Custom (b) ;

— *Vejanus, armis,*
Herculis ad postem fixis, latet abditus ager.
Vejanus now consults his private Ease,
 Desists from War, and seeks retir'd Peace,
 Having hung up his Arms to *Hercules*.

Ovid also speaks to the same Purpose (c) ;

Miles ut emeritis non est satis utilis annis,
Ponit ad antiquos, quæ tulit, arma Lares.
 The batter'd Soldier harass'd out with Age,
 Not able longer in the War t' engage,
 Devotes the Arms which formerly he bore,
 To's Household-Gods for their assisting Pow'r.

But lest these Arms should furnish Male-contentments in sudden Tumults and Insurrections, they seem to have been usually some Way or other render'd unfit for present Service : The Bucklers, for Instance, were hung up without Handles ; whence a Person in one of the Poets seeing them otherwise, cries out in a Fright,

Οἱ μοι τάλας, ἔχουσιν ὅς ὠρπακας.
 Unhappy Wretch ! the Bucklers Handles have.

The Reason may be collected from the foregoing Verses, where another saith,

Οὐ γὰρ ἐχρῆν, εἴπερ φιλεῖς τὸν δῆμον, ἐκ περσείας
 Ταύτας ἐφ' αὐτοῖς ὠρπαξεν ἀναλίσθηναι.

As a farther Expression of their Gratitude to the Gods, it was customary to offer solemn Sacrifices, and return public Thanks to them. Here it may be observ'd, that the *Lacedæmonians*, for their greatest Successes by Force of Arms, offer'd no more than a Cock to the God of War; but when they obtain'd a Victory by Stratagem, and without Blood, they sacrific'd an Ox (a); whereby they gave their General to understand, that Policy as well as Valour was requir'd in a compleat Warrior, and that those Victories were to be preferr'd, whereby they suffer'd the least Damage; excelling herein the *Roman* Constitution, which rewarded with greater Honours the Victors in open Field, than those who gain'd a Conquest by Policy, which was esteem'd less noble and becoming *Romans*; wherefore those were permitted to enter the City in *Triumph*, but the latter were only honour'd with an *Ovation* (b). It may not be improper in this Place to add, that the *Grecians* had a Custom which resembled the *Roman* Triumph; for the Conquerors us'd to make a Procession thro' the Middle of their City, crown'd with Garlands, repeating Hymns and Songs, and brandishing their Spears; the Captives were also led by them, and all their Spoils expos'd to public View, to do which they call'd *ἑορτίζεν* (c).

Trophies were call'd by the ancient *Athenians* *Τροπαῖα*, by succeeding Ages *Τρόπαια* (d): They were dedicated to some of the Gods, especially *Jupiter*, firm'd *Τρόπαιον*, and *Τροπαῖον* (e), and *Juno*, who shar'd in her Husband's Title, being call'd *Τροπαῖα* (f); whence *Lycophron* (g),

——— *Τροπαῖας μασὸν εὐθελον θεῶς.*

The manner of adorning Trophies, was hanging up all Sorts of Arms taken from the Enemy, according to *Euripides* (h);

——— *Τρόπαια ἰδρύεσθαι
Παρτευχίαν ἐχόντα τῶν πολεμίων.*

All Sorts of Arms, that from the Foe he took,
He hung about the Trophy which he rais'd.

Hence also *Juvenal* (i) speaking of the *Roman* Triumphal Arches:

*Bellorum exuvias, truncis affixa trophæis
Larica, Et fracta de casside buccula pendens,
Et curtum semons jugum, vitæque triremis
Applente.*

The Spoils of War brought to *Feretrian Jove*,
 An empty Coat of Armour hung above
 The Conqueror's Chariot, and in Triumph borne
 A Streamer from a boarded Gally torn,
 A chap-fall'n Beaver loosely hanging by
 The cloven Helm.—

Mr Dryden.

To these they usually added the Names of the God they were dedicated to, of the Conquerors also, and of those overcome by them, with an Account of all the Spoils, and other remarkable Occurrences in the War; this Inscription was call'd ἐπιγεγραφή, or ἐπίγεγραμμα; and was frequently engrav'd, whence *Lucian* saith ἐπὶ τῷ τροπαίῳ ἐγχαλαῖται; sometimes written with Ink, whence *Othryades* the *Lacedæmonian*, just surviving his Victory over the *Argians*, caused a Trophy to be erected, upon which, being supported by his Spear, he inscribed with his own Blood, instead of Ink, Διὶ Τροπαίουχῳ (a).

The Spoils were hung upon the Trunk of a Tree; the Olive was frequently put to this Use, being the Emblem of Peace, which is one of the Consequents of Victory: Several other Trees also had the same Honour, especially the Oak, as being consecrated to *Jupiter*, who had a peculiar Right to these Respects. There is frequent Mention of this in the Poets: *Sidonius* (b),

—————*quercusque trophæis*

Curva gemit—————.

The bended Oak beneath the Trophies groans.

Statius describes the same Custom (c);

*Quercus erat tenera jamdudum oblita juventa,
 Huic leves galeas, perfossaque vulnere crebro
 Inserit arma.*

There stood an antient Oak, whose sprightly Juice
 Decay'd by Age could not like Life infuse
 Thro' ev'ry Part; on this bright Helmets hung,
 And batter'd Arms.—————

Virgil also concurs herein with them in several Places, and adds farther, that *Aeneas's* Trophy was upon a Hill; whence it may seem probable,





*Vota Deum primo victor solvebat Eo;
Ingentem quercum, decisis undique ramis
Constituit tumulo, fulgentiaque induit arma,
Mœrenti ducis exuvias, tibi, magne, tropæum,
Bellipotens; aptat rorantes sanguine cristas,
Telaque trunca viri, & bis sex thoraca petita
Perfossamque locis, clypeumque ex ære sinistra
Subligat, atque ensẽ collo suspendit eburnum.*

Soon as the Morn her weaker Beams display'd,
His Vows to Heaven the pious Victor pay'd:
A stately Oak, whose Branches all around
Were first lopt off, he plac'd on rising Ground,
With glitt'ring Arms the hallow'd Trunk he grac'd,
The Spoils of King *Mœrentius* deceas'd;
Which Trophy, mighty *Arbiter* of War,
The grateful Prince did to thy Honour rear;
He hung his nodding Plume besmear'd with Blood,
And broken Spears upon the leafless Wood;
Then round the Stock his much pierc'd Croslet bound,
The sad Remembrance of each ghastly Wound;
And on the left Side fix'd the brazen Shield,
With which *Mœrentius* lost the fatal Field;
Then round his Neck the Leathern Belt he cast,
And in't his Iv'ry-hilted Sword he plac'd. H. H.

In the same Manner *Pompey* having subdued the *Spaniards*, erected a Trophy upon the Top of the *Pyrenean* Mountains.

Instead of Trees, succeeding Ages erected Pillars of Stone, or Brass, to continue the Memory of their Victories; to raise these they term'd *ἱερά τρόπαια*, which Expression was likewise apply'd to the Erection of Trees; for if the Place they pitch'd upon was void of Trees fit for their Purpose, it was usual to supply that Defect by fixing one there, as appears from the fore-mention'd Passage of *Virgil*.

To demolish a Trophy was look'd on as unlawful, and a kind of Sacrilege, because they were all consecrated to some Deity: Nor was it less a Crime to pay divine Adoration before them, or to repair them when decay'd, as may be likewise observ'd of the *Roman Triumphal Arches*: This being a Means to revive the Memory of forgotten Quarrels, and engage Posterity to revenge the Disgrace of their Antecessors: For the same Reason the

The *Macedonians* never erected Trophies, oblig'd hereto by a Prescription, observ'd from the Reign of *Caranus*, one of whose Trophies was demolish'd by Wolves (a), which was the Reason that *Alexander the Great*, however vain-glorious in other Instances, never rais'd a Trophy: As for those erected by the *Macedonians* of succeeding Ages in their Wars with the *Romans*, they were inconsistent with the antient Custom of their Country. In some Ages after this, they seem to have been wholly laid aside.

Yet they were not still wanting to raise Monuments to preserve the Memory of their Victories, and to testify their Gratitude to the Gods; some of which are likewise mentioned in Authors before the Disuse of Trophies. Sometimes Statues were erected to the Gods, especially to *Jupiter*, as appears from that which *Pausanias* dedicated out of the *Persian* Spoils (b), and several others: There is frequent Mention of this Custom in *Enripides* (c);

———— Διὸς τρόπαιον ἰσάναι βρέτας,
Again,
———— Τρόπαιον Ζηνὸς ὀρθῶσαι βρέτας.

Several other Instances may be produc'd: Sometimes the same God was honour'd with a Temple on such Accounts, as appears from the Story of the *Dorians*, who, having overcome the *Achaians*, rais'd a Temple to *Jupiter Τρόπαιος* (d).

Sometimes they erected Towers, which they adorn'd with the Spoils of their Enemies; which was likewise a *Roman* Custom, and practis'd by *Fabius Maximus*, and *Domitius Aenobarbus*, after the Victory over the *Allobroges* (e).

It was also customary to raise Altars to the Gods; an Instance whereof we have in *Alexander*, who, returning from his *Indian* Expedition, erected Altars in Height scarce inferior to the most lofty Towers, and in Breadth exceeding them (f):

C H A P. XIII.

Of their Military Punishments and Rewards, with their Manner of conveying Intelligence.

THE *Grecians* had no constant Method of correcting their Soldiers, but left that to the Discretion of their Commanders; only in some few Cases the Laws made Provision.

Αὐτομόλοι, Runagates, suffer'd Death.

Ἀσοάτευτοι, such as refus'd to serve in the Wars, and such as quitted their Ranks. by one of *Charondas's* Laws were oblig'd to sit three

Days in the publick Forum in Women's Apparel (a). At Athens ἀστρά-
 τωτοι, such as refused to serve in the Wars; λειποτάκται, they who
 deserted their Ranks; and δειλοί, Cowards, were neither permitted
 to wear Garlands, nor to enter the ἱερὰ δημοῖα, publick Temples:
 And were farther oblig'd by the *Undecimviri* to appear in the Court
 call'd *Heliea*, where a Fine, or other Punishment, was inflicted accord-
 ing to their Demerit. If a Fine was inflicted, the Criminal was kept
 in Bonds till he made Payment (b). To these are to be reckon'd
 ἡμιότιδες, they who lost their Bucklers, which was accounted a
 Token of extreme Cowardice. Hence a Law came to be enacted,
 That whoever should object this Crime to any Person undeservedly,
 should be fin'd (c). But of all others the *Lacedaemonians* inflicted the
 heaviest Punishments on all such Offenders; for their Laws oblig'd them
 either to conquer, or to die upon the Place; and such as quitted their
 Bucklers, laid under as great Disgrace, as if they had forsaken their
 Ranks. Runagates were not only depriv'd of all Honours, but it was
 likewise a Disgrace to intermarry with them; whoever met them in
 the Streets, had Liberty to beat them, nor was it permitted them to
 resist in their own Defence; and to make them more remarkable, when-
 ever they went abroad, they were oblig'd to wear a nasty Habit, their
 Gowns were patch'd with divers Colours, and their Beards half shav'd,
 half unshav'd (d). Their Scandal was likewise extended to their whole
 Family, and therefore their Mothers frequently aton'd for their Crime,
 by stabbing them at their first Meeting; which was a common Practice,
 and frequently alluded to in the *Greek Epigrams*, in one of which a *Spar-
 tan Matron* having run her Son thro', thus insults over him:

Ἐρρῆ, κακὸν φύτευμα, διὰ σκότος, ἔδιδ' αἰὼς

Εὐρώτας θαλαῖς μηδ' ἐλάφῃσι ῥέοι·

Αχρεῖον σκυλάκευμα, κακὴ μερὶς ἔρρῃ ποδ' ἄδαν,

Ἐρρῆ, τὸ μὴ Σπάρτας ἀξιόν, ὅδ' ἔτεκεν.

Be gone, degenerate Offspring, quit this Light,

Eurotas is concern'd at thy loath'd Sight;

For see, he stops his Course, asham'd to glide

By that polluted Coast where you abide;

Hence then, unprofitable Wretch, speed to the Dead,

And hide in Hell thy ignominious Head;

Base dastard Soul, unworthy to appear

On *Spartan* Ground; I never did thee bear.

H. H.

Several others may be produced to the same Purpose, and where the
 same Fate befel those that lost their Bucklers. Now the Reason being
 demanded of *Demaratus*, why they punished so severely those who

quitted their Bucklers, when the Loss of their Helmet, or Coat of Mail, was not look'd on to be so scandalous, he reply'd, *That these were only design'd for the Defence of single Persons, whereas Bucklers were serviceable to the whole Battalia.* Archilochus the Poet was banish'd from Sparta for publishing the following Epigram, wherein he glories in the Loss of his Buckler (a) :

Ἀσπίδι μὲν Σαίτων τις ἀδάλλετ' αἶ, ἣν περὶ θάμνῳ,
 Ἐντὸς ἀμώμητον κάλλιπον ἐκ ἐθέλων.
 ————— ἀσπίς ἐκείνη
 Ἐρρέτω· ἐξαυθις κτήσομαι ἐκ ακίῳ.

To pawn their Arms was also accounted a Crime, and seems to have been forbidden by a Law at Athens, as the Greek Scholiast hath observ'd in his Explication of the following Passage of *Aristophanes* (b) :

Ποίαν γὰρ ἐ θώρακα, ποίαν ἀσπίδα,
 Οὐκ ἐνέχυρον τίθουσιν ἢ μιαιφώλῃ.

Where the Poet describes the Misfortune to which Men are expos'd by Poverty. Among the *Romans*, any Soldier who pawned his Shoulder-piece, or any other of the less considerable Parts of his Armour, was corrected with Stripes : But such as pawn'd their Helmet, Buckler, Coat of Mail, or Sword, were punish'd as Deserters (c).

Beside the Rewards of Valour already mention'd in the foregoing Chapters, there were several others : The private Soldiers were put into Office, and the subordinate Officers were honoured with greater Commands. It was likewise customary for the General to reward those that signaliz'd themselves with large Presents ; whence *Telamon* being the first that gain'd the Top of *Troy's* Walls, when it was besieged by *Hercules*, had the Honour to have *Hesione* the King's Daughter for his Captive : *Theseus* was presented by the same Hero with *Antiope* the *Amazonian* Queen, for his Service in the Expedition against the *Amazons*. The Poets frequently introduce Commanders encouraging their Soldiers with Promises of this Nature : Thus *Agamemnon* animates *Teucer* to behave himself courageously, by assuring him of a considerable Reward, when the City should be taken (d) :

Πρῶτῳ τοι μετ' ἐμὲ πρεσβύιον ἐν χειρὶ θήσω,
 Ἡ τρίποδ', ἢ δ' ὧν ἵππες αὐτοῖσιν ὄχεσθιν,
 Ἡ δὲ γυναιχ' ἢ κέν τοι ὁμὸν λέχῃ εἰσαναβαίνοι.

For your Acceptance ; else some captive Maid
Shall, big with Charms, ascend your joyous Bed.

H. H.

Ascanius in *Virgil* makes no less Promises to *Nisus* (a) ;

*Bina dabo argento perfecta, atque aspera signis
Pocula, devicta Genitor quæ cepit Arisba,
Et tripodas geminos, auri duo magna talenta ;
Cratera antiquum, quem dat Sidonia Dido :
Si viro capere Italiam, sceptrisque potiri
Contigerit victori, & prædæ ducere sortem ;
Vidisti quo Turnus equo, quibus ibat in armis
Aureus, ipsum illum clypeum, cristasque rubentes
Excipiam forti, jam nunc tua præmia, Nise :
Præterea bis sex genitor lectissima matrum
Corpora, captivosque dabit, suæque omnibus arma ;
Insuper id campi quod rex habet ipse Latinus.*

Your common Gift shall two large Goblets be
Of Silver wrought with curious Imag'ry,
And high emboss'd, which, when old *Priam* reign'd,
My conqu'ring Sire at sack'd *Arisba* gain'd ;
And more, two Tripods cast in Antick Mold,
With two great Talents of the finest Gold ;
Beside, a costly Bowl engrav'd with Art,
Which *Dido* gave, when first she gave her Heart :
But if in conquer'd *Italy* we reign,
When Spoils by Lot the Victor shall obtain,
Thou saw'st the Courser by proud *Turnus* prest ;
That, *Nisus*, and his Arms, and nodding Crest.
And Shield from Chance exempt shall be thy Share ;
Twelve lab'ring Slaves, twelve Handmaids young and fair,
All clad with rich Attire, and train'd with Care ;
At last, a *Latian* Field with fruitful Plains,
And a large Portion of the King's Domains.

Mr Dryden.

Several other Promises they encourag'd them with, according to every

*Seu pacem, seu bella geram, tibi maxima rerum,
Verborumque fides.*—

But thou, whose Years are more to mine ally'd,
No Fate my vow'd Affection shall divide
From thee, Heroick Youth ; be wholly mine,
Take full Possession, as my Soul is thine.
One Faith, one Fame, one Fate shall both attend,
My Life's Companion, and my Bosom Friend ;
My Peace shall be committed to thy Care,
And to thy Conduct my Concerns in War. Mr Dryden.

Sometimes Crowns were presented, and inscrib'd with the Person's Name and Actions that had merited them, as appears from the Inscription upon the Crown presented by the *Athenians* to *Conon*, Κόνων ἀπὸ τῆς ναυμαχίας τῆς πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους.

Others were honour'd with Leave to raise Pillars, or erect Statues to the Gods, with Inscriptions declaring their Victories ; which *Plutarch* supposeth to have been a Grant rarely yielded to the greatest Commanders : *Cimon* indeed was favour'd therewith, but *Miltiades* and *Themistocles* could never obtain the like ; nay, when *Miltiades* only desired a Crown of Olive, one *Sacchares* stood up in the Midst of the Assembly, and reply'd, *When thou shalt conquer alone, Miltiades, thou shalt triumph so too* ; which Words were so agreeable to the Populace, that his Suit was rejected. The Reason why *Cimon* was more respected than the rest, our Author (a) thinks, was because under other Commanders they stood upon the Defensive ; but by his Conduct they not only repul'd their Enemies, but invaded them in their own Country. But perhaps a more true and real Account may be taken from the Change of Times ; for the primitive Ages seem not to have been so liberal in the Distribution of Rewards as those that succeeded ; for later Generations degenerating from their Ancestors, and producing fewer Instances of Magnanimity and true Valour, the Way to honour became easier, and Men of common Performances without Difficulty obtain'd Rewards, which before were only paid to Persons of the first Rank for Virtue and Courage (b).

Another Honour conferr'd at *Athen* upon the Valiant, was to have their Arms placed in the Citadel, and to be call'd *Cecropidae*, Citizens of the true old Blood ; to which Custom the Poet alludes,

Οὐ καλλίνικος Κεκροπίδας ἔθνη' ἔγα.

Others were complimented with Songs of Triumph, the first of which were compos'd in Honour of *Lysander* the *Spartan* General (a).

They who lost any of their Limbs in the War, whom they call'd ἀσύνετος, were maintain'd at the publick Expence, provided they had not an Estate of three Attick Pounds yearly. On which Account they were examined by the Senate of Five Hundred. Their Allowance was an *Obolus* by the Day. Some affirm they had two *Oboli* every Day. Others relate, that they receiv'd nine *Drachmæ*, that is fifty-four *Oboli* every Month. And it is probable, that their Maintenance was rais'd or diminish'd according to the Exigency of Affairs, as hath been elsewhere observ'd concerning the Military Stipend. This Custom of maintaining disabled Soldiers was introduced by *Solon*, who is said to have given an Allowance to one *Thersippus*: Afterwards it was established by a Law during the Tyranny of *Pisistratus* (b).

Many other Honours were paid to such as deserved well of their Country; but I shall only mention one more, which consisted in the Care of the Children of such as valiantly sacrific'd their Lives for the Glory and Preservation of the *Athenian* Commonwealth (c): They were carefully educated at the publick Charge, till they came to Maturity, and then presented with a compleat Suit of Armour, and brought forth before the People, one of the publick Ministers proclaiming before them; "That hitherto, in Remembrance of their Fathers Merits, the Commonwealth had educated these young Men; but now dismiss'd them so arm'd, to go forth and thank their Country by imitating their Fathers Examples." For their farther Encouragement they had the Honour of ἀρεσθία, or having the first Seats at Shews, and all publick Meetings.

The Laws of *Solon* made a farther Provision for the Parents of those that died in the Wars, it being extremely reasonable that they should be maintain'd at the publick Expence, who had lost their Children, the Comfort and Support of their declining Age, in the Service of the Publick (d).

It may not be improper to add something concerning their Way of sending Intelligence. This was done several Ways, and by several Sorts of Messengers; such were their ἡμεροδρόμοι, who were lightly arm'd with Darts, Hand-granadoes, or Bows and Arrows (e); one of these was *Phidippides*, famous in the Story of *Miltiades*, for his Vision of *Pan* (f).

But the Contrivance of all others the most celebrated for close Conveyance of Intelligence, was the *Lacedæmonian* σκυτάλη, which was a white Roll of Parchment wrap'd about a black Stick; it was about four Cubits in Length (g), and so call'd from σκύτα, i. e. Skin. The Manner and Use of it was thus; when the Magistrates gave Comif-

sion to any General or Admiral, they took two round Pieces of Wood exactly equal to one another ; one of these they kept, the other was deliver'd to the Commander, to whom when they had any Thing of Moment to communicate, they cut a long narrow Scroll of Parchment, and rolling it about their own Staff, one Fold close upon another, they wrote their Business upon it ; then taking it off, dispatched it away to the Commander, who applying it to his own Staff, the Folds exactly fell in one with another, as at the Writing, and the Characters, which, before 'twas wrapp'd up, were confusedly disjoint'd, and unintelligible, appear'd very plain (a).

C H A P. XIV.

Of the Invention, and different Sorts of Ships.

MOST of those useful Arts, and admirable Inventions, which are the very Support of Mankind, and supply them with all the Necessaries and Conveniencies of Life, have at first been the Productions of some lucky Chance, or, from slight and contemptible Beginnings, have been, by long Experience, curious Observations, and various Improvements, matur'd and brought to Perfection : Instances of this Kind are every-where frequent and obvious, but none can be produc'd more remarkable than in the Art of Navigation, which, though now arrived to a Pitch of Perfection beyond most other Arts, by those successful Additions it has received from almost every Age of the World, was in the Beginning so mean and imperfect, that the Pleasure or Advantage of those who first apply'd themselves to it, was very small and inconsiderable.

Those who adventured to commit themselves to the liquid Element, made their first Essays in shallow Waters, and trusted not themselves at any considerable Distance from the Shore ; but, being embolden'd by frequent Trials, proceeded farther by Degrees, till at length they took Courage, and launch'd forth into the main Ocean : To this Purpose *Claudian* (b) :

*Inventa secuit primus qui nave profundum,
Et rudibus remis sollicitavit aquas,
Tranquillis primum trepidus se credidit undis,
Littora securo tramite summa legens ;
Mox longos tentare sinus, & linguere terras,
Et leni cœpit pandere vela Noto :
Ast ubi paulatim præceps audacia crevit,
Cordaque lanouentem dedidicere metum.*

*Jam vagus irrupit pelago, cælumque secutus,
Ægeas hyemes, Ioniasque domat.*

Whoever first with Vessels cleav'd the Deep,
And did with uncouth Oars the Waters sweep,
His first Attempt on gentle Streams he made,
And near the Shore affrighted always staid;
He launch'd out farther next, and left the Land,
And then erected Sails began to stand;
Till by Degrees, when Man undaunted grew,
Forgetting all those Fears before he knew,
He rush'd into the Main, and harmless bore,
Guided by Stars, the Storms that loudly roar
In the *Ægean* and *Ionian* Seas. ———

E. D.

To whom the World is oblig'd for the Invention of Ships, is, like all things of such Antiquity, uncertain: There are divers Persons, who seem to make equal Pretensions to this Honour; such are *Prometheus*, *Neptune*, *Janus*, *Atlas*, *Hercules*, *Jason*, *Danaus*, *Erythræus*, &c. but by common Fame it is given to *Minerva*, the happy Mother of all Arts and Sciences. Some, who leaving these antiquated Fables of the Poets, pretend to something more of Certainty in what they deliver, ascribe it to the Inhabitants of some of those Places that lie upon the Sea-coasts, and are by Nature design'd, as it were, for harbouring Ships, such as the *Æginetians*, *Phœnicians* (a), &c. The Reason of this Disagreement seems to have proceeded partly from the different Places where Navigation was first practis'd (for it was never peculiar to any one People, and from them communicated to the rest of the World, but found out in Countries far distant from one another) and in part from the various Sorts of Ships, some of which being first built by the Persons above-mention'd, have entitl'd them to the whole Invention.

The first Ships were built without Art or Contrivance, and had neither Strength nor Durableness, Beauty nor Ornament; but consist'd only of Planks laid together, and just so compacted as to keep out the Water (b): In some Places they were nothing else but Hulks of Trees made hollow, which were call'd *πλοῖα μονόξυλα*, as consisting only of one Piece of Timber; of these we find Mention in *Virgil* (c):

*Tunc alnos fluvii primum sensere cavatas,
Navita tum stellis numeros, & nomina fecit.*

Then hollow Alders first on Rivers swam,
Then to the Stars both Names and Numbers came,
Impos'd by Mariners. ———

In later Ages also they were made use of at some Places, being the same with those call'd σκάφη in the strict and most proper Acceptation of that Word (*a*), from σκάπτειν, as made by hollowing, and, as it were, *digging* in a Tree. Nor was Wood alone apply'd to this Use, but any other Materials that float upon the Water without sinking, such as the *Egyptian Reed Papyrus*, or (to mention no more) Leather, of which the primitive Ships were frequently compos'd, and call'd πλοῖα διφθερινά, or δερμάτινα. These were sometimes begirt with Wickers, and frequently us'd in that Manner upon the Rivers of *Æthiopia*, *Egypt*, and *Sabæan Arabia*, even in later Times; but in the first of them we find no Mention of any thing but Leather, or Hides sew'd together: In a Ship of this Sort *Dardanus* secur'd his Flight to the Country afterwards call'd *Troas*, when by a terrible Deluge he was forced to leave *Samothrace*, his former Place of Residence (*b*). *Charon's* Infernal Boat was of the same Composition, according to *Virgil* (*c*):

————— *Genuit sub pondere cymba*
Sutilis, & multam accepit rimosa paludem.

Under the Weight the Boat of Leather groan'd,
 And leaky grown, th' impetuous Water found
 An easy Passage thro'. ———

When Ships were brought to a little more Perfection, and increas'd in Bigness, the Sight of them struck the ignorant People with Terror and Amazement; for it was no small Surprise to behold great floating Castles of unusual Forms, full of living Men, and with Wings (as it were) expanded flying upon the Sea (*d*): What else could have given Occasion to the Fiction of *Perseus's* Flight to the *Gorgons*, who, as *Aristophanus* (*e*) expressly tells us, was carry'd in a Ship?

Περσεύς πρὸς Ἀργεῖοι ναυσολῶν τὸ Γοργὸν παρακομίζων.

What other Original could there be for the famous Story of *Triptolemus*, who was feign'd to ride upon a winged Dragon, only because in a Time of Dearth at *Athens* he sail'd to more fruitful Countries to supply the Necessities of his People; or to the Fable of the wing'd Horse *Pegasus*, who, as several *Mythologists* (*f*) report, was nothing but a Ship of that Name with Sails, and for that Reason feign'd to be the Offspring of *Neptune*, the Emperor of the Sea (*g*)? Nor was there any other Ground for the Stories of *Gryffons*, or of Ships transform'd into

So acceptable to the first Ages of the World were Inventions of this Nature, that whoever made any Improvements in the Art of Navigation, built new Ships of Forms better fitted for Strength or Swiftneſs than thoſe before us'd, render'd the old more commodious by an additional Contrivance, or diſcovered Countries untrac'd by former Travelers, were thought worthy of the greateſt Honours, and (like other common Benefactors to Mankind) aſcrib'd into the Number of the deify'd Heroes. They had their Inventions alſo conſecrated, and fixed in the Heavens : Hence we have the Signs of *Aries* and *Taurus*, which were nothing but two Ships ; the former transported *Pbryxus* from Greece to *Colchus*, the later *Europa* out of *Phœnicia* into *Crete*. *Argo* likewiſe, *Pegasus*, and *Perſeus's* Whale, were new Sorts of Ships, which being had in great Admiration by the rude and ignorant Mortals of thoſe Times, were, in Memory of their Inventors, translated amongſt the Stars, and metamorphos'd into Conſtellations by the Poets of thoſe, or the ſucceeding Ages. Thus much concerning the Invention of Ships.

At their firſt Appearance in the World, all Ships, for whatever Uſe deſign'd, were of the ſame Form ; but the various Ends of Navigation, ſome of which were better answer'd by one Form, ſome by another, ſoon gave Occaſion to fit out Ships, not in Bigneſs only, but in the Manner of their Conſtruction and Equipment, differing from one another. Not to trouble you with a diſtinct Enumeration of every little Alteration, which would be endleſs, they were chiefly of three Sorts ; Ships of *Burden*, of *War*, and of *Paſſage*. Ships of *Paſſage* were diſtinguiſh'd by ſeveral Names, taken uſually from their Carriages ; thoſe that ſerv'd for the Transportation of Men, being call'd by the general Names of *πύρια* and *ἐπιβάδες*, or, when fill'd with arm'd Men, by the particular Titles of *ὀπλιταγωγοὶ* and *στρατιώτιδες* ; thoſe in which Horſes were transported, were nam'd *ἵππηγοὶ*, *ἵππαχωγοὶ*, and *Hippagines*, to mention no more.

Ships of Burden were call'd *ὀκράδες*, *φορηγοὶ*, and *πλοῖα*, to diſtinguiſh them from Ships of War, which were properly term'd *νῆες* : They were uſually of an orbicular Form, having large and capacious Bellies to contain the greater Quantity of Victuals, Proviſions, and other Neceſſaries, with which they were laden ; whence they are ſometimes call'd *σπογγύλαι* ; as on the contrary, Ships of War we find nam'd *μακραι* (a), being extended to a greater Length than the former, wherein they agreed in Part with the Transport-Veſſels, which were of a Form betwixt the Ships of War and Burthen, being exceeded by the latter in Capaciouſneſs, by the former in Length. There was likewiſe another Difference amongſt theſe Ships ; for Men of War, tho' not wholly deſtitute of Sails, were chiefly row'd with Oars, that they might be

Ships of Burden were commonly govern'd with Sails, and those of Transport often tow'd with Cords, not but that in both these all the three Ways of Government, *viz.* by Sail, Oar, and Cords, were upon Occasion made use of.

Ships of War are said to have been first rigg'd out by *Parbalus*, or *Samyres*, as others by *Semiramis*, but according to some (a) by *Ægeon*. They were farther distinguish'd from other Sorts of Ships by various Engines, and Accessions of Building, some to defend their own Soldiers, others to annoy Enemies, an Account of which shall be inserted in the following Chapters; and from one another in later Ages by several Orders, or Ranks of Oars, which were not, as some vainly imagine, placed upon the same Level in different Parts of the Ship: nor yet, according to others, directly, and perpendicularly above one another's Heads; but their Seats, being fix'd one at the Back of another, ascend'd gradually in the Manner of Stairs. The most usual Number of these Banks was three, four, and five; whence there is so frequent Mention of *τρεῖς τεύρεις*, *τετράρεις*, and *πεντήρεις*. *i. e.* trireme, quadrireme, and quinquereme Gallies, which exceeded one another by a Bank of Oars, and consequently were built more high, and row'd with greater Strength. In the primitive Times the long Ships had only one Bank of Oars, whence they are sometimes term'd *μονήρεις*, and *κέληες* from the Name of a single Horse; and therefore when we find them call'd *πεντήκοντοροι*, and upwards as far as *ἐκατόντοροι*, we are not to suppose they were row'd with fifty, or an hundred Banks, but only with so many Oars: One of these was the Ship *Argo*, which was row'd with fifty Oars, being the first of the long Ships, and invented by *Jason*, whereas till that Time all Sorts of Vessels had been of a Form more inclining to Oval: Others (b) carry the Invention of long Ships something higher, referring it to *Danaus*, who, they tell us, sail'd from *Egypt* into *Greece* in a Ship of fifty Oars; and however *Jason* should be allow'd to have introduced them into *Greece*, yet he cannot be thought the first Contriver, but rather imitated the *Egyptian* or *African* Model, the latter of which was some time before compos'd by *Atlas*, and much used in those Parts. The first that us'd a double Bank of Oars were the *Erythriens* (c); which was farther enlarged by *Aminocles* of *Corinth* with the Accession of a third, as *Herodotus*, *Thucydides*, and *Diodorus* the *Sicilian* report; but *Clement* of *Alexandria* (d) will have this Invention to belong to the *Sidonians*: To these *Aristotle*, a *Carthaginian*, added a Fourth, *Nesibon* of *Salamis* (according to *Pliny*) or *Dionysius* the *Sicilian* (according to *Diodorus*) a Fifth: *Xenagoras* the *Syracusan* a Sixth; *Nesigiton* increased the Number to ten, *Alexander the Great* to Twelve, *Ptolemy Soter* to Fifteen, *Philip* Father to *Perseus* had a Ship of sixteen Banks (e); then (it being easy to make Additions, the Methods of erecting one Bank above another once

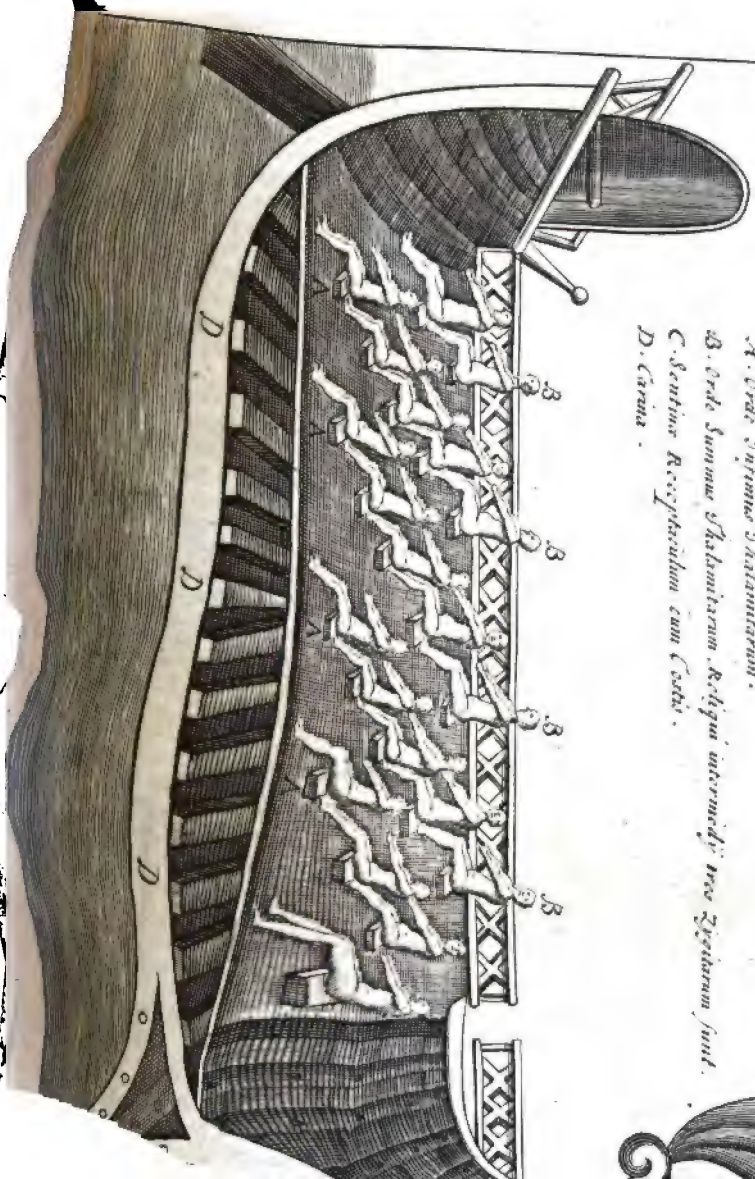
Quinguerum Prætorii Facies Interier à Latere Sinistro.

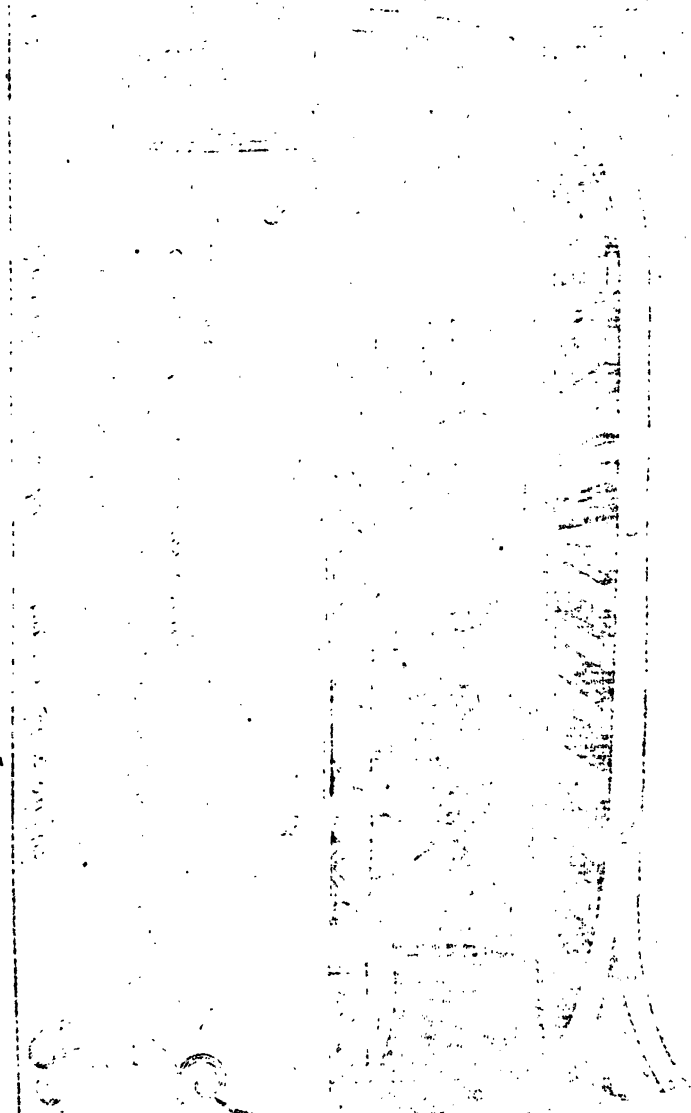
A. Ordo Summus Thalaminum.

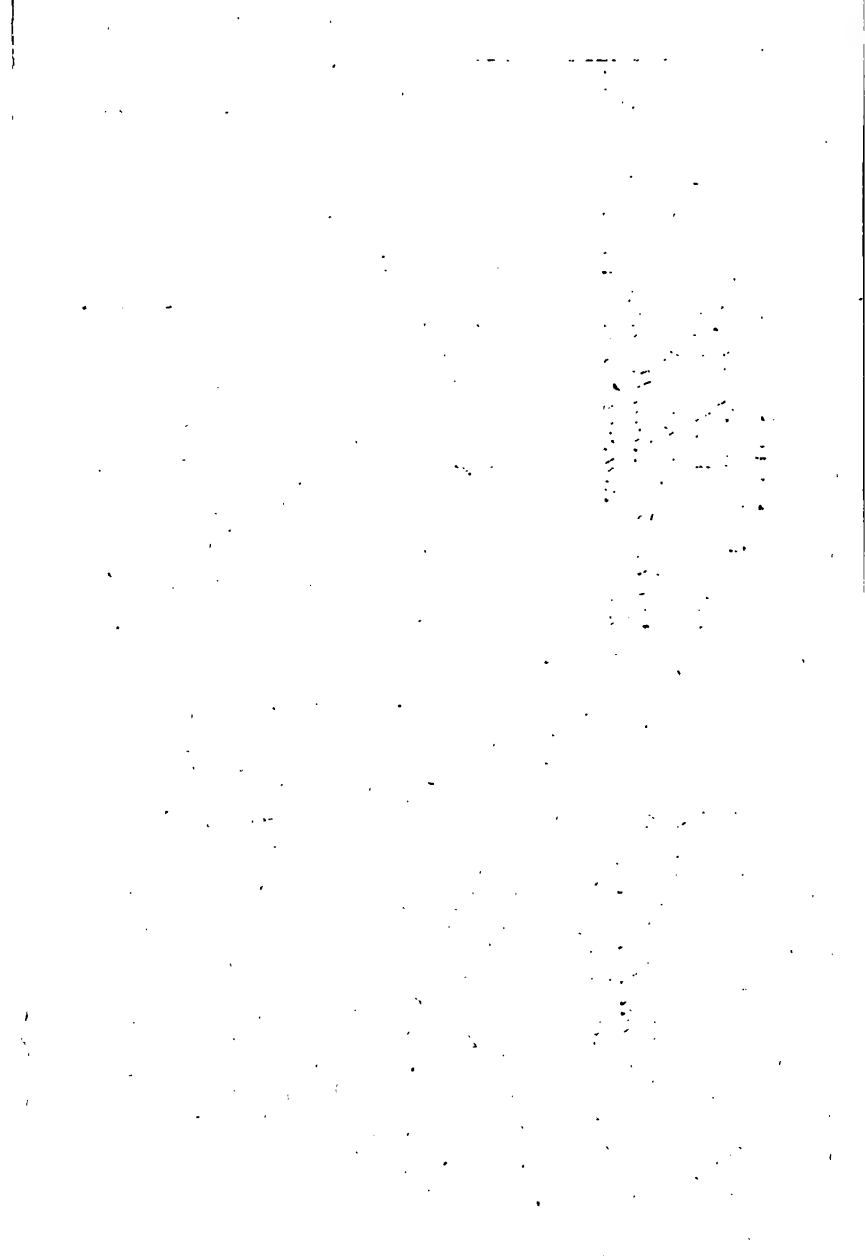
B. Ordo Summe Thalaminum. Reliqui intermedij nec Tetrarum sunt.

C. Sentinae Receptionum cum Cæcis.

D. Carina.







TRIREMIS PRISCÆ EFFIGIES.

*Sponste B. Thalamus. C. Zyga. D. Thranus. E. Totum Spacium his litteris —
est 3. x. nov. F. Parodus, vel aper. G. Stolis. H. Ierostolij locus, Nam —
Oculus, vel scutulum. K. Aphestre. L. Anterculus. N. Iacerna, in qua —
ina. nocturna. N. Perilencium. O. Gubernaculum Dextrum, Sinistrum, non
rasemi locus, ipsum abest. Q. Rostrium. R. Paraxireia. S. Tula. T. Turris. Velum
in antena. X. Dicta. Y. Stylus cum lenia.*



and *Ptolemy Philopator*, out of a vain-glorious Humour of out-doing all the World besides, farther enlarg'd the Number to Forty (a), which (all other Parts bearing a just Proportion) rais'd the Ship to that prodigious Bigness, that it appear'd at a Distance like a floating Mountain, or Island, and upon a near View seem'd like a huge Cattle upon the Floods; it contain'd four thousand Rowers, four hundred Mariners employ'd in other Services, and almost three thousand Soldiers. But this, and such-like Fabricks, serv'd only for Shew and Ostentation, being by their great Bulk render'd unweildy, and unfit for Use. *Athenæus* tells us the common Names they were known by, were *Cyclopes* or *Ætna*, i. e. Islands or Mountains, to which they seem'd almost equal in Bigness, consisting, as some report, of as many Materials as would have been sufficient for the Construction of at least fifty *Triremes*.

Beside those already mention'd, there were other Ships with half Banks of Oars; such as *ἡμιολία* or *ἡμίολος*, which seems to have been betwixt an Unirème and Bireme, consisting of a Bank and an half: Likewise *τεννημολία*, betwixt a Bireme and Trireme, having two Banks and an half: These, tho' perhaps built in other Respects after the Model of the long Ships, or Men of War, are seldom comprehend'd under that Name, and sometimes mention'd in Opposition to them. Several other Ships are mention'd by Authors, which differ'd from those already enumerated, being fitted for particular Uses, or certain Seas, employ'd upon urgent Necessities in Naval Fights, but more commonly as *ὤπρησικαι*, *Tenders*, and Victualling Ships to supply the main Fleet with Provisions, and sometimes built for Expedition to carry Expresses, and observe the Enemy's Motions without Danger of being seiz'd by the heavier, and arm'd Vessels. These were distinguish'd from the former by the Manner of their Construction and Equipment, being in Part like the Men of War, partly resembling the Ships of Burden, and in some things differing from both, as the various Exigencies they serv'd in, seem'd to require.

CHAP. XV.

Of the Parts, Ornaments, &c. of Ships.

HAVING treated of the different Sorts of Ships us'd amongst the ancient Greeks, I shall in the next Place endeavour to de-

follow the Account of *Scheffer*, who hath so copiously treated on this Subject, and with such Industry and Learning collected whatever is necessary to it's Illustration, that very little Room is left for farther Enlargement.

Now the principal Parts of which Ships consisted, were three, *viz.* the *Belly*, the *Prow*, and the *Stern*: These were again composed of other smaller Parts, which shall be briefly describ'd in their Order.

1. In the *Belly*, or middle Part of the Ship, there was *τρύπις*, *Carina*, or the *Keel*, which was compos'd of Wood, and therefore from it's *Strength* and *Firmness* call'd *σεῖρη*: It was placed at the Bottom of the Ship, being design'd to cut, and glide through the Waves (a), and therefore was not broad, but narrow and sharp; whence it may be perceiv'd that not all Ships, but only the *μακραι*, whose Bellies were strait, and of a small Circumference, were provided with Keels, the rest having usually flat Bottoms (b). Round the Keels were placed Pieces of Wood to save it from receiving Damage, when the Ship was first launch'd into the Water, or bulg'd against Rocks; these were call'd *χελεύσμαλα*, in *Latin*, *Cunei*, according to *Ovid* (c):

*Jamque labant cunei, spoliataque tegmine ceræ
Rima patet.* —————

The Wedges break, and loosing all it's Wax,
A Hole lets in the Water. —————

Next to the Keel was *φάλλις* (d), within which was contain'd the *ἀντλία*, or Pump, through which Water was convey'd out of the Ship (e).

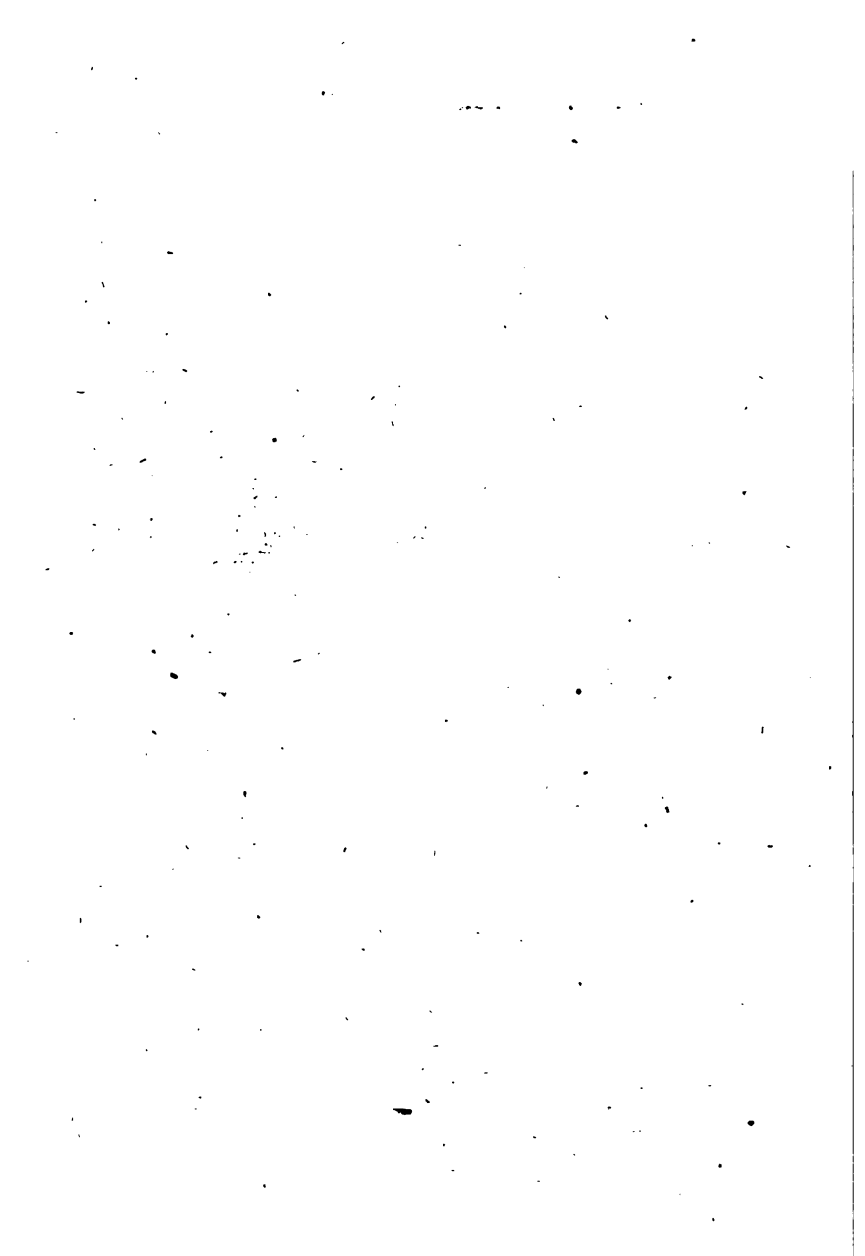
After this was *δευτέρα τρύπις*, or second Keel, being plac'd beneath the Pump, and call'd *λέσσιον*, *χαλχίνη*, *κλειστόδιον* (f): By some it is falsely suppos'd to be the same with *φάλλις*.

Above the Pump was an hollow Place, call'd by *Herodotus* *κοίλη τῆς νῆος*, by *Pollux* *κύττω* and *γάστρ* (because large and capacious, after the Form of a Vessel or Belly) by the *Latins* *testudo*. This was surrounded with Ribs, which were Pieces of Wood rising from the Keel upwards, and call'd by *Hesychius* *νομέες*, by others *ἐγκοίλια* (the Belly of the Ship being contain'd within them) in *Latin*, *costæ*: Upon these were placed certain Planks, which *Aristophanes* calls *ἐντερωνείας*, or *ἐντερωνίδα*.

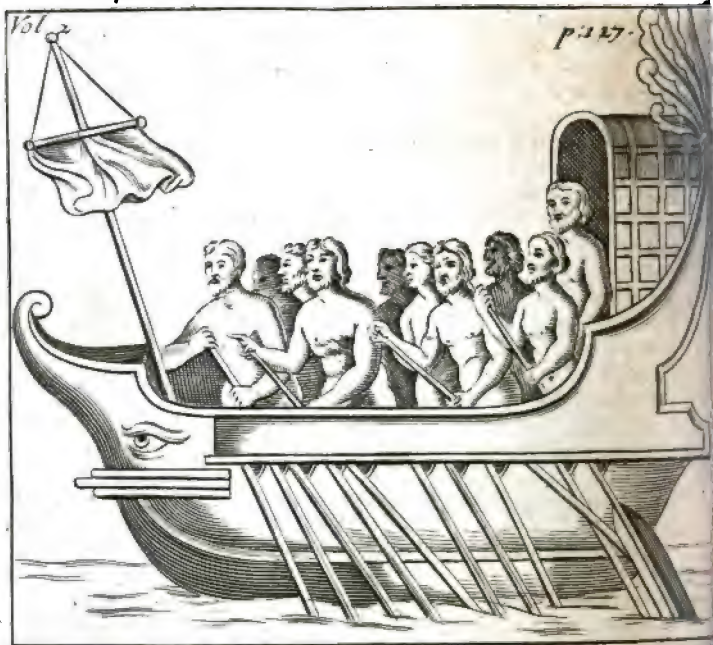
Hence proceed we to the *πλευραὶ*, *latera*, or Sides of the Ship, which encompass'd all the former Parts on both Hands: These were

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In both these Sides the Rowers had their Places, call'd τοῖχοι, and ὀφθαλμοί, in *Latin fori* and *transra*, plac'd above another: The lowest was call'd θάλαμος, and those that labour'd therein θαλάμους: The Middle ζυγά, and the Men ζυγιοί: The Uppermost θράναι, whence the Rowers were term'd θρανῖται (a). In these were Spaces thro' which the Rowers put their Oars: These were sometimes one continued Vacuity from one End to the other, call'd τράρηξ, but more usually distinct Holes, each of which was design'd for a single Oar; these were stil'd τρήματα, τρυπήματα, as also ὀφθαλμοί, because not unlike the Eyes of living Creatures: All of them were by a more general Name term'd ἐγκωπα, from containing the Oars (b); but ἐγκωπιν seems to have been another thing, signifying the Spaces between Banks of Oars on each Side, where the Passengers seem to have been plac'd: On the Top of all these was a Passage, or Place to walk in, call'd παράθρονος, and παράθρανος, as joining to the θράνοι, or uppermost Bank of Oars.

2. Πῶρα, the Prow, or Fore-deck, whence it is sometimes call'd μέτωπον, the Fore-head, and commonly distinguish'd by other metaphorical Titles taken from human Faces. In some Ships there is mention of two Prows, as likewise of two Sterns; thus was *Danaus's* Ship adorn'd by *Minerva*, when he fled from *Egypt*. It was customary to beautify the Prow with Gold, and various Sorts of Paint and Colours: In the primitive Times Red was most in Use, whence *Homer's* Ships were commonly dignify'd with the Titles of μιλιοπαῖροι and ροινικοπαῖροι, or Red-fac'd: The Blue likewise, or Sky-colour, was frequently made use of, as bearing a near Resemblance to the Colour of the Sea; whence we find Ships call'd by *Homer* κυανόπρωροι, by *Aristophanes* κυανέμβολοι. Several other Colours were also made use of, nor were they barely varnish'd over with them, but very often anneal'd by Wax melted in the Fire, so as neither the Sun, Winds or Water were able to deface them. The Art of doing this was call'd, from the Wax, κηρογραφία; from the Fire ἐγκαυστική; it is describ'd by *Virgilius* (c), and mention'd in *Ovid* (d):

— *Picta coloribus assis*

Ceruleam matrem concava Puppis habet.

The painted Ship with melted Wax anneal'd,
Had *Tethys* for it's Deity. —

In these Colours the various Forms of Gods, Animals, Plants, &c. were usually describ'd, which were often added as Ornaments to other Parts also of the Ships, as plainly appears from the antient Monuments presented to the World by *Baysius*.

The Sides of the Prow were term'd *πτερὰ*, or Wings, and *παρία* according to *Scheffer*, or rather *παρεῖα*; for, since the Prow is commonly compar'd to an human Face, it will naturally follow that it's Sides should be call'd Cheeks. The Top of these, as likewise of the Stern, was call'd *παρεξερσία* (a), because void of Rowers.

3. *Πρύμνη*, the Hind-deck or Stern, sometimes call'd *ὑρά*, the Tail, because the hindmost Part of the Ship: It was of a Figure more inclining to round than the Prow, the Extremity of which was sharp, that it might cut the Waters; it was also built higher than the Prow, and was the Place where the Pilot sat to steer: The Bow of it was call'd *ἑπισείον*; the Planks of which that was compos'd, *τὰ περὶ ὀνεία*. There was another Place something below the Top, call'd *ἀσάνδιον*, the interior Part of which was term'd *ἐνθήμειον*.

Some other Things there are in the Prow and Stern that deserve our Notice; as those Ornaments wherewith the Extremities of the Ship were beautify'd, commonly call'd in general *ἀκρόνεια* (b) or *νεῶν κορωνίδες* (c), in *Latin*, *Corymbi*; which Name is taken from the *Greek* *κόρυμβος*, us'd in *Homer*:

————— *νεῶν ἀποκόψεν ἄκρα κόρυμβος.*

Tho' this Word in *Greek* is not, as in the *Latin*, apply'd to the Ornaments of both Ends, but only those of the Prow (d): These are likewise call'd *ἀκροβόλια*, because plac'd at the Extremity of the *ξύλον*, which was a long Plank at the Head of the Prow, and therefore sometimes term'd *περικεφαλαία* (e). The Form of them sometimes resembled Helmets, sometimes living Creatures, but most frequently was winded into a round Compass, whence they are so commonly named *Corybæ* and *Coronæ*.

To the *ἀκροβόλια* in the Prow answer'd the *ἄφλασκα* in the Stern, which are often of an orbicular Fashion, or fashion'd like Wings, to which a little Shield call'd *ἀσπίδειον*, or *ἀσπίδισκη*, was frequently affix'd: Sometimes a Piece of Wood was erected, whereon Ribbands of divers Colours were hung, and serv'd instead of a Flag (f) to distinguish the Ship, and of a Weather-cock to signify the Quarters of the Wind.

Χηῖν σκῶ was so call'd from *χῆν*, a Goose, whose Figure it resembled, because Geese were look'd on as fortunate Omens to Mariners, for that they swim on the Top of the Waters, and sink not. This Ornament, according to some, was fix'd at the Bottom of the Prow, where it was join'd to the foremost Part of the Keel; and was the Part to which Anchors were fasten'd when cast into the Sea: But others carry it to the other End of the Ship, and fix it upon the Extremity of the Stern (g).

Παράσημον was the Flag whereby Ships were distinguish'd from

Sometimes carv'd, and frequently painted, whence it is in *Latin* term'd *Pictura*, representing the Form of a Mountain, a Tree, a Flower, or any other Thing; wherein it was distinguish'd from what was call'd *Tutela*, or the Safeguard of the Ship, which always represented some of the Gods, to whose Care and Protection the Ship was recommend- ed; for which Reason it was held sacred, and had the Privilege of be- ing a Refuge, and Sanctuary to such as fled to it; Prayers also and Sa- crifices were offer'd, and Oaths confirm'd before it, as the Mansion of the tutelar and presiding Deity of the Ship: Now and then we find it taken for the *παράσημον* (*a*), and perhaps some few Times the Image of the God might be represented upon the Flags: By some it is placed also in the Prow (*b*), but by most Authors of Credit assigned to the Stern: Thus *Ovid*, (to omit more Instances) in his Epistle of *Paris*,

Accipit & pictos puppis adunca Deos.

The Stern with painted Deities richly shines.

Farther, the *Tutela* and *παράσημον* are frequently distinguish'd in express Words; that being always signify'd by the Image of a God; this usually of some Creature, or feign'd Representation: Hence the same Author (*c*),

Est mihi, sitque, precor, flavæ tutela Minervæ,

Navis & à pictâ casside nomen habet.

Minerva is the Goddess I adore,

And may she grant the Blessings I implore;

The Ship it's Name a painted Helmet gives.

Where the tutelar Deity was *Minerva*, the *παράσημον* the Helmet. In like manner the Ship wherein *Europa* was convey'd from *Phœnicia* into *Crete*, had a Bull for it's Flag, and *Jupiter* for it's tutelar Deity; which gave Occasion to the Fable of her being ravish'd by that God in the Shape of a Bull. It was customary for the Antients to commit their Ships to the Protection of those Deities, whom they thought most concern'd for their Safety, or to whom they bore any sort of Relation or Affection: Thus we learn from *Euripides* (*d*), that *Theseus's* whole Fleet, consisting of sixty Sail, was under the Care of *Minerva*, the Protectress of *Athens*; *Achilles's* Navy was committed to the *Nereids*, or Sea-Nymphs, because of the Relation he had to them on the Account of his Mother *Thetis*, who was one of their Number; and (to mention no more) the *Bœotian* Ships had for their tutelar God

Founder of *Thebes*, the principal City in *Bœotia*. Nor were whole Fleets only, but single Ships, recommended to certain Deities, which the Antients usually chose out of the Number of those who were reputed the Protectors of their Country or Family, or presided over the Business they were going about: Thus Merchants committed themselves and their Ships to the Care of *Mercury*, Soldiers to *Mars*, and Lovers to *Venus* and *Cupid*; so *Paris* tells his Mistress in *Ovid*,

*Qua tamen ipse vehor, comitata Cupidini parvo
Sponsor conjugii stat Dea pecta sui.*

Venus, who has betroth'd us, painted stands
With little *Cupid* on my Ship.——

On the Prow of the Ship, about the *σῶλον*, was placed a round Piece of Wood call'd *πρυχίς*, and sometimes *ὀφθαλμός*, the Eye of the Ship, because fix'd in it's Fore-deck (a); on this was inscrib'd the Name of the Ship, which was usually taken from the Flag, as appears in the fore-mention'd Passage of *Ovid*, where he tells us his Ship receiv'd it's name from the Helmet painted upon it: Hence comes the frequent Mention of Ships call'd *Pegasi*, *Scyllæ*, *Bulls*, *Rams*, *Tygers*, &c. which the Poets took Liberty to represent as living Creatures that transported their Riders from one Country to another; nor was there (according to some) any other Ground for those known Fictions of *Pegasus*, the wing'd Horse of *Bellerophon*, or the Ram that is reported to have carried *Phryxus* to *Colchos*, with several others, that occur every-where in the Poets.

The whole Fabrick being compleated, it was fortified with Pitch to secure the Wood from the Waters; whence it came that *Homer's* Ships are every-where mention'd with the Epithet of *μέλαιναι*, or black. The first that made use of Pitch, were the Inhabitants of *Phœacia* (b), call'd afterwards *Corcyra*. Sometimes Wax was employ'd in the same Use; whence *Ovid* (c),

Cœrula ceratas accipit unda rates.

The azure Sea receives the waxy Ships.

Now and then it was apply'd with a Mixture of Rosin, and other Materials fit for the same Purpose; whence the Colour of Ships was not always the same, and the Epithets ascrib'd to them in the Poets are various.

After all, the Ship being bedeck'd with Garlands and Flowers, the Mariners also adorn'd with Crowns, she was launch'd into the Sea with

being purify'd by a Priest with a lighted Torch, and Egg and Brimstone (a), or, after some other Manner, was consecrated to the God whose Image she bore.

CHAP. XVI.

Of the Tackling, and Instruments required in Navigation.

THE Instruments us'd in Navigation were of divers Sorts, being either necessary to all sorts of Navigation, or only some Form of it, as that by Sails, by Oars, &c. The chief of the former Sort were as follow :

Ἰνδάλισον, *gubernaculum*, the Rudder, placed in the hindmost Deck, whereby the Pilot directed the Course of the Ship. The smaller sort of Ships had only one Rudder, but those of greater Bulk, as often as Occasion requir'd, had more, insomuch that sometimes we read of four Rudders in one Vessel : The Places of these are uncertain, being perhaps not always the same ; but it seems probable, that when there were only two Rudders, one was fix'd to the Fore-deck, the other to the hindmost ; whence we read of *ῥῆνες ἀμφίπρυμνοι*, or Ships with two Sterns : When there were four Rudders, one seems to have been fixed to each Side of the Vessel.

Ἀγκυρα, an Anchor, the first Invention of which some ascribe to the *Tyrrhenians* (b) ; others to *Midas* the Son of *Gordius*, whose Anchor, *Pausanias* tells us, was preserv'd in one of *Jupiter's* Temples till his Days : Since there were divers sorts of Anchors, it is not improbable that both these may justly lay claim to Part of the Invention. The most antient Anchors are said to have been of Stone (c), and sometimes of Wood, to which a great Quantity of Lead was usually fixed : In some Places, Baskets full of Stones (d), and Sacks fill'd with Sand, were employ'd to the same Use : All these were let down by Cords into the Sea, and by their Weight stay'd the Course of the Ship. Afterwards Anchors were compos'd of Iron, and furnish'd with Teeth, which, being fasten'd to the Bottom of the Sea, preserv'd the Vessel immovable ; whence *ἰσθῆτες*, and *Dentes*, are frequently taken for Anchors in the Greek and Latin Poets. At first there was only one Tooth, whence Anchors were called *ἑτερόδομοι* (e) ; but in a short Time a second was added by *Eupalamus* (f), or *Anacharsis* the *Scythian* Philosopher (g) : The *Scholiast* upon *Apollonius* (h) confidently affirms, that this sort of Anchors was us'd by the *Argonauts* ; yet herein he seems to deserve

no great Credit, for that he runs contrary to the Testimonies of other Writers, and his own Author *Apollonius* makes mention of none but those of Stone. The Anchors with two Teeth were call'd ἀμφίβολοι, or ἀμφίσομοι, and from antient Monuments appear to have been much what the same with those used in our Days, only the transverse Piece of Wood upon their Handles is wanting in all of them. Every Ship had several Anchors, one of which, surpassing all the rest in Bigness and Strength, was peculiarly term'd ἰνρά, in *Latin*, *sacra*, and was never used but in extreme Danger; whence *sacram anchoram solvere* is proverbially applied to such as are forced to their last Refuge.

Ερμα, θεμέλιον, ἔεισμα, *saburra*, Ballast, wherewith Ships were pois'd, whence it is called ἀσφάλισμα πλοίων; it was usually of Sand, but sometimes of any other ponderous Matter. *Diomedes*, in his Voyage from *Troy*, is said to have employ'd the Stones of that City's Walls for this Use (a). It is sometimes call'd κεφαλός and κεφάλον (b).

Βόλις, called by *Herodotus* κατὰπειρήνην (c), by *Lucilius Catapirates* (d), was an Instrument wherewith they sounded the Depth of the Sea, and discover'd whether the Bottom was firm and commodious for anchoring, or dangerous by Reason of Quick-sands, or other Obstructions. It was commonly of Lead or Brass, or other ponderous Metals, and let down by a Chain into the Deep (e).

Κοντοί, called by *Sophocles* πλῆκτα (f), in *Latin*, *Conti*; long Poles, used to sound the Depth of shallower Waters, to thrust the Ship from Rocks and Shelves, and to force her forwards in Fords and Shallows, where the Waters had not Strength enough to carry her.

Αποβάθραι, ἐπιβάθραι, or κλίμακες, were light Bridges or Stairs joining the Land to Ships, or one Ship to another.

Αντλίων, ἀντλον, in *Latin*, *haustrium*, *tolleno*, or *tollena*, &c. a Swipe or Engine to draw up Water.

To some of the above-mention'd Instruments certain Ropes were requir'd, and distinguish'd according to their several Uses; as

Πείσματα, *ancoralia*, or *ancorarii*, the Cables wherewith Anchors were cast into the Sea, call'd sometimes κάμιλοι (g), or κάμηλοι (h): Whence in the Place of St *Matthew*, where *Christ*, speaking of the Difficulty of a rich Man's entering into Heaven, tells his Disciples, it is harder than for a Camel to pass thro' the Eye of a Needle; *Theophylact*, and some others, interpret the Word κάμηλον, not of the Animal call'd a Camel, but a Cable (i).

Ρύματα, ἄλκοι, or σπείγαι, *parolcones*, *remulci*, Ropes by which Ships are tow'd.

Απύγεια, ἐπίγεια, πείσμαλα, περυνήσια, *retinacula*, Cords wherewith Ships were ty'd to the Shore. In most Harbours Stones were erected for this Purpose, being bor'd thro' like Rings, and thence call'd δακτύλιοι; to these the Cords cast out of the Stern were bound: This Custom was always observ'd when Ships came into Port; and

therefore when they put to Sea, it is usually said they did *solvere funes*, loose their Cords: Instances of this are every-where frequent, but I shall only give you one out of *Ovid* (a), who speaks thus of *Æneas's* Followers:

*Æneadæ gaudent, cæsoque in littore tauro,
Torta coronatæ solvunt retinacula navis.*

A Bull the joyful *Trojans* sacrific'd

Upon the Shore, then loos'd the Rope that ty'd

The Ship all crown'd with Garlands.—

The End of doing this was, that the Ships might be secured from the Violence of the Winds and Waves; for which Reason, in those commodious Harbours that lay not expos'd to them, Ships remain'd loose and unt'y'd; whence *Homer* (b);

Εν δὲ λιμὴν εὐορμῶ, ἵν' ἔχρῃ πείσματός ἐστιν.

So still the Port, there was no need of Ropes.

I proceed to the Instruments, which were only necessary to some sort of Navigation; where I shall first treat of those requir'd in Rowing, which were as follow:

Κῶραι, *remi*, Oars, so call'd from one *Copas*, by whom, 'tis said, they were first invented. Πλάτη, in *Latin*, *Palmula*, or *Tonsa*, was the Blade, or broad Part of the Oar, which was usually cover'd with Brass, that it might with greater Strength and Force repel the Waves, and endure the longer. There were several Banks of Oars placed gradually above one another; the Oars of the lowest Bank were shorter than the rest, and call'd θαλαμῖαι, or θαλαμίδαι: Those of the middle Banks were term'd ζυγῖαι; those of the uppermost θραυγῖαι and θραυγίτιδες, and were the longest, being at the greatest Distance from the Water; wherefore, that the Rowers might be the better able to wield and manage them, it was customary to put Lead upon their Handles (c), lest the Bottom should out-poise the Top.

Σκαλμοί, were round Pieces of Wood, whereon the Rowers hung their Oars when they rested from their Labours: Hence ναὺς τρισκαλμῶ, i. e. a Ship with three Rows of *Scalmi*, or a *Trireme*.

Τρόποι, τροπῶν ἥρες, *strophæ*, or *struppi*, were Leathern Thongs (d), wherewith the Oars were hung upon the *scalmi*; those also, with which the Rudder was bound. Leather and Skins of Beasts were apply'd also to several other Uses; as to cover the *scalmi*, and the Holes thro' which the Oars were put forth, to preserve them from being

sometimes, ὑπαγκώνια, ὑποπύγια τῶν ἑρετῶν, from saving the Elbows or Breeches of the Rowers.

Ἐδάλια, σέλματα, ζυγά, in Latin, *transstra* and *juga*, were the Seats of the Rowers.

The Instruments us'd in Sailing were as follow :

Ἴζια, φάσωνες, ἄρμυνα, *vela*, Sails, which are by some thought to have been first invented by *Dædalus*, and to have given Original to the Fable of his using Wings : Others refer this Invention to *Icarus*, making *Dædalus* the Contriver of Masts and Sail-yards (α). At first there was only one Sail in a Ship, but afterwards a greater Number was found convenient ; the Names of which were these :

Ἀρτέμων, by some taken for *supparum*, or the Top-sail, which hung on the Top of the Mast.

Ἀκάτια, the great Sails (β).

Δόλων, the Trinket, or small Sail in the Fore-deck (γ) : Others make ἀκάτιον and δόλων the same.

Ἐπίδρομ, the Misen-sail, which was larger than the former, and hung in the Hind-deck (δ).

Sails were commonly of Linnen, sometimes of any other Materials fit for receiving and repelling the Winds : In *Dio* (ε) we have mention of Leathern Sails ; it was likewise usual for want of other Sails to hang up their Garments ; whence came the Fable of *Hercules*, who is feign'd to have sail'd with the Back of a *Lion*, because he used no other Sail but his Garment, which was a Lion's Skin (ς).

Κεραῖα, κέρατα, *antennæ*, the Sail-yards, Pieces of Wood fix'd upon the Mast, to which the Sails were ty'd (ζ) : The Name signifies an *Horn*, whence it's Extremities are call'd ἀκροκέρατα ; it's Arms inclining to an orbicular Figure, are term'd ἀγκύλαι. The Latin Poet hath used *cornua* in the same Sense (η),

—— *Veloque superba capaci*

Cum rapidum hauriret Boream & cornibus omnes

Colligeret flatus.——

Others Parts it had close to the Mast call'd ἄμβολα, and σὺμβολα, being those by which it was moved.

Ἰσός, *malus*, the Mast. Every Ship had several Masts, but we are told by *Aristotle*, that at first there was only one Mast, which being fix'd in the Middle of the Ship, the Hole into which the Foot of it was inserted, was nam'd μεσόδμη (ι), in Latin, *modius*. When they landed, the Mast was taken down, as appears every-where in *Homer*, and placed on a Thing call'd ἰσοδόκη, which, according to *Suidas*, was a Case, wherein the Mast was reposit ; but *Eusebius* will have it to be nothing but a Piece of Wood, against which it was rear'd. The Parts of the Mast were these : Πτέρνα, or the Foot. Ἀνάς, or,

according to *Athenæus*, λινθοί, or τράχηλοι, to which the Sail was fix'd. Καρχήσος, the Pulley, by which the Ropes were turn'd round. Θωράκιον, built in the Manner of a Turret, for Soldiers to stand upon, and cast Darts: Above this was a Piece of Wood call'd ἰκρίον, the Extremity of which was term'd ἡλακμάτη, on which hung a Ribband call'd, from it's continual Motion, ἐπισσίον, turning round with the Wind.

The Names of the Ropes, requir'd to the Use of the above-mention'd Parts, were these that follow, as enumerated by *Scheffer*:

Επίτονοι were the Ropes call'd in *Latin*, *anquins*, wherewith the Sail-yards were bound to the Main-Mast (a): Others will have them to be the same with the *Latin rudentes*, which were those that govern'd the Sail-yards, so as one Part of the Sails might be hoisted, the other lower'd (b), according to the Pleasure of the Pilot. Others will have the Cord wherewith the Sail-yards were ty'd to the Mast, to be term'd κάλων, *ceruchus*, *anchenis*, and *rudens*; that whereby they were contracted or dilated, ὑπέρωγ. (c), in *Latin*, *opifera* (d).

Πρόδες, in *Latin*, *pedes*, were Cords at the Corners of the Sails (e), whereby they were manag'd as Occasion requir'd. Πρόποδες were small Cords below the *pedes*, which were so contriv'd as to be loos'd and contracted by them: The Use of both these was in taking the Winds, for by them the Sails were contracted, dilated, or changed from one Side to another, as there was Occasion.

Μεσπίαι were those whereby the Mast was erected, or let down (f); others will have them to belong to the Sails.

Πρότονοι were Cords, which, passing thro' a Pulley at the Top of the Mast, were ty'd on one Side to the Prow, on the other to the Stern, to keep the Mast fix'd and immoveable.

The Materials of which these and other Cords were compos'd, were at first seldom any Thing but Leathern Thongs; afterwards they us'd Hemp, Flax, Broom, Palm-leaves, Philry, the Bark of Trees, as the Cherry, Teil-tree, Vine, Maple, Carpine, &c.

CHAP. XVII.

Of the Instruments of War in Ships.

WHAT I have hitherto deliver'd concerning the Parts and Construction of Ships, has been spoken of in general without respect to any particular sort of them; it remains therefore, that in the next Place I give you a brief Account of what was farther necessary to equip a Man of War.

Εμκόλον, *restum*, was a Beak of Wood fortify'd with Brass, whence

the Epithet of χαλκέμβολοι : One or more of these was always fasten'd to the Prow to annoy the Enemy's Ships, and the whole Prow was sometimes cover'd with Braſs to guard it from Rocks and Assaults. The Person that first us'd these Beaks is said to have been one *Pisæus* an *Italian* (a) ; for it will not be allow'd that the primitive *Greeks* had any Knowledge them, since no such Thing is mentioned in *Homer*, which could scarce have happen'd, had they been invented at the Time of the *Trojan War* : Yet *Æschylus* (b) gives *Nestor's Ship* the Epithet of δεκέμβολοι, or arm'd with ten Beaks; and *Iphigenia* in *Euripides* speaks of Brazen Beaks :

Μή μοι χαλκέμβολα δῶν
 Πρύμνης ἄδ' Αὐλὶς δέξασθαι
 Τέσδ' εἰς ὄρμης.

O ! that these Ships with Brazen Beaks
 Had never enter'd *Aulis* Ports.

But it may justly be question'd, whether these Poets do not take their Description from the Practice of their own Times, a Thing frequent enough with Men of that Profession. These Beaks were at first long and high, but afterwards it was found more convenient to have them short and firm, and placed so low as to pierce the Enemy's Ships under Water. This was an Invention of one *Aristo* a *Corinthian*, against whom it prov'd a considerable Advantage ; for by these new Beaks several of the *Athenian* Men of War were overturn'd, or torn in Pieces at the first Shock (c). Above the Beak was another Instrument call'd *περεμβολίς*, and it appears from antient Medals, that the Beaks themselves were usually adorn'd with various Figures of Animals, &c.

Επωλίδες were Pieces of Wood placed on each Side of the Prow (d) to guard it from the Enemy's Beaks ; because Prows are usually compar'd to Faces, these were thought to resemble *Ears*, whence their Name seems to have been deriv'd : For those are mistaken that would have them belong to the Hind-deck (e).

Κατασρώματα, *σανιδώματα*, or Hatches, sometimes call'd *καταφράγματα*, whence we meet with *νῆες πεφραγμέναι, κατάφρακτοι*, and *τετατα*, cover'd Ships, or Men of War ; which are frequently oppos'd to Ships of Passage or Burden, which were *ἄφρακτοι* and *απερτα*, uncover'd, or without Hatches : This Covering was of Wood, and erected on Purpose for the Soldiers, that they standing, as it were, upon an Eminence, might level their missive Weapons with greater Force and

Scholiasts interpret *Hatches*, we are only to understand him of these Parts, which alone us'd to be cover'd in those Days. Thus he tells us of *Ajax* defending the *Grecian* Ships against the Attack of the *Trojans* (a),

—— νηῶν ἐκρὶ ἐπ' ὤχετο μακρὰ βίβαθων.

He march'd upon the Hatches with long Strides.

And of *Ulysses* preparing himself for the Encounter with *Scylla*, he speaks thus (b) :

—— εἰς ἱκρία νηὸς ἔβαινε

Πρώρης——

Upon the Hatches of the foremost Deck

He went. ——

The other Parts of the Ship are said to have been first cover'd by the *Thasians* (c).

Beside the Coverings of Ships already mention'd, and call'd *καταφράγματα*, there were other Coverings to guard the Soldiers from their Enemies, call'd *παραφράγματα*, *περιφράγματα*, *παραπέλασματα*, *παραβλήματα*, *προκαλύμματα*, in *Latin*, *Plutei*; and sometimes *Propugnacula*: These were commonly Hides, or such-like Materials, hung on both Sides of the Ship, as well to hinder the Waves from falling into it, as to receive the Darts cast from the adverse Ships, that under these, as Walls on both Sides, the Soldiers might without Danger annoy their Enemies.

Δελφὶν, a certain Machine, which, being usually a Part of these Ships, cannot be omitted in this Place: It was a vast and massy Piece of Lead or Iron, cast in the Form of a *Dolphin*, and hung with Cords and Pullies to the Sail-yards or Mast, which, being thrown with great Violence into the adverse Ships, either penetrated them, and so open'd a Passage for the rising Floods, or by it's Weight and Force sunk them to the Bottom of the Sea (d).

Another Difference betwixt Men of War and other Ships was, that the former commonly had an Helmet engraven on the Top of their Masts (e).

(a) *Iliad*. δ'. (b) *Odysf.* μ'. (c) *Plin.* Lib. VII. Cap. LVII. (d) *Aristophan*—

C H A P. XVIII.

Of the Mariners and Soldiers.

WE are told by *Thucydides*, that amongst the Antients there were no different Ranks of Seamen, but the same Persons were employ'd in those Duties, which were in later Ages executed by divers, to whom they gave the several Names of Rowers, Mariners, and Soldiers; whereas at first all these were the same Men, who laid down their Arms to labour at the Oar, and perhaps what was farther necessary to the Government of the Ships, but, as often as Occasion requir'd, resum'd them to assault their Enemies: This appears every-where in *Homer*, out of whom I shall observe this one Instance:

—— ἐρέται δ' ἐν ἑκάσῃ πεντήκοντα
Εμβέβασαν τόξων εὖ εἰδότες. ——

Each Ship had fifty Rowers that were skill'd
Well in the shooting Art. ——

These were term'd ἀντιρέται (a). This was the Practice of those Times, wherein no great Care was taken, no extraordinary Preparations made for equipping Men of War, but the same Vessels were thought sufficient for Transportation and Fight: Afterwards, when the Art of Naval War began to be improv'd, it was presently understood that any one of the fore-mention'd Occupations was enough to require the whole Time and Application of the Persons employ'd therein; whence it became customary to furnish their Ships of War with the three following Sorts of Men.

Ερέται, κωπηλάται, call'd by *Polybius* (b) οἱ ἐπάρχοντες, and by the same Author (c), with *Xenophon* (d), τὰ πληρώματα, tho' we are told by the *Scholiast* upon *Thucydides*, that this is a Name of very large Extent, comprehending not only those that row'd, but all other Persons in the Ship, and sometimes apply'd to any Thing else contain'd therein. When Ships had several Banks of Oars, the uppermost Rowers were call'd θρανῖται, and their Bank θράνῳ (e): The lowest θαλάμιοι, θαλαμίται, and θαλάμακες, and their Bank θαλαμος: Those in the Middle ζυγῖται, and μισοζυγῖοι, and all their Banks, how many soever in Number. Every one had a distinct Oar

were not the same; for such as were plac'd in the uppermost Banks, by reason of their Distance from the Water, and the Length of their Oars, underwent more Toil and Labour than those in the inferior Banks, and therefore were rewarded with greater Wages. The Rowers in Ships of Burden were call'd *σπογυλαιῖται* (a), those in Triremes *τεμπῆται*, and the rest seem to have had different Appellations from the Names of the Ships they labour'd in. Those that were foremost in their respective Banks, and sat nearest the Prow, were call'd *πρόκωροι*; and on the other Side, those who were plac'd next the Stern were term'd *ἐπίκωροι*, as being *behind* their Fellows. Their Work was esteem'd one of the worst and most wretched Drudgeries, and therefore the most notorious Malefactors were frequently condemn'd to it; for, beside their incessant Toil in Rowing, their very Rest was uneasy, there being no Place to repose their weary'd Bodies, beside the Seats whereon they had labour'd all the Day; therefore whenever the Poets speak of their ceasing from Labour, there is Mention of their lying down upon them: Thus *Seneca* (b):

—— *credita est vento ratis,*
Fususque transfris miles. ——

Unto the Wind the Ship was left,
The Soldiers lay along their Seats.

To the same Purpose *Virgil* (c):

—— *placida laxant membra quieto*
Sub remis fusi per dura sedilia nauta.

And now along their Seats the Rowers laid,
Had eas'd their weary'd Limbs with Sleep.

The rest of the Ship's Crew usually took their Rest in the same Manner, only the Masters (d), or Persons of Quality, were permitted to have Clothes spread under them; so we read of *Ulysses* in *Homer* (e):

Κάδ' δ' ἄρ' Ὀδυσῆϊ σόρεσαν ῥῆγός τε, λίνον τε
Νηὸς ἐπ' ἱκρίοφιν γλαρυρῆς (ἵνα νήγρε' ἂν ὕδρῃ)
Πρύμνῃς, ἂν ὃ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐθήσατο, κατέλεκτο
Σιγῇ. ——

But Clothes the Men for great *Ulysses* spread,
And plac'd an easy Pillow for his Head;

Such as would not be contented with this Provision, were look'd upon as soft and delicate, and unfit to endure the Toil and Hardships of War; which Censure the *Athenians* pass'd upon *Alcibiades*, because he had a Bed hung on Cords, as we read in *Plutarch* (a).

Ναῦται, Mariners, were exempt from drudging at the Oar, but perform'd all other Duties in the Ship; to which End, that all Things might be carried on without Tumult and Confusion, every one had his proper Office, as appears from *Apollonius* and *Flaccus's Argonauticks*, where one is employ'd in rearing the Mast, another in fitting the Sail-yards, a third in hoisting the Sails, and the rest are bestowed up and down the Ship, every one in his proper Place: Hence they had different Titles, as from *ἄρμενα*, Sails, the Persons appointed to govern them were call'd *ἀρμενισαί*; those that climb'd up the Ropes to descry distant Countries or Ships, were term'd *σχοινοβάται*, and the rest in like Manner: There were a Sort of Men inferior to the former, and call'd *μεσωναῦται*, who were not confin'd to any certain Place or Duty, but were ready on all Occasions to attend the rest of the Seamen, and supply them with whatever they wanted (b). The whole Ship's Crew were usually wicked and profligate Fellows; without any Sense of Religion or Humanity, and therefore reckon'd by *Juvenal* (c) amongst the vilest Rogues:

*Invenies aliquo cum percussore jacentem,
Permixtum nautis, aut furibus, aut fugitivis.*

You'll surely find his Company, some Tarrs,
Cut-throats, or roguy Vagabonds. —

The Soldiers that serv'd at Sea, were in *Latin* term'd *Classarii*, in *Greek* *ἐπιβάται*, either because they did *ἐπιβαίνειν τὰς νῆας*, ascend into Ships; or *ἀπὸ τῶ ἐπιβαίνειν τὰ καταςπόμενα*, from ascending the Hatches where they fought. They were arm'd after the same Manner with those design'd for Land-Service, only there seems always to have been a greater Number of heavy-arm'd Men than was thought necessary by Land; for we find in *Plutarch* (d), that, of *Themistocles's* Ships, only four were light-arm'd. Indeed it highly import'd them to fortify themselves in the best Manner they could, since there was no Possibility of retiring, or changing Places, but every Man was obliged to fight Hand to Hand, and maintain his Ground till the Battle was ended; wherefore their whole Armour, tho' in Form usually the same with that used in Land-Service, yet exceeded it in Strength and

Δόξα ἡ ναύμαχα (a) Spears of an unusual Length, sometimes exceeding twenty Cubits, whence they are call'd in *Livy* (b) *hasta longa*, and by *Homer* ξυσὰ ναύμαχα, and μακρὰ (c) ;

Οἱ δ' ἀπὸ νηῶν ὑψιμελαινάων ἐπιβάντες
Μακροῖσι ξυσοῖσι, τὰ ῥά σφ' ἐπὶ νηυσὶν ἔκειτο
Ναύμαχα, κολλήεντα. —

With Spears that in the Vessels ready lay,
These strove to make the Enemy give Way ;
Long Spears, for Sea-fights only made, compos'd
Of sev'ral Pieces. —

Again in another Place (d) :

Νώμα δ' ἔξυσὸν μέγα ναύμαχον ἐν παλάμῃσι
Κολλητὸν βλήτροισι, δυνάμει κοσίπηχυ.

A Spear with Nails compacted and made strong,
That was full two and twenty Cubits long,
He brandish'd. —

Δρήπανα (e), call'd by *Arrian* δορυδρέπανον, by *Diodorus* (f) δρεπανηρόν τε κεραία, was an Engine of Iron, crook'd like a Sickle, (g), and fix'd to the Top of a long Pole, wherewith they cut in sunder the Cords of the Sail-yards, and thereby, letting the Sails fall down, disabled the light Ships. Not unlike this was another Instrument, arm'd at the End with a broad Iron Head, edg'd on both Sides, wherewith they us'd to cut the Cords that ty'd the Rudder to the Ship.

Κεραῖαι (b) were Engines to cast Stones into the Enemies Ships.

We find another Engine mention'd by *Vegetius*, which hung upon the Main-mast, and resembled a Battering-Ram ; for it consisted of a long Beam, and an Head of Iron, and was with great Violence push'd against the Sides of adverse Ships.

Κεῖρ σιδηρᾶ, in *Latin*, *manus ferrea* ; was a Grappling-Iron, which they cast out of an Engine into the Enemies Ship : It is said to have been first us'd in *Greece* by *Pericles* the *Athenian* (i), at *Rome* by *Duilius* (k). Different from these were the ἄρπαγες, *harpagines*, said to be invented by *Anacharsis* (l) the *Scythian* Philosopher ; which, as *Scheffer* collects out of *Atheneus*, were Hooks of Iron hanging on the Top of a Pole, which, being secur'd with Chains to the Masts, or some other lofty Part of the Ship, and then cast with great Force into the Enemies Vessel, caught it up into the Air. The Means used to defeat these Engines was to cover their Ships with Hides, which cast off, or blunted the Stroke of the Iron (m).

The Dominion of the Seas was not confin'd to any one of the *Grecian* States; they were continually contending for Empire, and by various Turns of Fortune sometimes possess'd, and again in a few Months or Years were dispossest'd of it: The Persons that enjoy'd it longest, and maintain'd it with the greatest Fleet after *Greece* had arriv'd at the Height of it's Glory, were the *Athenians*, who first began seriously to apply themselves to Naval Affairs about the Time of *Xerxes's* Invasion: The first that engag'd them in this Enterprize was *Themistocles*, who considering their Inability to oppose the *Persians* by Land, and the Commodiousness of their Situation for Naval Affairs, interpreted the Oracle that advis'd to defend themselves with Walls of Wood to this Purpose, and prevail'd upon them to convert their whole Time and Treasure to the building and fitting out a Fleet. The Money employ'd on this Design, was the Revenue of the Silver-Mines at *Laureotis*, which had formerly been distributed among the People, who, by *Themistocles's* Persuasion, were induc'd to part with their Income, that Provision might be made for the publick Security. With this an hundred Triremes were rigg'd out against *Xerxes's* numerous Fleet, over which, by the Assistance of their Allies, they obtain'd an entire Victory. Afterwards the Number of their Ships were increas'd by the Management of *Lycurgus* the Orator to four hundred (a); and we are told by *Isocrates* (b), that the *Athenian* Navy consisted of twice as many Ships as all the rest of the *Grecians* were Masters of: It was made up of two Parts, one being furnish'd out by the *Athenians* themselves, the other by their Confederates.

The Fleet equipp'd at *Athens* was maintain'd after the Manner prescrib'd by *Themistocles* till the Time of *Demosthenes*, who, to ingratiate himself with the Commonalty, restor'd to them their antient Revenues, and devis'd a new Method to procure Money for the Payment of Seamen, and the Construction of new Men of War: This he effected by dividing the richer Sort of Citizens into *συμμοριαί*, or Companies, which were oblig'd, according to their several Abilities, to contribute largely out of their own Substance; and in Times of Necessity it was frequent for Men of Estates to rig out Ships at their own Expence, over and above what was requir'd of them, there being a generous Contention between the leading Men in that Commonwealth, which should out-do the rest in serving his Country.

The remaining Part of the Fleet was compos'd of Allies; for the *Athenians*, understanding how necessary it was to their Affairs to maintain their Dominion of the Seas, would enter into no Leagues or Confederacies with any of their Neighbours, but such as engag'd themselves to augment their Navy with a Proportion of Ships; which became a double Advantage to the *Athenians*, whose Fleet was strengthen'd by

tion in Money (a). These Customs were first brought up after the second *Persian War*, when it was agreed by the common Consent of all the *Grecians*, that they should retaliate the Injuries received from the *Barbarians*, by carrying the War into their own Country, and invading them with the whole Strength of *Greece*, under the Conduct of the *Athenians*, who at that Time raised themselves a very high Reputation by their mighty Naval Preparations, and the singular Courage, Wisdom, and Humanity of their two Generals *Themistocles* and *Aristides*. Afterwards being grown great in Power, and aiming at nothing less than the Sovereignty of all *Greece*, they won some by Favours and specious Pretences, others by Force of Arms to comply with their Desires; for their Manner of treating the Cities they had conquer'd, was to oblige them either to furnish Money, paying what Tribute they exacted, or to supply them with Vessels of War, as *Thucydides* reports of the *Chians*, when subdued by the *Athenians* (b); *Xenophon* also (c) and *Diodorus* (d) mention the same Custom: Thus by one Means or other the greatest Part of the *Grecian* Cities were drawn in to augment the *Athenian* Greatness.

C H A P. XIX.

Of Naval Officers.

THERE were two Sorts of Officers in all Fleets; one govern'd the Ships and Mariners, the other were entrusted with the Command of the Soldiers, but had likewise Power over the Ship-Masters and their Crew; these were,

Στόλαρχοι, ναύαρχοι, or στρατηγός, *Præfetus classis*, the Admiral, whose Commission was different according to the Exigency of Times and Circumstances, being sometimes to be executed by one alone, sometimes in Conjunction with other Persons, as happened to *Alcibiades*, *Nicias*, and *Lamachus*, who were sent with equal Power to command the *Athenian* Fleet in *Sicily*: Their Time of Continuance in Command was likewise limited by the People, and, as they pleas'd, prolong'd or shorten'd. We read of *Epaminondas* (e), that, finding his Country like to be brought into great Danger upon the Resignation of his Office, he held it four Months longer than he was commission'd to do; in which Time he put a new Face upon the *Theban* Affairs; and by his wise Management dispell'd the Fears they lay under; which done, he voluntarily laid down his Power, but was no sooner divested thereof, than he was call'd to Account for holding it so long, and narrowly escap'd being condemn'd to Death;

for it was fear'd that such a Precedent might some Time or other be a Pretence to ambitious Spirits, having so great Power entrusted in their Hands, to enslave the Commonwealth. The same Reason seems to have been the Cause of the *Lacedæmonian* Law, whereby it was forbidden, that any Person should be Admiral above once (*a*), which nevertheless stood them in no good stead, it thereby often happening that they were forced to commit their Fleet to raw and unexperienced Commanders.

Ἐπιστολεύς (*b*), sometimes call'd ἐπιστολαιοφύρῳ, was Vice-Admiral, or Commander in Chief under the Admiral.

Τεῖρερχῳ, Captain of a Trireme, who commanded all the other Soldiers therein. The Captains of other Men of War were dignify'd with Titles taken from the Vessels they commanded, as πτερυγίωνος, &c.

The Officers that had care of the Ships, were the following:

Ἀρχικυβερνήται, those who were entrusted with the Care and Management of all Marine Affairs, to provide commodious Harbours, to direct the Course of the Fleet, and order all other Things concerning it, except those which related to War.

Κυβερήτης, the Master or Pilot, had the Care of the Ship, and Government of the Seamen therein, and sat at the Stern to steer: All Things were managed according to his Direction, 'twas therefore necessary that he should have obtain'd an exact Knowledge of the Art of Navigation, which was call'd κυβερνητικὴ τέχνη, and chiefly consist'd in these three Things. 1. In the right Management of the Rudder, Sails, and all the Engines used in Navigation. 2. In the Knowledge of the Winds and Celestial Bodies, their Motions and Influences. 3. In the Knowledge of commodious Harbours, of Rocks, Quickfands, and other Occurrences on the Sea. All these *Acates* in *Ovid* tells us he furnish'd himself with, in order to become an accomplish'd Pilot (*c*):

*Mox ego, ne scopulis hærerem semper in iisdem,
Addidici regimen, dextra moderante carinam
Flectere; & Oleniæ fidus pluviale capellæ,
Taygetemque, Hyadasque oculis, Arctumque notavi,
Ventorumque domos, & portus puppibus aptos.*

Left, struck against a Rock, I there should stay,
Of Steering well I learnt the useful Way,
Observ'd the *Arctos*, and the *Hyades* too,
The Stars that round *Taygetes* glitt'ring shew;
Have mark'd th' *Olenian* Goat that Rain portends,
And how a noisy Wind each Quarter sends;

I learn'd the safest Ports, and best Retreats
For tatter'd Vessels.——

E. D.

As to the heavenly Bodies, they were observ'd by Sailors upon a two-fold Account, being of Use to them in prognosticating the Seasons, and Guides which way to shape their Course. The principal of those us'd in foretelling, were *Arcturus*, the *Dog-star*, *Aræ*, *Orion*, *Hyades*, *Hædi*, *Castor* and *Pollux*, *Helena*, &c. It was likewise customary to take notice of various Omens offer'd by Sea-Fowls, Fishes, and divers other Things, as the Murmuring of the Floods, the Shaking and Buz-zing Noise of Trees in the Neighbouring Woods, the Dashing of the Billows against the Shore, and many more, in all which good Pilots were nicely skill'd. As to the Direction in their Voyage, the first Practitioners in the Art of Navigation, being unacquainted with the rest of the celestial Motions, steer'd all the Day by the Course of the Sun, at Night betaking themselves to some safe Harbour, or resting on the Shore, and not daring to venture to Sea till their Guide was risen to discover their Way: That this was their constant Custom may be observ'd from the antient Descriptions of those Times, whereof I shall only observe this Instance (a):

*Sol ruit interea, & montes umbrantur opaci,
Sternimur optatæ gremio telluris ad undam,
Sortiti remos, passimque in littore sicco
Corpora curamus, fessos soper irrigat artus.*

The hast'ning Sun had reach'd his wat'ry Bed,
And Night the gloomy Mountains had o'erspread,
When Lots resolving who should Rowers be,
Upon the Shore we lie just by the Sea,
With Sleep our drooping Eyes we quickly close;
And-give our weary'd Bodies sweet Repose.

E. D.

Afterwards the *Phœnicians*, who some will have to be the first In-ventors of Navigation, discover'd the Motions of some other Stars, as may be observ'd in *Pliny* (b), and *Propertius* (c):

*Queritis & cælo Phœnicum inventa sereno,
Quæ sit stella homini commoda, quæque mala.*

—— led by the Art,
The wise *Phœnicians* found, and did impart,
You mind, what Stars are Signs of Good or Harm.

The *Phœnicians* we find to have been directed by *Cynosura*, or the

by *Thales* the *Mileſian*, who was originally a *Phœnician* (a); whereas the Mariners of *Greece*, as well as other Nations, ſteer'd by the greater *Bear* call'd *Helice*; whence *Aratus*,

Ἑλίκη γὰρ μὲν ἄνδρες Ἀχαιοὶ
εἶν' ἀλλ' ἡγεμῶνας ἵνα χρὴ νῆας ἀγυῖν.

Helice always is the *Grecians* Guide,
Whene'er they take a Voyage.

For the firſt Obſervation of this they were obliged to *Nauplius*, if we may believe *Theon*, or, according to the Report of *Flaccus* (b), to *Tiphys*, the Pilot of the famous Ship *Argo*. But of theſe two, we are told by *Theon*, the former was the ſecurer Guide, and therefore was follow'd by the *Phœnicians*, who for Skill in Marine Affairs outſtrip not only all the reſt of the World, but even the *Grecians* themſelves.

Πρωρεύς, or *πρωράτης*, was next under the Maſter, and had his Place in the Head of the Ship, as his Name imports. To his Care was committed the Tackling of the Ship (c), and the Rowers, who had their Places aſſign'd by him, as appears of *Phœax*, who perform'd this Office in *Theſeus's* Ship (d). We find him every-where aſſiſting the Maſter at Conſultations concerning the Seaſons, Places, and other Things (e).

Κελευστής, *portifculus*, *agitator*, or *hortator remigum*, is by ſome interpreted the Boatſwain; his Office was to ſignify the Word of Command to the Rowers (f), and to diſtribute to all the Crew their daily Portion of Food (g).

Τεμεγύλης was a Muſician, who by the Harmony of his Voice and Inſtrument, rais'd the Spirits of the Rowers, when weary with Labour (h), and ready to faint, as we read in *Statius* (i);

Acclinis malo mediis interſonat Orpheus
Remigiis, tantoſque jubet naſcire labores.

Againſt the Maſt the tuneful *Orpheus* ſtands,
Plays to the weary'd Rowers, and commands
The Thought of Toil away.————

Another, it may be the chief, Uſe of this Muſick was to direct the Rowers, that they, *keeping Time* therewith, might proceed in a regular and conſtant Motion, leſt by an uncertain Impulſe of their Oars the Courſe of the Ship ſhould be retarded (k): Hence *Flaccus* in his *Argonautics*:

(a) *Hyginus* Lib. II. Poet. *Aſtron.* *Eufſtathius* II. c. *Theon.* in *Aratum.* (b) *Ar-*

——— *carminis tonsas*
Ire docet, summo passim ne gurgite pugnent.
 His Notes direct how ev'ry Oar should strike,
 How they shou'd Order keep.———

Silius also speaks to the same Purpose (a) ;

——— *medicæ fiat marginis puppis,*
Qui voce alternos nautarum temperet iñus,
Et remis dicet sonitum, pariterque relatis,
Ad numerum plaudat resonantia cœrula tonsis.
 One ready stands to sing a charming Song
 Unto the Sea-men as they row along,
 Whose lively Strains a constant Movement keep,
 And shew when every Oar should brush the Deep,
 Who, as the beaten Water still resounds,
 Applauds their Labour with his Voice.———

E. D.

This Musick was call'd *ρίγλαρος* (b), or *τὸ τεινεῖν μέλος* (c).
Διοτοί, ναυφύλακες, κύσφοδες ναυίς, were oblig'd to take care
 that the Ship receiv'd no Damage by bulging upon Rocks, or other-
 wise (c) ; whence, in the Night especially, we find them employ'd
 in sounding and directing the Ship with long Poles ;

Ὡς ναυφύλακες νυκτὲρ ναυκληρίας
Πλόκτοις ἀπενδύουσιν ἑρίαν τρόπιν (d).
 As those who in the Night time mind the Ship,
 Direct and guide it with long Poles.———

Τοίχαρχοι were either those who had the Charge of the *τοῖχοι*
τῆς νηὸς, or Sides of the Ship, according to *Turnebus* (e) ; or of the
τοῖχοι, or *τοῖχοι τῶν ἑρετῶν*. i. e. the Bank of Rowers.

Several other Names of Officers occur in Authors ; as *ταμίαις*,
 who distributed to every Man his Share of Victuals, being usually
 the same with the *κίλευσις*, but sometimes it may be distinct from
 him. *Homer* mentions this Officer (f) ;

Καὶ ταμίαι περὶ νηυσὶν ἔσαν σίτοιο δότηρες.
 And Officers embark'd, whose Care it was
 To give each Man his Victuals.

Εσχαρεύς (a), was a Person whose Business lay περὶ τῆν ἐσχαρεύ, about the Fire, and therefore is by some thought to have been the Cook ; by others the Priest who offer'd Sacrifices.

Λογιστής, or γραμματεὺς, was the Burser, who kept the Accounts, and registred all the Receipts and Expences of the Ship.

C H A P. XX.

Of their Voyages, Harbours, &c.

W H E N it was design'd the Fleet should put to Sea, the Signal being given by the Admiral, the Mariner's hal'd the Ships into the Water ; for it was customary, when they came into Harbour, to draw the Sterns to dry Land, to prevent their being toss'd and dissipated by the Waves. Hence *Virgil* ;

—stant littore puppes.

The Sterns stand on the Shore.

It was frequent also for Seamen, underpropping their Ship with their Shoulders, to thrust them forwards into the Sea ; so we read of the *Argonauts* in *Valerius Flaccus* (b),

*At ducis imperiis Minyæ monituque frequentes
Puppem bumeris subeunt, & tento poplite proni
Decurrunt.*————

The Prince commands that they no longer stay,

His Orders strait the *Minyæ* obey ;

And kneeling down, their Shoulders heave the Ship
Into the Main——

This was sometimes perform'd by Leavers and Spars of Wood, over which Ships were roll'd into the Deep ; these were call'd φάλαγγες, φαλάγσια (c), and according to *Homer* μοχλοὶ (d) :

Μοχλοῖσιν δ' ἄρα τήνγε κατέρυσεν εἰς ἅλα δῖαν.

The heavy Ship into the Sea they thrust

With Leavers——

ous Contrivance of an Engine call'd *Helix*, whereby the Ships were with great Facility remov'd from the Shore (a). To do this they call'd τὴν πρύμναν κίνειν, or νῆας κατερύειν εἰς ἅλα.

Before they embark'd, the Ships were adorn'd with Flowers and Garlands, which were Tokens of Joy and Mirth (b), and Omens of future Prosperity: Hence *Virgil*:

———*vocat jam carbasus auras,*
Puppibus & lati nautæ imposuere coronas.

Now's a fair Wind, and all the Seamen crown.
The Ship with Garlands.———

Because no Success could be expected in any Enterprize without the Divine Blessing and Assistance, they invok'd the Protection of their Gods by solemn Prayers and Sacrifices, which as they offer'd to other Deities, so more especially to those who had any Concern or Command in the Sea: To the Winds and Tempests, the whole Train of marine Gods and Goddesses, but above all to *Neptune* the great Emperor of the Sea. Thus *Anchises* in *Virgil* (c) dares not adventure himself to Sea, till he has first address'd himself to *Neptune* and *Apollo*;

———*meritos aris mactavit honores,*
Taurum Neptuno, taurum tibi, pulcher Apollo.

A Bull to *Neptune*, and a Bull to you
He sacrific'd, *Apollo*, as your Due.

A great Number of Instances to the same Purpose may be met with in antient Writers. Nor was it enough for themselves alone to petition the Gods for Safety and Success, but all the Multitudes that throng'd on such Occasions to the Shore, earnestly recommended them to the Divine Protection, and join'd their fervent Prayers for their Deliverance from all the Dangers they were going to encounter (d).

This done, we are told by the *Scholiast* upon *Apollonius*, that it was usual to let fly a Dove; which, no doubt, was look'd on as an Omen of safe Return, because that Bird is not easily forced to relinquish it's Habitation, but, when driven away, delights to return. Then they put to Sea, the Signal being given by a Shout, by Sound of Trumpet, and several other Ways; in the Night it was usually given by Torches lighted in the Admiral-Galley; an Instance whereof we have in *Seneca's Agamemnon* (e):

Signum recursus regia ut fulsit rate,
Et clara lentum remigem emovit tuba,
Aurata primas prora secavit vias.

The Torches being lighted, which, to guide
Us home more safely, in the King's Ship stood,
And summon'd by the Trumpet's noisy Sound,
When ev'ry Man his proper Oar had took,
The Admiral march'd first, and cut the Waves.

E. D.

The Ships were usually rang'd in this Order: In the Front went the lighter Vessels; after these follow'd the Men of War led on by the Admiral, which was commonly distinguish'd from the rest by the Richness of her Ornaments; thus we find *Agamemnon's* Ship in the fore-mention'd Place of *Seneca* going before the rest:

*Aurata primas prora secavit vias,
Aperitque cursus, mille quas puppes secant.*

The Admiral went first, and cut the Waves,
Prepar'd the yielding Deep, which afterwards
A thousand Vessels cleav'd.

Last of all the Vessels of Burden came up. If the Winds were high, or Seas dangerous, they were extended out at Length, sailing one by one: But at other Times they went three or more in a Breast.

When they arriv'd at any Port where they design'd to land, the first Thing they did was to run their Ships backwards upon their Hind-decks in order to tack about; this they call'd *ἐπὶ πρύμναν*, or *πρύμναν πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς* (a), which Phrase is by *Thucydides* elegantly apply'd to those that retreat fighting, and still facing their Enemies: Then they tack'd about, which they term'd *ἐπιστρέφειν* (b), turning the Heads of their Ships to the Sea, according to *Virgil*:

Obvertunt pelago proras.—————

To th' Sea they turn'd their Prows.

Now the Rowers ceased from their Labours, and rested their Oars, which the *Greeks* call'd *ἐπέχειν τὴν ναῦν*, the *Latins*, *inbibere remos*: These they hung upon Pins, as we find in *Statius* (c):

Quinquaginta illi trabibus de more revinctis

For fear their Oars should be in Danger of being broken by the Floods, they hung them not so as to reach the Water, but upon the Sides of their Ships; whence *Ovid* (a);

Obvertit lateri pendentes navita remos.

To the Ships Sides the Seamen hung their Oars.

Being safely landed, they discharg'd whatever Vows they had made to the Gods, besides which they usually offer'd a Sacrifice call'd ἀποβατήριον, to *Jupiter* firmam'd ἀποβατήριον, for enabling them ἀποβαίνειν ἀπὸ τῶν νηῶν, to quit the Ships, and recover the Land. Their Devotions were sometimes paid to *Nereus*, *Glaucus*, *Ino*, and *Melicertes*, the *Cabiri*, and other Gods of the Sea, more especially to *Neptune*, who was thought to have a peculiar Care of all that travell'd within the Compass of his Dominions: Thus the Heroes in *Homer* (b):

Αἱ δὲ Πύλον, Νηληϊῶν ἐκλιμένον πολίεθρον,
Ἰξον, τοὶ δ' ἐπὶ Διὶς θαλάσσης ἰσχυρὸν
Ταύρους παμμέλανας ἑνὸς ἵχθου χυανοχαίτη:

Landed at *Pylus*, where King *Neleus* reign'd,
With blackest Bulls they sev'ral Altars stain'd,
A Sacrifice to *Neptune*. —————

They who had escap'd a Shipwreck, or any other Danger at Sea, were more particularly oblig'd to offer a Present to the Gods as a Testimony of their Gratitude. To this they sometimes added the Garment in which they had escap'd, and a Tablet containing an Account of their Deliverance. To which there is the following Allusion in *Horace* (c);

————— *me tabula sacer*
Votiva paries indicat voida
Suspendisse potenti
Vestimenta maris Deo.

If nothing else remain'd, they did at least shave their Hair, and consecrate it to their Protectors. Thus *Lucilius* affirms of himself in the Epigram (d);

Γλαύκῳ, καὶ Νηρηϊῇ, καὶ Ἰνῳ, καὶ Μελικέρτῃ,
καὶ βυθίῳ Κρονίδῃ, καὶ Σαμόθρῃ Ζεοῖς,
Σωθεὶς ἐκ πελάγους Λυκίλλῳ, ἔδωκε κέκαρμα

Hence *Petronius Arbitr* calls shaving their Hair, *nausfragorum ultimum votum*, the last Vow of Men in Shipwreck (a). It was also customary for those who had escaped any other Danger, particularly ἐκ μέγαλου σθενέλης νόσου, for such as had recovered from any dangerous Sickness, to shave off their Hair (b). The Egyptians used to shave their own Hair when they paid their Acknowledgments to the Gods for the Recovery of their Children (c).

Harbours were Places render'd, either by Nature or Art, commodious for the Entertainment of Ships, and to defend them against the Insults of Winds and Waves: The former Sort were usually at the Mouth of a River, or in a Creek of the Sea, under the Cover of some lofty Promontory: The latter were vast Piles, or Heaps of Earth and other Materials cast up in the Form of a Semicircle, with Arms of a vast Length extended into the Sea; these were call'd χηλαὶ (d) from their Resemblance to Crabs-Claws; or ἀνεγὶ τῷ λιμένῳ (e); or ἀκταὶ, as in *Homer*, who speaks thus of the *Phorcynian Harbour* (f):

————— δύο δὲ προβλήτες ἐν αὐτῷ
 Ακταὶ ἀπορῥᾶγες, λιμένῳ ποτὶ πεπληῖται.

————— There two great Piles stood out,
 Which made a Haven——

Cicero terms them *Cornua* (g). For the Security of the Ships inclos'd therein, we find it usual to fix to the two Ends vast Chains or Booms, as appears in the *Syracusan Harbour* mentioned in *Frontinus* (b): Nor was it unfrequent to guard them with great Pales fortify'd against the Water with Pitch: Hence Havens are sometimes term'd in *Latin*, *Claustra*, in *Greek* κλείσεις (i). On both Sides of the Mole were strong Towers (k), which were defended in the Night, and all Times of Danger, by Garrisons of Soldiers (l). Not far Distance from hence was a Watch-tower with Lights to direct Mariners; this was called *Pharos*, which Name originally belonged to a little Island in the Mouth of the River *Nile*, where the first of these Towers was built, but afterwards was naturaliz'd both in *Greece* and at *Rome*.

The second Part of the Harbour was term'd σῆμα, in *Latin*, *ostium* and *fauces*, being the Mouth or Entry between the Arms of the Semicircle.

Μυχὸς was the inmost Part of the Harbour nearest to the Shore, and most secure from the Waves, insomuch that their Ships were often suffer'd to lie loose, whereas in other Parts of the Harbour

was distinguish'd into several Partitions by Walls, erected for the most Part of Stone, under the Covert of which the Vessels had Protection : These Places were call'd ὄρμοι (a), whence *Homer* (b) :

—ἐν Ἰοδίῳ δ' ἄνευ δεσμοῖο μένεσι

Νῆες εὐσελμοι, ὅταν ὄρμος μέτρον ἵκωνται.

The Ships that far within the Harbour lodge,
Without a Chain are safe.—

They were also term'd ναύλοχοι, and altogether compos'd what was call'd ναυσαθάμις. Here were likewise the Docks, in which Ships were built, or careen'd, and dragg'd to Land ; these were named νεῶν σοίκοι (c), ἐπίστια (d), νεώρια (e), &c.

The adjacent Places were usually fill'd with Inns and Stews (f), well stock'd with Females, that prostituted themselves to the Mariners, Merchants, and Artificers of all Sorts, who flock'd thither in great Numbers. Most Harbours were adorn'd with Temples, or Altars, where Sacrifices were offer'd to Tutelar Deities of the Place, and Prefidents of the Sea ; Mention of which we find, as in other Places, so particularly in *Homer* (g), who speaks of a Cave in the Haven of *Ithaca* dedicated to the *Naiades*.

Scheffer will have *stationes navium* to differ from the former in this, that here Ships were not laid up for any considerable Time, but remain'd only till they were supply'd with Water or other Necessaries, or on some other short Occasions. They had several Names, being call'd ὄρμοι (b), ὑφορμοι (i), ἐνορμίσματα (k), σάλοι (l), κατάρσεις (m) ; and frequently at some Distance from the Shore ; whence ὀρμῶν in *Plutarch* (n) is term'd ἀποσαλεύειν, which imports their being among the Waves ; and by *Thucydides* ἄγειν ἐπ' ἀγκυρῶν, which answers in some Measure to the Latin Phrase in *Livy*, *in anchoris stare*, to ride at Anchor.

In Times of War they defended themselves with Fortifications on both Sides, but made after a different Manner ; towards the Land they fortify'd themselves with a Ditch and Parapet, or Wall built in the Form of a Semicircle, and extended from one Point of the Sea to another : This was sometimes defended with Towers, and beautify'd with Gates, thro' which they issued forth to attack their Enemies. *Homer* hath left us a remarkable Description of the Grecian Fortifications in the Trojan War (o) :

—πορὶ δ' αὐτὸν τεῖχος ἔδειμαν,

Πύργους ὑψηλούς, εἴλαρ νηῶν τε, καὶ αὐτῶν.

Ἐν δ' αὐτοῖσι πύλας ἐνεποιέον εὐ ἀσφαλῆας,

Ὅφρα δι' αὐτῶν ἱππηλασίῃ ὁδὸς εἴη.

(a) *Euseb. Odyss. v. Iliad. a.* (b) *Odyss. v.* (c) *Diodorus Sic.*

(d) *Homer. Odyss. v.* (e) *Dionysius. Schol.*

Ἐκτοθεν ὃ βαθεῖαν ἐπ' αὐτῷ τάφῳ ὄρυξαν,
 Εὐραῖαν, μεγάλην, ἐν ὃ σκόλοπας κατέπηξαν.

A bulky Wall, and lofty Tow'rs to shield
 Their Navy and themselves, the *Trojans* build;
 On these great Gates for Passages they make,
 Convenient Ways that all their Horse should take,
 And all around they dug a spacious Ditch,
 Fixing great Pales of Wood.—

E. D.

Toward the Sea, or within it, they fix'd great Pales of Wood, like those in Harbours; before these the Vessels of Burden were placed in such Order, as they might be instead of a Wall, and give Protection to those within; in which Manner *Nicias* is reported by *Thucydides* to have encamp'd himself: But this seems only to have been practis'd when the Enemy was thought superior in Strength, and rais'd in them great Apprehensions of Danger. At other Times all they us'd to do, was to appoint a few of their Ships to observe their Enemies Motions: These were term'd *περφυλακίδες* (a), and the Soldiers *πύρραροι*, or *πυρραρίδαι*, from *πυρρος*, a Torch, wherewith they signified the Approach of their Enemies (b). When their Fortifications were thought strong enough to secure them from the Assault of their Enemies, it was frequent to drag their Ships to Shore, which the *Greeks* called *ἐνωλεῖν*, the *Romans*, *subducere* (c). Around the Ships the Soldiers plac'd their Tents, as appears every-where in *Homer*, *Thucydides* (d), and others; but this seems only to have been practis'd in Winter, when their Enemies Fleet was laid up, and could not assault them; or in long Sieges, and when they lay in no Danger from their Enemies by Sea, as in the *Trojan War*, where the Defenders of *Troy* never once attempted to encounter the *Grecians* in a Sea-fight: At other Times the Ships only lay at Anchor, or were tied to the Shore, that upon any Alarm they might be ready to receive the Enemy.

C H A P. XXI.

Of their Engagements, &c. by Sea.

IN preparing for an Engagement at Sea, the first Business was to disburthen their Ships of War of all Provisions, and other Lumber not necessary in the Action, lest by too heavy a Load they

about to avoid their Onsets. This done, when the Enemy appear'd in View, they took down their Sails, lower'd their Masts, and secured whatever might expose them to the Winds, chusing rather to be govern'd by Oars, which they could manage at their Pleasure. On this Account we read (a) that *Hanno* the *Cartbaginian* being pursued by a Fleet of *Dionysus* the *Sicilian*, to which he was much inferior in Strength and Number, and having no Way to make his Escape, took down his Sails as preparing to fight; whereby decoying the *Sicilians* to do the like, whilst they were busy and observ'd him not, he unexpectedly hoisted again his Sails, and made away.

As to their Order of Battle, that was vary'd as Time, Place, and other Circumstances requir'd; being sometimes form'd like an Half-moon, and call'd *ὄλῳ μνησθῆναι*, the Horns jutting out towards the Enemy, and containing the ablest Men and Ships; sometimes, on the contrary, having it's Belly nearest the Enemy, and it's Horns turn'd backwards, whence it was term'd *κυρτῇ παράταξις*: Nor was it unusual to range them in the Form of a Circle, which they call'd *κύκλον τάττειν*; or (to mention no more) in the Figure of the Letter V (b), with the Horns extended in a direct Line, and meeting at the End; which Order was nam'd *ἐπικαμπῆς παράταξις*, in *Latin*, *Forceps*; and was usually encounter'd by the Enemies rang'd into the same Order inverted, whereby they resembled the Figure of a Wedge or Beak, whence it was call'd *cuneus* or *rostrum*; this enabled them to penetrate into the Body of the adverse Battle.

Before they joined Battle, both Parties invoc'd the Gods to their Assistance by Prayers and Sacrifices; and the Admirals going from Ship to Ship in some of the lighter Vessels, exhorted their Soldiers in a set Oration, to behave themselves like Men: Then all Things being in Readiness, the Signal was given by hanging out of the Admiral's Galley a gilded Shield, as we read in *Plutarch*; or a red Garment or Banner (c); which was term'd *αἶψαν σημεῖα*. During the Elevation of this the Fight continued, and by it's Depression, or Inclination towards the right or left, the rest of the Ships were directed in what Manner to attack their Enemies, or retreat from them (d). To this was added the Sound of Trumpets, which was begun in the Admiral's Galley (e), and continued round the whole Navy (f); it was likewise usual for the Soldiers before the Fight to sing a *Pæan*, or Hymn to *Mars* (g), and after the Fight another to *Apollo*.

The Fight was usually begun by the Admiral-galley, as we find done at the Battle of *Salamis* (h), and another Time by *Attalus's* Ship (i): It was carried on in two different Manners, for not only the Ships engag'd one another, and by their Beaks and Prows, and sometimes their Sterns, endeavour'd to dash in Pieces, or over-set and sink their Opposers; but the Soldiers also annoy'd their Enemies with Darts and Slings, and upon their nearer Approach with Swords and Spears: Thus *Lucan* (k);

*Ut primum rostris crepuerunt obvia rostra,
In puppim rediere, rates, emissaque tela
Aera taxerunt, vacuumque cadentia pontum.*

The Ships first meeting shew their fiercest Rage,
And furiously with clashing Beaks engage ;
These turn about, and then the Javelins fly,
And Show'rs of Arrows darken all the Sky ;
The Sea is cover'd o'er.——

E. D.

Afterwards he goes on in this Manner,

*Jam non excussis torquentur tela lacertis,
Nec longinqua cadunt jaculato vulnera ferro ;
Miscenturque manus, navali plurima bello ;
Ensis agit ; stat quisque suæ de robore puppis
Pronus in adversos ictus.*——

They throw no longer Darts, no longer try
With missive Arms to kill the Enemy ;
But, close together come, their Swords they draw,
Each stoutly keeps his Post.——

Nor can it be wonder'd how they approach'd so near one another,
when we find it usual to link their Vessels together with Chains or
Grappling-Irons, of which I have spoken in one of the foregoing
Chapters ; whence *Silius* (a) :

—— *Injuncta ligant hinc vincula ferri
Atque illinc naves, steteruntque ad prælia nexæ ;
Nec jaculo, aut longe certatur arundine fusa,
Cominus & gladio terrestria prælia miscet.*

Chain'd fast with Irons both the Navies stand,
No Blood the Darts and flying Weapons spill,
With Swords they, closely join'd, begin to kill.

Sometimes for Want of Irons they so fix'd their Oars, as thereby to
hinder their Enemies from retreating ; so we read in *Lucan* (b) ;

Seque tenent remis, toto stetit æquore bellum.

The Ships they hold with Oars, and all around
The Face of horrid War appears.——

Bridges between them, and having kill'd, or taken Prisoners, all they found in Arms, seiz'd and dragg'd away their Ships.

When a Town was besieg'd by Sea, they us'd to environ it's Walls and Harbour with Ships, rang'd in Order from one Side of the Shore to the other, and so closely join'd together by Chains and Bridges on which arm'd Men were plac'd, that, without breaking their Order, there could be no Passage from the Town to the Sea; this Leagues *Diodorus* calls ζεύγµα (a). The better to prevent any Attempts of the Besieg'd, *Demetrius* is said to have invented a Sort of Boom arm'd with Spikes of Iron which swam upon the Waters; this he plac'd at the Mouth of the Harbour of *Rhodes*, when he besieg'd that City (b). Sometimes they block'd up the Harbour, or made a Passage to the Town by raising a vast Mole before it, as we read of *Alexander* in the Siege of *Tyre* (c); or by sinking Ships fill'd with Stones and Sand, as we find practis'd by the *Romans*.

The Attacks were usually carried on by Men standing upon Bridges between the Ships, and thence with Darts and Stones forcing the besieged from their Walls: Thus *Alexander* in the Siege of *Tyre* so order'd his Gallies, that two of them being join'd at the Heads, and the Sterns somewhat distant, Boards and Planks were laid over in the Fashion of Bridges, for Soldiers to stand upon, who were in this Manner row'd close to the Wall, where without any Danger they threw Darts at their Enemies, being shelter'd behind the Foredecks of their own Gallies (d). Here also, that they might throw their missile Weapons with greater Advantage, and batter the Walls with their Rams and other Engines, they erected Towers so high as to command the City Walls, from which having repelled the Defenders, they by this Means had Opportunity to descend by Ladders.

The Besieg'd were not at a Loss for Ways of defeating these Stratagems; the Ships link'd together they pull'd asunder with Iron Hooks, the Passage to the Town they block'd up in the same Manner the Enemies had done that of the Harbour, or otherways (e); if they could not hinder their Approach, they fail'd not to gall them with Darts, Stones, Fire-balls, melted Pitch or Metals, and many other Things; and lastly, to trouble you no farther, it was frequent for those in the Town to destroy the Vessels and Works of the Besieged by Fire-ships, as we find done by the *Tyrians* (f), who, taking a large Vessel, put a great Quantity of Ballast into the Stern, cover'd the Head with Pitch, Tar, and Brimstone, then by the Help of Sails and Oars brought her close to the *Macedonian* Fortrefs, where having set the combustible Matter on Fire, they retreated into Boats prepar'd for that Purpose; the Fire immediately seiz'd the Towers of the Fortification, and by the Help of Torches and Fire-brands cast by those in the Boats, the Work itself took Fire, and that vast Pile, on which so much Time and Labour had been bestow'd, was in a few Moments quite demolish'd. The Use of Fire-ships

C H A P. XXII.

Of the Spoils, Military Rewards, Punishments, &c.

VICTORY being obtain'd, the Conquerors rode home triumphant, laden with the Spoils of their Enemies, and dragging after them the captive Ships, as appears from the Instances of *Alcibiades* in *Plutarch*, and *Lyfander* in *Xenophon* (a): The latter of these had Crowns or Garlands presented him by all the confederate Cities of *Sparta*, as he pass'd by them, which Custom was constantly practis'd by the *Grecians*, from whom it seems to have been deriv'd to *Rome*: Nor was the Admiral, or the Soldiers and Mariners (b), only adorn'd with Garlands, but their Ships were likewise bedeck'd with them (c); whereby the *Rhodians* were once reduced to extreme Danger; for their Enemies having made themselves Masters of their Ships, crown'd them with Laurel, and entering them, were receiv'd with great Joy into *Rhodes* (d); which Stratagem was frequently practis'd in *Greece* (e). Nor were they beautify'd with Garlands only, but hung likewise about with Wrecks and broken Pieces of the Ships destroy'd in Battle, especially the ἀφλασα, ἀκροβλία κόρυμβα, and other ornamental Parts, which the Conquerors were industrious in procuring to grace their Triumphs; whence of *Hector* threatening the *Grecian* Fleet with Destruction, *Homer* says,

Στεῦται δὲ νηῶν ἀποκόψων ἀρεὰ κόρυμβα.

These they call'd ἀκρωτήρια, and to deprive a Ship of them ἀκρωτηρεῖεν (f). In this Manner the Victors return'd home, filling the Sea with their Shouts, Acclamations, and Hymns; which were sweetened by the Harmony of Musical Instruments, as appears from the Example of *Lyfander* in *Plutarch*.

Being receiv'd into the City, they went straitway into the Temples of the Gods, where they dedicated the choicest of their Spoils: Thus we read, that the *Syracusians*, having defeated the *Athenians* and the *Rhodians* after a Victory over *Demetrius*, fill'd the Temples of their Gods with Wrecks of Ships. Nor was it unusual to present entire Vessels to them; for we find that *Phormio*, having overcome the *Lacedæmonians*, consecrated a Ship to *Neptune* (g); and the *Grecians*, after their great Victory over the *Persians* at *Salamis*, are reported to have dedicated three *Phœnician* Triremes (b).

Having paid their Compliment to the Gods, the Remainder of

of their City, to preserve the Memory of their Victory : To which End they were likewise honour'd with Statues, Inscriptions, and Trophies ; the last of which were sometimes erected in their own Country, but more frequently near the Place where they had overthrown their Enemies, and were adorn'd with Arms, and broken Wrecks of Ships, which for that Reason were looked on as a Sign and Testimony of Victory : Thus we are told by *Thucydides* (a), that in a Fight between the *Athenians* and *Corinthians*, where both Parties made Pretensions to Victory, the former were by most esteem'd to have the just Title to it, as having possessed themselves of their Enemy's Wrecks ; and King *Philip*, tho' worsted by *Attalus*, yet because he made a shift to keep his Fleet amongst the adverse Party's Wrecks, would have persuaded the World that the Day was his own (b).

These were the Principal of the Rewards peculiar to those who had serv'd their Country by Sea ; others they seem also to have been frequently honour'd with, which being common to those who had been useful in other Stations, may be more properly referr'd to other Places, where I have already treated of them. The chief of their Punishments was Whipping with Cords, which was sometimes inflicted on Criminals having their lower Parts within the Ship, and their Heads thrust out of Port-holes, and hanging into the Sea. Thus one *Scylax*, Master of a *Myndian* Vessel, was treated by *Megabates*, for not being careful to keep Watch and Ward (c).

There seems to have been a Punishment by which Offenders were tied with Cords to a Ship, and dragg'd in the Waters till they were drown'd ; in which Manner *Scylla* was treated by *Minos*, after she had betray'd to him her Father and Kingdom.

Others were thrown alive into the Sea, as we read of *Jonas* the Prophet.

Αναμαχοι, or such as refus'd to serve at Sea after a lawful Summons, were at *Athens* themselves and their Posterity condemned to *ατιμία*, Ignominy or Disfranchisement (d), of which Punishment I have spoken in one of the former Books.

Λιποναῦται, Deserters, were not only bound with Cords and whipp'd, as *Demosthenes* reports, but had their Hands likewise cut off, as we are inform'd by *Suidas*.

(a) Lib. VII.
c. 20.

(b) *Polypius*, Hist. lib. XVI. cap. 3.

(d) *Suidas*.

(c) *Herodotus* *Τορξ-*



Archæologia Græca :
OR, THE
ANTIQUITIES
OF
GREECE.

BOOK IV.

CHAP. I.

*Of the Care the Grecians had of Funerals, and
of Persons destitute thereof.*



PLUTO was the first who instructed the *Grecians* (a) in the Manner of performing their last Offices to the Deceas'd, which gave Occasion to the Inventors of Fables to assign him a vast and unbounded Empire in the Shades below, and constitute him supreme Monarch of all the Dead. And since there is scarce any Useful Art the Inventor whereof was not reckon'd amongst the Gods

what Respect, what Ceremonies were due to the Dead, had the Honour to be number'd amongst the Deities of the first Quality, since the Duties belonging to the Dead were thought of far greater Importance, and the Neglect of them a Crime of a blacker Character than those requir'd by the Living: For the Dead were ever held sacred and inviolable even amongst the most barbarous Nations; to defraud them of any due Respect was a greater and more unpardonable Sacrilege, than to spoil the Temples of the Gods; their Memories were preserved with a religious Care and Reverence, and all their Remains honour'd with Worship and Adoration; Hatred and Envy themselves were put to Silence, for it was thought a Sign of a cruel and inhuman Disposition to speak evil of the Dead, and prosecute Revenge beyond the Grave; no Provocation was thought sufficient to warrant so foul an Action; the highest Affronts from themselves whilst alive, or afterwards from their Children, were esteem'd weak Pretences for disturbing the Peace. Offenders of this kind were not only branded with Disgrace and Infamy, but by *Solon's* Laws incurr'd a severe Penalty (a).

But, of all the Honours paid to the Dead, the Care of their Funeral Rites was the greatest and most necessary; for these were look'd upon as a Debt so sacred, that such as neglected to discharge it, were thought accursed; hence the *Romans* call'd them *justi*, the *Grecians* *δικαία*, νόμιμα, νομιζόμενα, ἔθιμα, ὅσια, &c. all which Words imply the inviolable Obligations which Nature has laid upon the Living to take Care of the Obsequies of the Dead. And no Wonder if they were thus solicitous about the Interment of the Dead, since they were strongly possess'd with an Opinion, that their Souls could not be admitted into the *Elysian* Shades, but were forced to wander desolate and without Company, till their Bodies were committed to the Earth (b); and if they never had the good Fortune to obtain human Burial, the Time of their Exclusion from the common Receptacle of the Ghosts was no less than an hundred Years; whence in most of the Poets we meet with passionate Requests of dying Men, or their Ghosts after Death, for this Favour: I will only give you one out of *Homer* (c), who introduces the Soul of *Elpenor* earnestly beseeching *Ulysses* to perform his Funeral-Rites;

Νῦν δέ σε τῶν ὀπιθεν γυνάξομαι, ἑ παρώντων,
Πρὸς τ' ἀλόχῃ, καὶ πατρὸς, ὃς ἔτρεφε τυτθὸν ἑόντα,
Τηλεμάχῃ δ', ὃν μῦθον ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν ἔλειπες,
Μή μ' ἀκλαυτον, ἀθᾶπτον ἰὼν ὀπιθεν καταλείπειν
Νοσφιδεύς, μή τοι τι δαῖων μῆνιμα γένωμαι.

When homewards bound th' infernal Shades you quit,
Don't me unhappy Wretch, my Friend, forget.
If aught of dear Concern you've left behind,
With Zeal tow'rd me, let that affect your Mind:
If aged Sire, your Wife, or hopeful Heir can bind,

Let Dirge and Burial solemnize my Fate,
 Lest I shou'd prove to th' Gods a Reprobate : -
 This, this I beg, this earnestly implore ;
 Thus will my Soul to Bliss be wasted o'er.

J. A.

This was the Reason why, of all Imprecations, the greatest was to wish that a Person might ἀταφῶς ἐκπύρην χθονός, i. e. die destitute of Burial ; and of all Forms of Death the most terrible was that by Shipwreck, as wherein the Body was swallowed up by the Deep ; whence *Ovid*, tho' willing to resign his miserable Life, yet prays against this Death :

Demitte naufragium, mors mihi minus erit.

Death would my Soul from anxious Troubles ease,
 But that I fear to *perish* by the Seas.

Wherefore, when they were in Danger of being cast away, it was customary to fasten to some Part of their Body the most precious of all their Stores, with a Direction to the first that found their dead Corpses, if the Waves chanced to roll them to the Shore, entreating of him the Favour of an human Burial, and proffering what they carry'd about them as a Reward, or desiring him to expend some Part of it upon their Funeral (a) Rites, and accept the rest himself. But tho' the Carcase brought no Reward along with it, yet was it not therefore lawful to pass it by neglected, and deny it what was look'd on as a Debt to all Mankind ; for not only the *Athenian* Laws forbid so great an Act of Inhumanity (b), but in all Parts of *Greece* it was look'd upon as a great Provocation to the Infernal Gods, and a Crime that would call up certain Vengeance from the Regions below (c) : nor could the guilty Person be freed from the Punishment of his Offence, or admitted to converse with Men, or worship the Gods, but was look'd upon as profane and polluted, till he had undergone the accusom'd Purifications, and appeas'd the incens'd Deities. Yet it was not always requir'd that all the Funeral Solemnities should be nicely perform'd, which the Haste of Travellers that should light upon the Carcase might oftentimes not permit ; but it was sufficient to cast Dust or soft Earth upon it three Times together, according to *Horace* (d) :

Quaquam festinas, non est mora longa, licebit.

Injeto ter pulvere curras.

—Over the Corpse thrice sprinkle Sand,
 Th' officious Deed will not retard your Haste.

Of these three Handfuls, one at least was thrown upon the Head.

This, in Cases of Necessity, was look'd upon as enough to gain the

upon their Bodies from the Fear of being haunted, yet was far from affording them entire Satisfaction ; wherefore, such as had been interr'd clandestinely, or in haste, and without the customary Solemnities, if afterwards good Fortune discovered them to any of their Friends, were honour'd with a second Funeral, as appears from the Story of *Polydorus* in *Virgil*, who, being murder'd and interr'd by *Polymnestor*, does yet make his Complaint to *Aeneas* at his Arrival in *Thrace*, that his Soul could not rest till his Obsequies were celebrated according to Custom ; wherefore the pious Hero

— *Instaurat funus, animamque sepulchro
Cedit (a).*

Attends the Rites, and gives the Soul Repose
Within a wish'd-for Tomb. —

Nor was it sufficient to be honour'd with the solemn Performance of their Funeral Rites, except their Bodies were prepar'd for Burial by their Relations, and interr'd in the Sepulchres of their Fathers ; the Want of which was look'd upon by themselves, and their surviving Friends, as a very great Misfortune, and not much inferior to Death itself, as appears from innumerable Testimonies, of which I shall only trouble you with the following ; the first taken from the Epitaph of *Leonidas* the *Tarentine*, which runs thus (b) :

Πολλὸν ἀπ' Ἰταλίνης κῆμαι χθονός, ἐκ τε Τάραντος

Πάτρης, τῷ τε δέ μοι μικρότερον θανάτῳ.

I from *Tarentum* far remote do lie,

My native Soil, than Death oh worse Anxiety !

The second from *Elestra* in *Sophocles*, who having preserv'd *Orestes* from *Clytemnestra*, by sending him into a foreign Country, and many Years after, hearing he had ended his Days there, wishes he had rather perished at first, than after so many Years Continuance of Life have dy'd from Home, and been destitute of the last Offices of his Friends. Her Words are these (c) :

Δόμων δ' ἔσ', ὃ παῖ, λαμπρὸν ἐξέπεμψ' ἐγὼ,

ὧς ὄφελον παρῆσθαι ἐκλιπαῖν βίον,

Πρὶν ἐς ξένην σε γαῖαν ἐκπέμψαι χρεῶν

Κλέψασα ταῖνδε, κἀνασώσασθαι φόνε·

Ὅπως θανὼν ἔκτισο τῇ τόθ' ἡμέρῃ,

Τύμβῳ πατρὸς κοινὸν εἰληχὼς μέρῳ·

Νῦν δ' ἐκτὸς οἴκων, κατὰ γῆς ἄλλης φυγὰς

Κακῷ ἀπώλεσθ' ἡ κασιγνήτης δίχα, &c.

Oh! could I with thou hadst, unhappy Youth,

Been slain before I sent thee thus away.

Then thou hadst ne'er these doleful Mis'ries felt,
 But dy'd in th' Innocence of Infancy ;
 Then thou hadst had one common Sepulture
 With thy dear Father ; then thy Sister's Love
 And Pity ne'er wou'd thus have heap'd up Woe :
 Now thou art in a foreign Land depriv'd
 Of those blest Rites thy Friends could once bestow,
 And as thy Life unhappy was, so is alike thy Death. J. A.

For this Reason, such as dy'd in Foreign Countries had usually their Ashes brought Home and interr'd in the Sepulchres of their Ancestors, or, at least, in some Part of their native Country ; it being thought that the same Mother which gave them Life and Birth, was only fit to receive their Remains, and afford them a peaceful Habitation after Death. Whence antient Authors afford us innumerable Instances of Bodies convey'd, sometimes by the Command of Oracles, sometimes by the Good-will of their Friends, from foreign Countries to the Sepulchres of their Fathers, and with great Solemnity deposited there. Thus *Theseus* was remov'd from *Scyrus* to *Athens* ; *Orestes* from *Tegea*, and his Son *Tisamenus* from *Helice* to *Sparta*, and *Aristomenes* (to mention no more) from *Rhodes* to *Messene*. How far this Custom extended to Soldiers, and by whom it was first introduc'd into *Greece*, has been related in the precedent Book.

Nor was this pious Care limited to Persons of free Condition, but Slaves also had some Share therein ; for we find the *Athenian* Law-giver commanding the Magistrates call'd *Demarchi*, under a severe Penalty, to solemnize the Funerals not so much of Citizens, whose Friends seldom fail'd of paying the last Honours, as of Slaves, who frequently were destitute of decent Burial (a).

But if any Person was backward in paying his dead Friends due Respect, or but sparing in his Expences upon their Obsequies and Monuments, the Government look'd upon him as void of Humanity and natural Affection, and thereupon excluded him from bearing any Office of Trust and Honour ; for one special Enquiry concerning the Lives and Behaviour of such as appear'd Candidates for the Magistracy at *Athens*, was, whether they had taken due Care in celebrating the Funerals, and adorning the Monuments of their Relations (b). Farther, to appear gay and pleasant before the ordinary Time of Mourning expired, was Matter of no small Scandal ; for we find it objected by *Æschines* to *Demosthenes* as a Crime of a very heinous Nature, that after the Death of his only Daughter he sacrific'd to the

τα καλακαῦται, who had the Care of Funerals, to have been reve-
renc'd equally with their Priests; and when the Laws permitted to
steal from others, as was likewise customary at *Sparta*, those Men were
exempted from the common Calamity, to convey away any Part of
their Goods being look'd on as a kind of Sacrilege (a).

Notwithstanding all this, there were some so unhappy as by their
Actions whilst alive, or the aggravating Circumstances of their Death,
to be unworthy of all Title to the common Funeral Rites, and some
to any Funeral at all: Such were these which follow.

1. Public or private Enemies; for tho' it was look'd upon as inhu-
man to deny an Enemy the common Privilege of Nature; yet upon
some extraordinary Provocations we find it practis'd by the antient Gre-
cians. *Homer* has introduc'd *Ulysses* threatening *Socus* therewith (b);
Heſtor likewise promising the same Treatment to *Patroclus* (c), and
Achilles revenging his Cruelty by the like Usage of him (d). The
same Poet hath furnish'd us with several Instances of Heroes made
κυσὶ μέλπηθεα, and κύνεσσιν οἰωνοῖσί τε ἐλώεα, a Prey to Birds
and Beasts. No better Treatment had the Bones of *Pyrrhus*, *Achilles's*
Son, treacherously murder'd by *Orestes* (e):

Sparſa per Ambracias quæ jacuere vias.

Which lay dispers'd about th' *Ambracian* Roads.

And however this may be thought the Practice of those primitive and
unciviliz'd Mortals, yet there want not Instances, hereof in more re-
fin'd Ages; for *Lyſander*, the *Spartan* Admiral, having routed the *A-*
thenian Fleet, caus'd *Philocles*, one of their Commanders, and to the
Number of four thousand *Athenian* Prisoners, to be put to Death, and
refus'd to give them human Burial (f).

2. Such as betray'd, or conspir'd against their Country (g). On which
Account *Aristocrates*, being convicted of Treason against the *Arcadians*,
was ston'd to Death, and cast out of the Bounds of their Country un-
bury'd (h); for it was thought but reasonable that Villains, conspiring
the Ruin of their Country, should be depriv'd of all Privilege in it.
Pausanias likewise, after he had deliver'd *Greece* from the *Persians*, be-
ing found upon some Discontent to maintain a Correspondence with
them, was pin'd to Death, and deny'd Burial (i); and the famous *Pho-*
cion being unjustly condemn'd by the *Athenians*, as conspiring to deli-
ver the *Piræus* into their Enemies Hands, had his Body cast out of *At-*
tica, and a severe Penalty was decreed against any that should honour
it with Interment (k). So exact they were in the Observation of this
Custom, that when the Pestilence rag'd at *Athens*, and the Oracle gave

(a) *Plutarchus Græc. Quæst. XXI.* (b) *Iliad. j.* (c) *Iliad. π.* (d) *Iliad. χ.*

out, that the only Remedy was to fetch *Themistocles's* Bones from *Magnesia*, they refus'd to do it publickly, but convey'd them privately, and, as it were by Stealth, hid them in the Ground. Amongst the Betrayers of their Country, we may reckon those who were not active in defending it; for they were likewise frequently deny'd human Burial. Hence *Heber* is introduc'd by the Poet, threatening this Punishment to all who would not help him in destroying the *Grecian Fleet* (a) :

Ὀν δ' ἂν ἐγὼν ἀπάνευθε νεῶν ἐτέρωθε νόσω,
 Αὐτῷ οἱ δάνατον μνησσομαι ἐδὲ νυ τὸν γε
 Γνωτοί τε γνωταί τε πυρὸς λελάχῃσι δαδόντα,
 Ἀλλὰ κύνας ἐρύσει πρὸ ἄστεος ἡμετέρου.

He that for Spoil and Plunder of the War
 Dares lag behind, and not in haste repair
 To th' *Argive Fleet*, as soon as known shall die;
 His Carcase deny'd Fun'ral Rites shall lie
 A Prey for rav'nous Curs, a Mark of Infamy.

J. A.

Some *Scholiasts* would have this the first Example of the Practice I am speaking of; but *Homer* sufficiently refutes this Opinion by making *Agamemnon* threaten the same Punishment to the *Grecians* in the second *Iliad* (b) :

Ὀν δὲ κ' ἐγὼν ἀπάνευθε μάχης ἐθέλοντα νόσω
 Μιμνάζειν περὰ νηυσὶ κορώνισιν, ὃ οἱ ἐπειτα
 Ἀρκιον ἐωεῖται θυγίειν κύνας, ἢ δ' οἰωνός.

When to the Fight brisk Cornets sound Alarms,
 That sneaking Soul who then lays down his Arms,
 And sculks about the Navy out of Fear
 Of any Danger from th' impending War,
 Shall be an Outcast for the Birds of Prey,
 And hungry Dogs as merciless as they.

J. A.

Before this Instance, *Palamedes*, being condemn'd as a Traitor by the Treachery of *Ulysses*, had wanted Burial, had not *Achilles* and *Ajax* adventur'd to pay him that Office in Opposition to *Agamemnon's* Commands. Nor was the Custom begun here, for in the former Age we find *Antigone* bury'd alive by *Creon* for interring her Brother *Polynices*, by whose Means the famous War against *Thebes* was carry'd on, which is the Subject of *Sophocles's Antigone*.

3. To these we may subjoin Tyrants, who were always look'd on as Enemies of their Country, and us'd in the same Manner with those that endeavour'd to betray it to foreign Powers. there being no Dif-

having slain *Alexander*, who had cruelly oppress'd them, threw his Carcase to the Dogs; and *Plutarch* observes that this was not a late or modern Custom, but practis'd in the most early Ages: Speaking of the Passage of *Homer* (a), where *Nestor* tells *Telemachus*, that had *Menelaus* found *Ægisthus* alive after his Murder of *Agamemnon*, and Tyranny over the *Mycenæans*, he would not have vouchsafed him Burial (b):

Εἰ ζῶντ' Αἰγίσθον ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν ἔτετμεν
 Ἀτρείδης Τροίηντ' ἰὼν ξανθὸς Μενέλαος
 Τῷ κέ οἱ εἰδὲ θανόντι χυλὴν ἐπὶ γαῖαν ἔχενεν,
 Ἀλλ' ἄρ' ἔσθ' ὅν γε κύνας τε καὶ αἰῶναι κατέδαψαν
 Κείμενον ἐν ποδίφ' ἐκὰς ἄστεος, εἰδὲ κέ τις μιν
 Κλαύσαι' Ἀχαιῶδων.

If the bold Murd'rer had his Fate surviv'd,
 When *Menelaus* from *Troy's* Siege arriv'd,
 What Ills would then attend his Ghost and Name,
 When *Menelaus* swoln with Vengeance came?
 None e'er his Fall should mourn, his Fate lament,
 But, lest his Body shou'd the City taint,
 Remote on some wide Plain it should be cast
 For Dogs and Vultures to regale and feast.

J. A.

The *Mycenæans* were not insensible of the Wrongs they had suffer'd by him; and, thinking him unworthy of an honourable Friend, cast him with the Adulteress *Clytemnestra* out of the City, and there interr'd them (c).

4. On the same Account, such as were guilty of Self-murder forfeited their Right to decent Burial, and were clancularly deposited in the Ground without the accustom'd Solemnities; for they were look'd on as Enemies to their Country, whose Service they deserted (d). For which Reason *Ajax*, the Son of *Telamon*, was not reduc'd to *Athes*, as the Custom was, but privately interr'd; it being declar'd by *Calchas* to be a Profanation of the holy Element, to consume in it the Bodies of such as had occasion'd their own Death (e). After the Battle of *Plataea*, when the Bodies of the Slain were honour'd with the accustom'd Solemnities, *Aristodemus* alone, who was generally confessed to have acquitted himself in the Fight with the greatest Valour of any Man in the Army, lay unregarded, because he seem'd resolv'd to sacrifice his Life as an Atonement for the Disgrace he had contracted by surviving his Fellow-Soldiers at *Thermopylae* (f). Yet to put a Period to their Lives on just Occasions, seems rather to have been the reputed Effect of a necessary and laudable Courage, than any way

Criminal or blame-worthy. *Demosthenes* and *Hannibal* are said to have been constantly provided of an effectual Poison to dispatch themselves with, before they should fall into their Enemies Hands. *Cato*, *Cleopatra*, *Brutus*, *Otho*, and several others, have not at all less'n'd their Esteem and Character in the Heathen World by becoming their own Executioners. *Plato* himself, when he commands those only, who out of Cowardice and unmanly Fear butcher'd themselves, to be interr'd in lonesome and desolate Places without the ordinary Solemnities, seems to excuse others whom he thought compell'd to it by a great Disgrace, or any unavoidable and incurable Misfortune (a); and 'tis no wonder if *Epicureans*, who expected no future State, and *Stoicks*, who thought all Things to lie under an irresistible Necessity, pursuant to their Principles, abandon'd themselves over to such fatal Courses. Many other Instances may be produc'd, not only from the *Grecians* and *Romans*, but the *Indian* Philosophers, and almost the whole Heathen World.

5. To these we may add Villains guilty of Sacrilege (b), to inter whom was an Affront to the Deities they had robb'd. The Gods were sometimes thought to inflict this Punishment on such Malefactors; wherefore *Archidamus* the *Spartan* King being slain in *Italy*, and depriv'd of Burial, *Pausanias* (c) concludes it was a Judgment upon him for assisting the *Phocians* in pillaging the City and Temple of the *Delphians*.

6. Persons kill'd with Lightning, who, being thought hateful to the Gods, were bury'd apart by themselves, lest the Ashes of other Men should receive Pollution from them. Whence *Adrastus* in *Euripides*, speaking of *Capaneus*, saith;

Ἡ χερὶς, ἱερὸν ὡς νεκρὸν, θάψαι θέλεις;

Shall he apart be bury'd as accur'd?

Some will have them to be interr'd in the Place where they dy'd (d); others collect out of *Plutarch's Symposiacks*, that they had no Interment, but were suffer'd to rot in the Place where they fell, to which it was unlawful for any Man to approach: Whence *Perfius* (e),

Triste jace lui, evitandumque bidental.

A direful Instance of *Jove's* Wrath you lie,

And whom, being Thunder-struck, none dare come nigh.

For this Reason the Ground was hedg'd in, lest any Person should unawares contract Pollution from it. *Plutarch* also says, that in several other all Places of Greece, the Ground was hedg'd in, lest any Person should un-

out of Fancy, that *Jupiter*, having taken some Offence, fix'd upon them the Mark of his Displeasure.

7. Those who wasted their Patrimony, forfeited their Right of being bury'd in the Sepulchres of their Fathers. Whence we find *Democritus* to have been in Danger of wanting a Burial-place, for spending his paternal Inheritance in Travel to foreign Countries, and teaching after the Myſteries of Nature (a).

8. To these we may subjoin such as died in Debt, whose Bodies belong'd at *Athens* to their Creditors, and could not claim any Right to human Burial, till Satisfaction was made. Whence 'tis reported, That *Cimon* had no other Method to redeem his Father *Miltiades's* Body, but by taking Debt and Fetters upon himself.

9. Some Offenders who suffer'd capital Punishment, were likewise depriv'd of Burial; those especially who dy'd upon the Cross, or were impaled, whom they frequently permitted to be devour'd by Beasts and Birds of Prey. To which Custom there is an Allusion in *Horace* (b):

Non hominem occidi; non pasces in cruce corvos.

With impious Hands I ne'er slew th' Innocent:

Therefore to feed the Crows is not your Punishment.

Juvenal also mentioneth the same Custom (c),

Vultur jumento, & canibus, crucibusque relictis,

Ad factus properat, partemque cadaveris affert.

Where Crosses and contagious Murrain are,

Vultures in Flocks most greedily repair,

And to their craving Young thence Food they bear.

}

The Interpreters of Fables will have *Prometheus's* Punishment to be an Emblem of this. If the Carcase was spar'd by the Beasts, it commonly remain'd upon the Cross or Pale, till the Weather consum'd and putrify'd it. Thus *Silius* reports of the *Scythians* (d):

At gente in Sythica suffixa cadavera truncis

Lenta dies sepelit, putri liquentia tabo.

Delinquents Carcases in *Scythia* were

Impal'd, until corrupted by the Air,

The putrid Flesh did drop and shrink away.

Nor was this inhuman Custom practis'd in that barbarous Nation only, but by those who made greater Pretensions to Civility and good Manners, as may appear from the Dream of *Polycrates's* Daughter, who fancy'd she saw her Father's Face wash'd by *Jupiter*, and anointed by the Sun ; which was accomplish'd not long after, when he was hung upon the Cross, and expos'd to the Rain and Sun-beams (a). Hither also may be refer'd the Answer of *Theodorus* the Philosopher, who, being threaten'd Crucifixion by King *Lysimachus*, reply'd, That it was all one to him to be above or beneath the Ground (b).

10. In some Places it was customary to inter the Bodies of Infants who had no Teeth, without consuming them to Ashes (c) ; to which Custom *Juvenal* has this Allusion (d) :

*Natura imperio geminus, cum fœnus adulta
Virginis occurrit, vel terra clauditur infans,
Et minor ignis rogi.*——

When a young Lady brisk and gay is dead,
As soon as ripe she seems for th' nuptial Bed,
And when an Infant, not yet fit to burn,
Is bury'd, who relents not, who forbears to mourn ? J. A.

If Persons who had incurr'd publick Hatred, had the good Fortune to obtain human Burial, it was customary to leap upon their Tombs, and cast Stones at them, in Token of Detestation and Abhorrence : Which Practice is mention'd by *Euripides* (e) :

—— ἐκθρόσκει τὰφῳ,
Πέτρους τε λεύει μνῆμα λαῖνον πατρός.
—— He leaps upon his Parent's Tomb,
And in Derision batters it with Stones.

Nor was it unfrequent to punish notorious Offenders, by dragging their Remains out of their Retirement, and depriving them of the Graves to which they had no just Pretension ; as may appear from several Instances,

Sacrilegious Persons were commonly thus treated. A remarkable Instance whereof we find at *Athens*, where *Cylo*, an ambitious Nobleman, having seiz'd the Citadel, and being there straitly besieg'd, found Means to escape with his Brother, leaving his Accomplices to the Mer-

frates, contrary to their Covenant, put them to Death ; upon which Fast themselves were afterwards arraign'd and banish'd, the Deities so commanding : Nor was this alone satisfactory to Divine Vengeance, till their Graves were rifled, and their Remains, which had been convey'd into *Attica*, cast out of the Country (a).

Traitors were condemn'd to the same Punishment ; which appears, as from several other Instances, so from *Phrynichus* the *Athenian*, who being arraign'd, and condemn'd for Treason, some Time after his Funeral, his Tomb was open'd, and his Reliques thrown out of *Attica* (b).

The same was sometimes practis'd upon Enemies, when their Malice and Fury were extended beyond the ordinary Bounds of Martial Law, and hurried them on to despoil the sacred Temples, and commit unsufferable Villainies : Otherwise, thus to treat a lawful and honourable Enemy, was always censur'd as barbarous and inhuman.

But above all it seems to have been the Fate of Tyrants, who were esteem'd of all other savage Beasts the most hurtful and pernicious to Mankind : Wherefore we are told by *Plutarch* (c), that *Dio* was extremely censur'd for hindering the *Syracusans* from breaking up the Tomb of the Elder *Dionysius*, and scattering his Bones. *Periander* the *Corinthian* Tyrant (by some reckon'd amongst the seven Wise Men) to prevent his incens'd Subjects from venting their Fury upon his Reliques, contriv'd this Method : He commanded two young Men to walk in the Depth of the Night in a certain Path, and killing the first Man they met, to bury him privately ; to dispatch and inter these he commission'd four, after whom he sent others, and after these a greater Force, to treat the former in the same Manner ; whereby it came to pass that the Tyrant himself, meeting the first Pair, was interr'd in a Place unknown to any Man (d).

Other Methods were likewise used to secure Peace to their Ashes, the Disturbance whereof was look'd on the highest Affront, and the greatest Misfortune in the World : To instance, we find *Medea* in *Euripides* resolving to bury her Sons in *Juno Acræa's* Temple, hoping that the Holiness of the Place would protect them from the Malice of her Enemies (e) :

ἐπεὶ σφας τῆδ' ἐγὼ θάψω χερσὶ,
 φέρο' ἐς Ἡρας τέμενος Ἀκραιᾶς θεῆς·
 ὧς μὴ τις αὐτὸς πολεμίων καθυβρίσῃ,
 τύμῃς ἀνασπῶν. —————

Affronts and Contumelies to prevent,
 And that their Sepulchres mayn't be defac'd,
 I will myself give Burial to my Sons
 In *Juno's* Temple at th' *Acropolis*
 She presides over. —————

C H A P. II.

Of the Ceremonies in Sickneſs, and Death.

WHEN any Perſon was ſeiz'd with a dangerous Diſtemper, it was uſual to fix over his Door a Branch of *Rhamn* and *Laurel-Trees*: Which Cuſtom is mention'd by *Laertius*, in his Life of *Bion* the *Boriſthenite*:

Ράμνον τε, καὶ κλάδον δάφνης
 ὑπὲρ θύρην ἔθηκεν
 Ἀπαῖα μᾶλλον, ἢ θανεῖν,
 Ἐταμῶ ὧν ὑπερφεῖν.

Bion the Poſt of 's Door doth grace
 With *Rabmn* and *Daphne*'s Plant;
 For Fear of Death in his ſad Caſe,
 He nothing now will want.

J. A.

The former of theſe Plants ſeem'd deſign'd to keep off evil Spirits; againſt which it was reputed a ſovereign Amulet; and on that Account ſometimes join'd with the Epithet *ἀλεξίκακον*, as in this Fragment of *Euphorio*:

— Ἀλεξίκακον φύε ράμνον.

Produc'd the *Rhamn*, againſt miſchievous Ills
 An Antidote. —

The Laurel was join'd to it to render the God of Phyſick propitious, who, they thought, could deſign no Harm to any Place where he found the Monument of his beloved *Daphne*. Theſe Boughs they term'd *ἀντήνες* (*a*).

It may not be improper to obſerve in this Place, that all ſudden Deaths of Men were imputed to *Apollo*; whence *Heſtor* having lain unburied twelve Days, and being by the ſpecial Favour of Heaven preſerv'd freſh and free from Corruption, *Heſtuba* reſembles him to one Dead, not of a ling'ring and wearying Diſtemper, but by a ſudden Death;

Now fresh and glowing e'en in Death thou art,
And fair as he who falls by *Phæbus'* Dart.

The sudden Death of Women was attributed to *Diana*; whence *Glaucus* in the same Poet, speaking of *Hippodamia* (a):

Τὴν ὃ χολωσαμένη χρυσήνι Ἀρτεμος ἔκτα.
Incens'd *Diana* her depriv'd of Life.

Again, *Achilles* wishes that *Briseis* had been snatch'd away by a sudden Death, rather than have been the Occasion of any Dissension between him and *Agamemnon* (b):

Τὴν ὃ φελ' ἐν νήεσσι κατακλόμεν Ἀρτεμις ἰῶ.
Ἡματι τῷ ὅτ' ἐγὼν ἐλόμην Λυρνησσὸν ὀλέσσαις.
Oh that *Diana* had her kill'd on Board,
When first I carry'd her, *Lyrnessus* overthrow'd.

The Poet has explain'd his own Meaning in another Place (c); where *Eumæus* reports, that in the Isle of *Syria* the Inhabitants never die of lingering Disempers, but, being arriv'd to a good old Age, drop into their Graves without any previous Torment:

Πείνη δ' ἔποσι δ' ἡμὸν ἐσέρχεται, ἐδὲ τις ἄλλη
Νῆσσι ἐπὶ συγερῇ πέλεται δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσιν.
Ἀλλ' ὅτε γηράσκωσι πόλιν κατὰ φύλ' ἀνδράπων,
Ελθὼν ἀργυρότοξος Ἀπόλλων Ἀρτέμιδι ξύν,
Οἷς ἀγανοῖς βελέεσσιν ἐποιχόμενον κατέπεφνεν.

No Plague, no Famine does their Lives impair,
No pois'nous Ills these happy Mortals fear;
Healthy and strong they see the Verge of Age,
Then venerably old they quit the Stage;
Apollo and *Diana* stop their Breath,
Shooting unerring Shafts well fraught with Death.

J. A.

Again; *Ulysses* enquires of his Mother in the Regions below, whether she resign'd her Life under a tedious Disease, or *Diana's* Hand (d):

Ἀλλ' ἄγε, μοι τόδε εἰπὲ, καὶ ἀτρεκέως κατέλεξον,
Τίς νύ σε κῆρ ἐδάμασσε ταννηγέος θανάτοιο,
Ἡ δολιχὴ νῆσος, ἢ Ἀρτεμις ἰοχέαιρα
Οἷς ἀγανοῖς βελέεσσιν ἐποιχόμενον κατέπεφνεν.

This I desire, *dear Mother*, you'd relate,
 By what unhappy Destiny, what Fate
 You posted hither to this gloomy Coast,
 And all the Endearments of the World have lost;
 Whether *Diana* with relentless Dart,
 (That sportful Deity) transfix'd your Heart,
 Or else you did your vital Breath expire
 By ling'ring Pain, or pestilential Fire †

J. A.

Other Instances may be produc'd to the same Purpose: The Ground of this Opinion was *Apollo's* being usually taken for the Sun, and *Diana* for the Moon; which Planets were believed to have a great Influence on human Life (a).

All dead Persons were thought to be under the Jurisdiction of the infernal Deities, and therefore no Man could resign his Life, till some of his Hairs were cut to consecrate him to them: Hence *Euripides* introduces Death with a Sword going to cut off some of the Hair of *Alceſtis*, whom the Fates had adjudg'd to die instead of her Husband *Admetus* (b):

Η δ' ἐν γυνὴ κατέσιν εἰς ἄδ' ὁδὸς,
 Στείχω δ' ἐπ' αὐτὴν, ὥς κατάρξωμαι ξίφος.
 Ἰσρὸς γὰρ ἔτ' τῶν κατὰ χθονὸς θεῶν,
 Οὗτ' ἐγὼ κράτος ἀγνίσει τρίχα.

I'm come to loose the brittle Tie of Life,
 And send her to th' infernal Mansions hence;
 This Sword is to initiate the Rites,
 By cutting off the Fatal Look, on which
 Lies the last Struggle of her panting Breath.

J. A.

Which Passage is imitated by *Virgil* (c), where he tells us that *Dido*, ridding herself out of the World before her Time, had not her Hair cut off by *Proserpina*, and therefore struggled some Time, as unable to resign her Life, till *Iris* was commission'd from *Juno* to do her that kind Office (d):

Tum Juno omnipotens, longum miserata dolorem,
 Difficileſque obitus, Irin demisit Olympo,
 Quæ luſtantem animam, nexosque resolveret artus;
 Nam qui nec fato, merita nec morte peribat,
 Sed misera ante diem, subitoque accensa furorẽ,
 Nondum illi flavum Proſerpina vertice crinem
 Abſtulerat, Stygioque caput damnaverat Orco:

*Ergo Iris cœcis per cælum rosida pennis,
Mille trabens varios adverso sole colores,
Devolat, & supra caput astitit ; " Hunc ego Diti
" Sacrum iussa fero, teque isto corpore solvo."
Sic ait, & dextra crinem secat ; omnis & una
Dilapsus calor, atque in ventos vitæ recessit.*

Then *Juno*, grieving that she shou'd sustain
A Death so ling'ring, and so full of Pain,
Sent *Iris* down to free her from her Strife
Of lab'ring Nature, and dissolve her Life ;
For since she dy'd, not doom'd by Heav'n's Decree ;
Or her own Crime, but human Casualty,
And Rage of Love, that plung'd her in Despair,
The Sisters had not cut the topmost Hair,
(Which *Proserpine* and they can only know)
Nor made her sacred to the Shades below ;
Downward the various Goddess took her Flight,
And drew a thousand Colours from the Light ;
Then stood above the dying Lover's Head,
And said, " *I thus devote thee to the Dead ;*
" *This Off'ring to th' infernal Gods I bear.*
Thus while she spoke she cut the fatal Hair,
The struggling Soul was loos'd, and Life dissolv'd in Air.

Mr Dryden.

What was the Ground of this Opinion, cannot be certainly defin'd ; but it seems not improbable that it proceeded from a Ceremony at Sacrifices, wherein they cut some of the Hairs from the Victim's Forehead, and offer'd them to the Gods, as First-fruits of the Sacrifice ; whence some imagine the same was thought to be done by Death upon Men sent as Victims to the infernal Gods.

When they perceiv'd the Pangs of Death coming upon them, they made Supplication to *Mercury*, whose Office it was to convey the Ghosts to the Regions below. An Instance whereof we have in a *Cean* Matron, who, being about to rid herself of Life by a Draught of Poison, first call'd upon *Mercury* to grant her a pleasant Journey, and convey her to a commodious Habitation in *Pluto's* Dominions (a). These Prayers, whether offered to *Mercury*, or to any other God, were term'd *ἐξελυσις*, which is a general Name for all Prayers before any Man's Departure, whether by Death, or only to take a Journey (b).

Their Friends and Relations, perceiving them at the Point of resigning their Lives, came close to the Bed where they lay, to bid them farewell, and catch their dying Words, which they never repeated without

ser, furnishes *Andromache* with Matter of Lamentation, which she thus expresses (a) :

Οὐ γὰρ μοι θνήσκων λεχέων ἐκ χεῖρας ὄρεξας,
Οὐδέ τι μοι εἶπες πυλινὸν ἔπῳ, ἔ τέ κεν αἰεὶ
Μεμνήμην, νύκτας τε καὶ ἡμέρας δακρυχέουσα.

I saw him not when in the Pangs of Death,

Nor did my Lips receive his latest Breath.

Why held he not to me his dying Hand ?

And why receiv'd not I his last Command ?

Something he wou'd have said, had I been there,

Which I shou'd still in sad Remembrance bear ;

For I cou'd never, never Words forget,

Which Night and Day I wou'd with Tears repeat. *Mr Congreve.*

They kiss'd and embrac'd the dying Person, so taking their last Farewel ; which Custom was very ancient, being deriv'd from the Eastern Nations ; for we find in the Holy Writings, that Joseph *fell upon his Father Jacob's Neck*, when he lay upon his Death-bed, *and kiss'd him* (b). They endeavour'd likewise to receive in their Mouth his last Breath, as fancying his Soul to expire with it, and enter into their Bodies : And at the Time of it's Departure it was customary to beat brazen Kettles, which was thought an excellent Method to drive away evil Spirits and Phantasms, whose airy Forms were not able to endure so harsh a Noise (c) : Thus they imagin'd the dead Man's Ghost secur'd from Furies, and quietly convey'd to a peaceful Habitation in the *Elysian Fields*. For 'twas an old Opinion, that there being two Mansions in the Infernal Regions, one on the Right-hand pleasant and delightful, the other on the Left appointed for the Souls of wicked Wretches, the Furies were always ready to hurry departed Souls to the Place of Torment : *Virgil* has an Allusion to this Fancy (d) :

*Hic locus est, partes ubi se via findit in ambas,
Dextera, quæ Ditis magni sub mœnia tendit,
Hac iter Elysium nobis, at læva malorum
Exercet pœnas, & ad impia Tartara mittit.*

'Tis here in diff'rent Paths the Way divides,

The Right to *Pluto's* Golden Palace guides,

The Left to that unhappy Region tends,

Which to the Depth of *Tartarus* descends,

The Seat of Night-profound, and punish'd Fiends.

Mr Dryden.

Sometimes 'tis call'd *ὀχέσθαι*, to depart; and the Dead, *ὀχόμενοι*: So also *Clio* in an Epistle to *Plato* saith, *ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀπελεύσομαι*, I will depart out of the World. In the same Sense we find the Latin Word *abitis*, which is a synonymous Term for Death (a); and *abii*; as when *Pliny* writes, that *Virginus Rufus plenus annis abiit*, *plenus honoribus* (b), departed full of Years and Honours: Thus also the Greeks use *βεβίωκε*, i. e. he once liv'd; and the Romans, *vixit* and *fuit*; thus *Virgil*:

— *Fuit Ilium, & ingens*

Gloria Teucrorum. —

Glory did once attend the *Dardan* State,

It's Spires then glitter'd, and it's Chiefs were great.

Tibullus, with several others, hath us'd the same Expression (c);

Vivite felices, memores & vivite nostri,

Sive erimus, seu nos fata fuisse velint.

In a bless'd Series may your Lives glide on,

If while I live, or when I'm dead and gone,

One transient Glance you'll on my Mem'ry cast,

And in soft Accents say, He's gone and past.

J. A.

Sometimes they us'd *κίκμηκε*, and *καμόντες*. Thus *Homer* (d),

— *Οἱ ὑπένεθε καμόντας*

Ἀνθρώπους τινυυθόν, ὃς τις κ' ἐπὶ ὄγκον ὁμόσση.

Ye dire Avengers of all perjur'd Slaves,

When once they're dead, and cover'd in their Graves.

Again (e),

— *βροτῶν εἰδωλα καμόντων,*

— The Ghosts o' th' Dead.

But the most frequent are Names taken from Sleep, to which Death bears a near Resemblance; whence the Poets feign them to be Brothers, and *κοιμάσθαι* or *εὐδεν* are commonly us'd for dying; thus *Callimachus* (f):

— *Τῆδε Σάων, ὁ Δίκωνος, Ἀκάνθιος, ἱερὸν ὕπνον*

Κοιμάται. —

Saon th' *Acanthian*, *Dicon's* Son, hard by,
In Everlasting Sleep wrap'd up doth lie.

In another Place (*a*):

—H δ' ἀποκρίξαι
Εὐθάδε τὸν πάσαις ὕπνον ὀφειλόμενον.

The common Debt of all Mankind she sleeps.

Orpheus hath us'd the same Metaphor in his *Argonauticks*:

Εὐδαίς, Ἀγνιάδην, γλυκερῷ βεβωλημένῳ ὕπνῳ.

Agniades, thou art in soft Repose
Lock'd up.—

Many other like Passages occur both in profane and inspir'd Writers; and so common was this Way of speaking with the primitive *Christians*, that their Burying-places were call'd κοιμητήρια, which is a Term of the same Sense with *Lycophron's* εὐνασῆια (*b*):

Σίθωνις τις θυγατὶς εὐνασῆων.
To th' Sleeping-Place of *Sithon's* Daughter.

C H A P. III.

Of the Ceremonies before the Funeral.

AS soon as any Person had expir'd, they clos'd his Eyes; to do which they term'd καθαιρῆν, συναρμόττειν, συγκλείειν τὰς ὀφθαλμούς, or τὰ βλέφαρα, &c. Which Custom was so universally practis'd, that no Person who has the least Acquaintance with antient Writers, can be ignorant of it. Hence κατὰμύειν came to be us'd for θνήσκειν. The Design of this Custom seems to have been not only to prevent that Horror, which the Eyes of dead Men, when uncover'd, are apt to strike into the Living; but also for the Satisfaction of dying Persons, who are usually desirous to die in a decent Posture. Thus *Paluxena* in *Euripides* is said to have order'd herself in such a Manner

Πολλὴν πρόνοιαν εἶχεν εὐσχήμως πεσεῖν,
 Κρύπτειν δ', ἃ κρύπτειν ὄμματ' ἀρσένων χρεῶν'.

And *Augustus Cæsar*, upon the Approach of his Death, call'd for a Looking-glass, and caus'd his Hair to be comb'd, and his fall'n Cheeks decently compos'd (a). For the same Reasons the Mouth of the dead Person was clos'd. Hence the Ghost of *Agamemnon* in *Homer* complains that his Wife *Clytemnestra* had neglected to perform this Ceremony (b);

— ἔδ' ἔ μοι ἔτλη ἰόντι περ εἰς Αἴδαο
 Χερσὶ κατ' ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐλέαν, σύν τε, σὺ μ' ἐρεῖσαι.

This done, his Face was cover'd: Whence *Hippolytus* in *Euripides*, being at the Point to expire, calls upon his Father *Theseus* to do him that Office (c);

Κρύψον δέ με πρόσποτον ὡς τάχ' ἐπέπλους.
 Veil my Face over quickly with a Sheet.

Indeed almost all the Offices about the Dead were perform'd by their nearest Relations; nor could a greater Misfortune befall any Person, than to want these last Respects: *Elestra* in *Sophocles* seems to prefer Death itself before it. Infinite Numbers of Instances might be produced to the same Purpose, were it not too commonly known to need any farther Confirmation. All the Charges expended on Funerals, and the whole Care and Management of them, belong'd also to Relations, saving that Persons of extraordinary Worth were frequently honour'd with public Funerals, the Expences whereof were defray'd out of the Exchequer; thus we find *Democritus* at *Abdera*, *Zeno* and *Aristides* at *Athens*, *Epaminondas* at *Thebes*, *Gryllus*, *Xenophon's* Son, at *Mantineæ*, with many others, that have had their Funerals celebrated at the public Expence.

To return: Before the Body was cold, they compos'd all the Members, stretching them out to their due Length; this they term'd ἐκτείνειν, or ὀρθῶν: Whence the Maid in *Euripides's Hippolytus*, as soon as *Phædra* had expir'd her last, cries out to some of her own Sex to perform this Office (d):

Ορθώσατ' ἐκτείνοντες ἀθλιον νέκυν,
 Πικρὸν τόδ' οἰκέρημα δεσπόταίς ἑμοῖς.
 Tho' 'tis a Service that will bitter prove,
 And grieve the Souls of my most wretched Masters,
 Yet lay the Corpse of the dead Lady out.

(a) *Suetonius* in *August.* XCIX. (b) ~
Polys., v. 1453. (d) V. 786.

Not long after the *Chorus* saith,

Ἡδὴ γὰρ ὡς νεκρὸν νιν ἐκτείνουσι δῆ.

As it is usual, they lay her out.

After this the dead Body was wash'd; hence *Alceſis* in *Euripides* (a), upon the Approach of the fatal Day, wherein ſhe was to lay down her Life for her Husband *Admetus*, wash'd herself in the River;

Ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἦδεθ' ἡμέραν τὴν κυρίαν

Ἡκσαν ὕδασι ποταμίους λευκὸν χροῶ

Εἰς αὐτ'.

The pious Dame did in the River wash
Her beauteous Body, when the fatal Day
Of her own *Exit* did approach. —

Plato tells us, that *Socrates* wash'd himself before his Execution, to save the Women a Trouble (b); for this Office was commonly perform'd by Women related to the Party deceas'd; only in Cases of Necessity others were employ'd therein: So we find that poor *Theagenes* having neither Wife, nor Child, nor any near Relation of his own, was wash'd by the *Cynicks* (c). At some Places there were Vessels in the Temples design'd for this Use; these were call'd in *Latin*, *labra*, whence some derive the Word *delubrum* (d).

This done, the Body was anointed; *Pliny* reports, that the *Grecians* never us'd Ointment, till the Time of *Alexander the Great*, when they had it convey'd out of *Persia* (e); and *Homer*, tho' frequently mentioning the Custom of anointing the Dead, yet useth no other Materials beside Oil: Thus they anointed *Patroclus* (f):

Καὶ τότε δὴ λῦσαντο, καὶ ἤλειψαν λίπ' ἐλαίῳ.

As soon as wash'd, they 'nointed him with Oil.

But *Athenæus* will by no means allow *Homer's* Oil to have been distinguish'd from *μύρον*, or Ointment properly so call'd (g); and we find that *Solon* allow'd his Citizens the Use of Ointments, forbidding only Slaves to perfume themselves therewith (h). Whence it seems probable, that however the *Grecians* might not have any Knowledge of those costly Ointments the *Persians* furnish'd them with, yet they were not unacquainted with the Use of another Sort.

After the Body was wash'd and anointed. they wrapp'd it in a Gar-

or Cloak they wore at other Times (a), as we find the *Romans* made use of their *Toga*. Thus *Misenus* in *Virgil*, being first wash'd and anointed, then (as the Custom was) laid upon a Bed, was wrapp'd in the Garments he had usually worn (b) :

*Pars calidos latices, & abena undantia flammis
Expediunt, corpusque lavant frigentis, & unguent :
Fit gemitus : Tum membra toro defleta reponunt,
Purpureasque super vestes velamina nota
Conjiciunt.*—————

Some, being mov'd with Pity tow'ards their Friend,
Water to boil in Caldrons do attend,
Then wash his cold and stiffen'd Limbs all o'er,
To try if quick'ning Heat they can restore ;
With Essences and Oils they scent the Dead,
And then repose him on his Fun'ral Bed ;
Their glowing Passion in deep Sighs they vent,
And full of Sorrow dolefully lament ;
On him the Robes they cast he us'd to wear,
Which having done, they heave him on the Bier. J. A.

After this the Body was adorn'd with a rich and splendid Garment : Hence we find that, before *Socrates* took the fatal Draught, *Apollodorus* brought him a Cloak, with a Garment of great Value (c), it being the Philosopher's Desire to prepare himself for his Funeral before he died. 'Tis reported also, that *Philocles* the *Athenian* Admiral being overcome, and sentenc'd to Death by *Lyfander* the *Spartan*, wash'd himself, and put on his best Apparel, before he was executed (d). The same we read of *Alceftis* in *Euripides* :

Επει δ' ἤθεθ' ἡμέραν τὴν κυρίαν
Ηκυσαν, ὕδασι ποταμίσις λευκὸν χρῶα
Ελύσατ', ἐκ δ' ἐλῦσα κέδρινων δόμων
Εδῆτα, κόσμον τ' εὐπρεπῶς ἡσκήσατο.

The pious Dame, before the fatal Day
Of her own Exit, bath'd her beauteous Limbs
In gentle Rivulet ; then she put on
A splendid Vest, and decent Ornaments
Of rich Attire.—————

The whole Body was cover'd with this Garment. It's Colour was

Ἐν λευκαῖσι δὲ θέντες ἱανῶ ἀπὸ κεφαλῆς
 Ἐς πόδας ἐκ κεφαλῆς, καθύπερθε ὃ φάρει λευκῶ.

In a white Linnen Shroud from Head to Foot
 They put the Corpse, when on a Bed laid out.

Whence *Artimedorus* reckons it an unlucky Omen, and presaging Death, for a Sick Person to have white Apparel (a) : This Colour seems to have been used to denote the Simplicity and Harmlessness of the Dead (b). So concern'd were they about this Garment, that, as some think, they frequently prepar'd it for themselves and Friends during Life : Thus *Penelope* is introduc'd by *Homer* speaking to her Courtiers (c) :

Κῆρε, ἐμοὶ μνηστῆρες, ἐπεὶ θάνε δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς,
 Μίμνετ' ἐπιγόμενοι τὸν ἐμὸν γάμον, εἰσὼκε φάρῳ
 Ἐκτελέσω (μή μοι μελαμῶλια νήματ' ὀληται)
 Λαέρτη ἥρωϊ ταφήιον, εἰς ὃ τε κέν μιν
 Μοῖρ' ὅλοη κατέλθοι τανηλεγίῳ θανάτοιο.

Since my *Ulysses*, as 'tis said, is slain,
 And clotted Gore won't circulate again,
 Gentlemen, you that vig'rous Rivals are
 In courting me, your hot Pursuit forbear,
 Till I have spun this Web against grim Death
 With his cold Hands shall stop *Laertes'* Breath.

J. A.

Thus likewise *Euryalus* being slain, his Mother is brought in complaining (d) :

— *Nec te tua funera mater*
Produxī, pressivē oculos, aut vulnera laevi,
Veste tegens, tibi quam noctes festina disque
Urgebam, Et tela curas solabar aniles.

What Pangs of Grief my throbbing Breast invade
 To think thy mangled Carcase was not laid
 Forth on it's Pile by me ; oh, sad Surprise !
 That I wa'n't by to close thy beauteous Eyes,
 Just as th' expiring Soul did take her Flight
 Into the Regions of Infernal Night ;
 Oh ! had I wash'd each Wound, each fever'd Vein

But it may be disputed whether these were made on Purpose for Funeral-Garments, or only design'd to be worn, and apply'd to the former Use, in case the Person should die; it being usual (as hath been already observ'd) to wrap dead Bodies in the Garments they had used when alive: The latter Opinion seems more probable from the Word which *Penelope* adds:

Μῆτις μοι κατὰ δῆμον Ἀχαιῶδων γεμεσῆσθαι,
Αἴκεν ἄτερ σπῖρε κείται, πολλὰ κτεατίσας.

Left, if my Sire without a Coat shou'd lie,
Shame and Reproach I might incur thereby
From Grecian Ladies, since this Duty he,
Having such large Revenues, claims of me. J. A.

And it bears no great Shew of Reason, that a Mother should comfort herself by weaving a Winding-Sheet for her young Son, who at that Time was likely to have liv'd many Years. However that be, it is observable that the *Lacedæmonians*, as in most other Things, so here also ran counter to the rest of the *Grecians*; for whereas in other Places the Dead were cloth'd with costly Apparel, which none, except the poorer Sort, ever wanted, the *Spartan* Law-giver order'd, that Persons of the greatest Valour and Merit should be bury'd in nothing but a red Coat, which was the common Habit of Soldiers: To the rest even this was deny'd (a); for he thought it wholly absurd and unreasonable, that those who thro' the whole Course of their Lives had been accusom'd to contempt Riches and superfluous Ornaments, should be deck'd therewith when dead. Nor were any Ointments, or costly Perfumes us'd there, being look'd on as conducing nothing to the Felicity of the Dead, and unworthy of the *Lacedæmonian* Gravity:

The next Ceremony was the bedecking the dead Body with Chaplets of Flowers, and green Boughs. Thus *Talthybius* puts on *Hecuba* to adorn her Grandson *Astyanax* (b):

— Πέπλοισιν ὡς περιεείλης νεκρὸν,
Στεφάνοις δ', ὅση σοι δύναμις ὡς ἔχει τὰ σά.

That you adorn the Corpse with costly Robes,
With Chaplets, and what other Pomp you can.

When Persons of Worth and Character died in foreign Countries, their Remains, being brought home in Urn, were honour'd with the Cere-

with others to perform the Rites usual on such Occasions, or at least they crown'd it with Garlands (a). The same Author reports, that *Philopæmen's* Relicks were attended by Captives in Chains, and his Urn so cover'd with Ribbands and Chaplets, that scarce any Part of it was to be seen (b). This Ceremony was either taken from the *Games*, wherein the Conquerors were rewarded with Crowns of Leaves, as signifying that the Dead had *finish'd* their *Course* (c); or was design'd to express the unmix'd and never-fading Pleasures the Dead were to enjoy, upon their Removal out of this painful and troublesome World (d); for Garlands were an Emblem of Mirth and Joyfulness, and therefore usually worn at Banquets and Festivals. The same may be observ'd of Ointments and Perfumes, the constant Attendants of Gaiety and Pleasantness. To both these Ceremonies we have an ingenious Allusion of an old Poet in *Stobæus*:

Οὐ μὲν γὰρ ἔτιως ἂν ποτ' ἐσεφανωμένοι
 Πρέκειμεθ' ἄνθεσ', ἐδὲ καλακχευσμένοι,
 Εἰ μὴ καλαδάντας εὐθείως πίνειν ἔδει.
 Διὰ ταῦτα γὰρ τοὶ καλῶνται μακάριοι,
 Πᾶς γὰρ λέγει τις, ὁ μακαρίτης οἵχεται.

Not that we less compassionate are grown,
 Do we at Funerals our Temples crown,
 Or with sweet Essences adorn our Hair,
 And all the Marks of pleasing Transport wear:
 But 'cause we're sure of that more happy State
 To which kind Death doth ev'ry Soul translate,
 Which here by drinking we anticipate:
 For soon as Death his fatal Shaft hath hurl'd,
 And us transmitted to the other World,
 We drinking sing th' immortal Beverage,
 And in sweet Joys Eternity engage;
 Hence they by ev'ry one are only said
 To be right happy, that are truly dead.

H. H.

This done, they proceeded *περτίθεσθαι*, *collocare*, to lay out the dead Body; sometimes they plac'd it upon the Ground, sometimes upon a Bier, call'd *λέκτρον*, *φέρετρον*, or *φάρετρον*, which they bedeck'd with various Sorts of Flowers. Some are of Opinion the Corpse was first laid out upon the Ground, afterwards lifted upon a Bier. This Office, as most of the former, was perform'd by the nearest Relations; whence *Lyfias* (e) among other aggravating Circumstances which attended the Death of *Eratosthenes*, who was condemn'd by the *Thirty Tyrants of Athens*, reckons this as none of the least, that they laid him

and most tender Relations. *Tiberius Cæsar* is likewise censur'd by *Dio*, not only as neglecting to visit *Livia* when sick, but because he laid her not out with his own Hands, when she was dead (a). The Place where the Bodies were laid out, was near the Entrance of the House, which being sometimes term'd *προνέπιον*, it came to pass that dead Men were called *προνεπιῖς*. Hence *Euripides* (b),

Η δὲ προνεπὶς ἐστὶ καὶ ψυχὸρραγεί.

The Reason of this Ceremony was, that all Persons might have Opportunity to search whether the Party deceas'd had any Wounds, or other Marks of an untimely and violent Death (c). It may be farther observ'd, that the Feet were always turn'd towards the Gate. Hence *Perfius* (d),

— Tandemque beatulus alto
Compositus leto, crassisque lutatus amomis,
In portam rigidos calces extendit. —

Our dear departed Brother lies in State,
His Heels stretch'd out, and pointing to the Gate.

Achilles in *Homer* speaks of *Patroclus* as laid out in the same Manner (e):

— ἐνὶ κλισίῃ δεδαῖγμένῳ ὀξείῳ χαλκῷ
Κεῖται ἀνὰ πρύθυρον τέτραμμένῳ.

Slain at the Ent'rance of the Tent he lies,

Where we are told by the *Scholiast*, that by this Ceremony they signified that they were never to return after their being carry'd out. Whilst the Body lay in this Place, 'twas customary to give it constant Attendance, to defend it from any Violence or Affront that might be offered. Whence *Achilles* adds in the fore-cited Place,

— ἀμπὶ δ' ἑταῖροι
Μύρονται.

Round the dead Corpse his sad Companions mourn.

And a little before we find him so passionately concern'd lest Flies and Vermin should pollute the Corpse, that he could not be drawn from it to the Battle, till *Thetis* had promis'd to guard it (f). When any Person died in Debt at *Athens*, there was something more to be fear'd, for the Laws of that City gave Leave to Creditors to seize the dead Body,

interment, who seems a Plutonian, being like to want the Honour of Burial, his Son *Cimon* had no other Means to release it, but by taking upon himself his Father's Debt and Fetters.

Some Time before Interment, a Piece of Money was put into the Corpse's Mouth, which was thought to be *Charon's Fare* for wafting the departed Soul over the infernal River. This was by some term'd *καρχήδοντα* (a), by others *δανάη* (b), *δάνακη*, or *δανάκης*, from *δάνω*, a Price; or because it was given *τοῖς δαυοῖς*, to dead Men, so call'd from *δανά*, or dry Sticks (c). It was only a single *ὄβολος*. *Aristophanes* indeed introduces *Hercules* telling *Bacchus* he must pay two *Oboli* (d):

Εὐ πλοιαρίῳ τυνευτῷ σ' ἀνὴρ γέρον
Ναύτης διάξει, δὴ' ὄβολῷ μισθὸν λαβών.
Th' old Ferryman of Hell will waft you o'er
In this small Skiff for poor two *Oboli*.

But the *Comedian* seems to speak this only by way of Jeer to the Judges in some of the *Athenian Courts*, who were presented with two *Oboli* at the End of their Session: Whence *Bacchus* presently subjoins,

Φεῦ, ὡς μέγα δυνάδων πανταχῇ δὴ' ὄβολῷ.

I find two *Oboli* can much prevail
In either World. —

Meursius therefore, interpreting this Place of the common Custom towards the Dead, and adding out of the *Scholias*t, that the Price was afterwards rais'd to three *Oboli*, seems not to have reach'd the Author's Meaning: For nothing can be more plain than that the *Scholias*t is to be understood of the *δικαστικὸς μισθός*, or Reward allow'd the Judges, which was two *Oboli*, and afterwards increas'd to three. This Ceremony was not us'd in those Places which they fancy'd situate in the Vicinity of the Infernal Regions, and to lead thither by a ready and direct Road (e); *Strabo* particularly mentions that the *Hermionians* pleaded Exemption (f).

Besides this, the Corpse's Mouth was furnish'd with a certain Cake, compos'd of Flower, Honey, &c. and therefore call'd *μελιτῆστα* (g). This was design'd to appease the Fury of *Carberus* the Infernal Door-keeper, and to procure of him a safe and quiet Entrance. We have an Allusion to this in the *Comedian* (h),

— σὸρὸν ὠνύσει,
Μελιτῆσταν ἐγὼ καὶ δὴ μάζω. —

(a) *Suidas*. (b) *Hesychius*. (c) *Etymologici* Auctor. (d) *Ranis*, p. 217. *Aurel. Allob.* (e) *Etymologici* Auctor, v. δανάης. (f) *Georg. lib. VIII.* (g) *Suidas*, &c. (h) *Lyfistrata*.

A Custom he man buy, and I'll prepare
A Cake for Cerberus. —

Virgil has oblig'd us with a larger Account of this Custom, when he describes the *Sibyl* and *Æneas's* Journey to the Infernal Shades (a) :

*Cerberus hæc ingens latratu regna trisance
Personat, adverso recubans immanis in antro :
Cui vates, horrere videns jam colla colubris,
Melle soporatam & medicatis frugibus offam
Objicit ; ille, fame rabida tria guttura pandens,
Corripit objectam, atque immania terga resolvit
Fusus humi, totoque ingens extenditur antro :
Occupat Æneas aditum, custode sepulto,
Evaditque celer ripam irremeabilis undæ.*

—— In his Den they found

The triple Porter of the *Stygian* Sound,
Grim *Cerberus*, who soon began to rear
His crested Snakes, and arm'd his bristling Hair ;
The prudent *Sibyl* had before prepar'd
A Sop in Honey steep'd to charm the Guard,
Which, mix'd with pow'rful Drugs, she cast before
His greedy grinning Jaws, just op'd to roar :
With three enormous Mouths he gapes, and frait,
With Hunger prest, devours the pleasing Bait ;
Long Draughts of Sleep his monstrous Limbs enslave,
He reels, and falling fills the spacious Cave.
The Keeper charm'd, the Chief without Delay
Pass'd on, and took th' irremeable Way.

Mr Dryden.

Before we conclude this Chapter, it may be observ'd, that the whole Ceremony of laying out, clothing the Dead, and sometimes the Interment itself, was call'd *συγκομιδή* (b) : In the same Sense antient Writers use *συγκομίζεν*, with it's Derivatives ; thus *Sophocles* (c) :

Οὐτ' σε φανῶ τόνδε τὸν νεκρὸν χερσίν
Μὴ συγκομίζεν, ἀλλ' ἔῃν ὅπως ἔχει.
Do not presume th' accursed Corpse t' inter,
But let it lie expos'd to open View.

It may farther be observ'd, that during this Time the Hair of the deceas'd Person was hung upon the Door, to signify the Family was in Mourning. And, till the House was deliver'd of the Corpse, there

(a) *Æneid*. VI. v. 417.

(b) *Æschyli Scholiastes*.

(c) *Ajac*. v. 1067.

stood before the Door a Vessel of Water call'd ἀρδάνιον (a), ἀρδανία, γάστρα (b), and from the Matter it was frequently made of, ὄσρακον, as in *Aristophanes* (c):

Υδατος τε καθάτε τῷσρακον πρὸ τῆς θύρας.

An earthen Vessel full of Water place

Before the Door. ———

Part of a *Chorus* in *Euripides*, seeing neither of these Signs, could scarce be induc'd to believe *Alceſtis* dead (d) :

Πυλῶν πάροιθεν δ' ἐχ' ὄρῳ

Πηλαῖον, ὡς νομίζεται

Γε, χέρινις' ἐπὶ φθιτῶν πύλαις·

Χαῖτά τ' ἔτις ἐπὶ πρόθυρα τομαῖ-
ος, ἃ δὲ νεκύων πένθεισι πινεῖ.

I see no purifying Water plac'd

Before the Doors, a Custom us'd of old ;

Nor Lock of Hair is in the Entrance fix'd,

To shew the House in Mourning. ———

H. H.

The Design of this was, that such as had been concern'd about the Corpse might purify themselves by Washing, which was call'd λεί-
δξ ἀπὸ νεκρῶ. For not the *Jews* only (e), but the greatest Part of the Heathen World thought themselves polluted by the Contact of a dead Body, Death being contrary to Nature, and therefore abhorr'd by every thing endued with Life. Hence the Cœlestial Gods, those especially who were thought to give or preserve Light or Life, would not endure the Sight of a Corpse. *Diana* in *Euripides* professes it unlaw-
ful for her to see *Hippolytus*, her Favourite, when dead :

Καὶ χαῖρ', ἐμοὶ γὰρ ἐ θείμεις φθιτὸς ὄρᾶν,

Οὐδ' ὄμμα χραίνειν θανάσιμοισιν ἐκπνοαῖς.

Farewel, for 'twere in me a sinful Act

To view the Dead, or to defile mine Eyes,

With the sad Sight of an expiring Soul.

Nor was the House where the Corpse lay free from Pollution, as ap-
pears from the Words of *Helena* in *Euripides* (f) :

Καθαρὰ γὰρ ἡμῖν δώματ', ἐ γὰρ ἐνθάδε

Ψυχὴν ἀφῆκε Μενέλεως. ———

For sacred are our Houses, not defil'd
By the Death of Menelaus.—

The Air proceeding from the dead Body was thought to pollute all Things into which it enter'd ; whence all uncover'd Vessels which stood in the same Room with the Corpse, were accounted unclean by the Jews. Hence 'twas customary to have the whole House purify'd, as soon as the Funeral Solemnities were over ; of which Ceremony I shall have Occasion to discourse in one of the following Chapters.

CH A P. IV.

Of their Funeral Processions.

THE next Thing to be observ'd is their carrying the Corpse forth, which is in Greek term'd ἐκκομιδὴ, and ἐκφορά, in Latin *elatio*, or *exportatio* ; whence the Latin, *efferre*, *exportare*, and the Greek, ἐκφέρειν, and ἐκκομίζειν are Words appropriated to Funerals. Kirchman would have παρακομίζειν to be used in the same Sense ; but the Place he produces out of Eunapius (a) to that Purpose, seems rather to denote the *Prætervection* of the Body by some Place, than it's *Elation* from the House wherein it was prepar'd for Burial ; or παρακομίζειν is usually spoken with Respect to a Place in the middle Way of any Motion ; εισκομίζειν belongs to the End, or Place where the Motion ceases ; but ἐκκομίζειν, or ἐκφέρειν, are only proper when we speak of the Place whence the Motion begins, being the same with ἔξω φέρειν, carrying forth, which Words are taken by Theocritus in the Sense I am speaking of (b) ;

Ἀἰθερὶ δ' ἄμμες νιν ἅμα δρόσω ἀδρῆας ἔξω
Οἰσεῦμες ποτὶ κύματ' ἐπ' αἰὼνι πλύνοντα.

I' th' Morn when pearly Dew has overspread
The bending Grass, we will bring forth our Dead
Down to the River's Side.—

Plautus likewise, for *efferre*, has *foras ferre* (c) :

Quæ cras veniat perendie foras feratur soror.

The Time of Burial seems not to have been limited. The Author of the *Geniales Dies* (a) tells us, That Bodies were usually kept seventeen Days, and seventeen Nights, before they were interr'd; which he seems to have out of *Homer*, who reports, that *Achilles's* Body, after seventeen Days and as many Nights of Mourning, was committed to the Flames (b) :

Επ' ἡκαίδεκα μὲν σε ὁμῶς νύκτας τε καὶ ἡμέρας
Κλαίοντες ἀθάνατοί τε θεοὶ, θνητοὶ τ' ἀνθρώπων,
Οκτωκαιδεκάτῃ δ' ἐδομένε πυρί.—

Seventeen long Days were in sad Morning spent,
As many Nights did Gods and Men lament,
But on the Eighteenth laid you on the Pile.

Servius was of Opinion, that the Time of burning Bodies was the eighth Day after Death, the Time of burying the Ninth (c) ; but this must only be understood of the Funerals of great Persons, which could not be duly solemniz'd without extraordinary Preparations ; Men of inferior Rank were committed to the Ground without so much Noise and Pomp. The antient Burials seem to have been upon the third or fourth Day after Death : Thus the Author of the *Argonautics* (d) :

*At vero ornantes supremo funus honore,
Tres totos conduunt lugubri murmure soles,
Magnifice tumultant quarto.—*

With three Days Mourning they the Fun'ral grac'd,
(The last good Office due to the Deceas'd)
But on the fourth they o'er his Body rear'd
A stately Tomb.—

H. H.

Nor was it unusual to perform the Solemnities, especially of poor Persons, upon the Day after their Death ; which appears from an Epigram of *Callimachus* :

Δαίμονα τίς δ' εὖ οἶδε τὸν αὔριον ; ἥνίκα καὶ σε,
Χάρμι, τὸν ὀφθαλμοῖς χθίζόν ἐν ἡμετέρῃς,
Τῇ ἐτέρῃ κλαύσαντες ἐδάπτομεν.—

Who knows what Fortunes on To-morrow wait,
Since *Charmis* one Day well to us appear'd,
And on the next was mournfully interr'd ?

Laertius (a), telling him he expected every Minute to breathe his last, and had invited his Friends to his Funeral the Day following.

The Ceremony was perform'd in the Day, for Night was look'd on as a very improper Time; because then Furies and evil Spirits, which could not endure the Light, ventur'd abroad. Hence *Cassandra* in a Quarrel with *Talthybius* foretels, as one of the greatest Mischiefs that could befall him, that it should be his Fortune to be bury'd in the Night (b);

Η κακὸς κακῶς ταφὴν νυκτὸς, ἐκ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ.

An evil Fate attends thy Obsequies,

Thy Fun'ral Rites shall be perform'd at Night.

Young Men only, that dy'd in the Flower of their Age, were bury'd in the Morning Twilight; for so dreadful a Calamity was this accounted, that they thought it undecent, and almost impious, to reveal it in the Face of the Sun. Whence (as the Expounders of Fables tell us) came the Stories of Youths stolen into *Aurora's* Embraces; for, when beautiful and hopeful young Men suffer'd an untimely Death, it was customary to alleviate the Disaster, by giving it a more pleasant and agreeable Name; whence instead of calling their Departure *Death*, they term it *Ἡμέρας ἀρπαγὴν* (c): Because these Funerals were celebrated by Torch-light, it became customary to carry Torches at all other Burials, tho' perform'd in the Day; whence came that proverbial Speech, whereby old Men are said to approach *ἐπὶ τὴν δ᾿ ἄδ' αὖ τῷ βίῳ*, to the Torch of their Life (d). The Athenians went counter to the rest of the Grecians, for their Laws enjoin'd them to celebrate their Funerals before Sun-rise: Which Command (e) *Cicero* will have to be no antienter than *Demetrius* the *Phalerean*; but *Demosthenes* makes *Solon* the Author thereof (f). 'Tis not improbable that it might be first instituted by *Solon*, and afterwards reviv'd by *Demetrius*: The Design seems to have been to moderate the expensive Extravagance in Funerals, which a more open and publick Celebration seem'd to require.

The Bearers usually mounted the Corpse upon their Shoulders, which *Euripides* calls *ἄρδην φέρειν*, speaking of *Alceſtis* (g):

προσπῶλοι

φέρουσιν ἄρδην πρὸς τάφον τε, καὶ πυρᾶν.

The Servants to the Grave the Corpse do bear
Upon their Shoulders.

markable Command of one of their Matrons to her Son, ἢ τὰν, ἢ ἐπὶ τῇδε, i. e. *either bring this* (pointing to his Buckler) *back, or be brought upon it.* Nor was this Custom unknown in other Places. *Virgil* hath mention'd it in his tenth *Æneid* (a) :

—*Socii multo gemitu lacrymisque*
Impositum scuto referunt Pallanta frequentes.

In doleful Plaints his dear Companions mourn
Their dead Friend *Pallas* on his Target borne.

But the most antient *Grecians* seem to have convey'd their dead Bodies to their Funerals without any Support ; whence (as *Eusebius* observes) *Patroclus* being carry'd forth by the *Myrmidones*, *Achilles* went behind to support his Head (b) ;

Ὅπισθεν γὰρ κάρη ἐχέει δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς.
Behind *Achilles* did bear up his Head.

This seems to be the Meaning of *Euripides's* φοράδην πέμπειν, when speaking of *Rhesus's* Funeral, he introduces the *Chorus* uttering these Words (c) :

Τίς ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς θεός, ὦ βασιλεῦ,
Τὸν νεύδμητον ἐν χερσὶν
φοράδην πέμπει.

What God, O King, mov'd with becoming Care,
Shall with his Hand behind support thy Head ?

The Persons present at Funerals were the dead Man's Friends and Relations, who thought themselves under an Obligation to pay this last Respect to their deceas'd Friend. Beside these, others were frequently invited to increase the Solemnity, where the Laws restrain'd them not from it ; which they did at some Places, either to prevent the Disorders which often happen'd at such promiscuous Meetings, or to mitigate the excessive Charges of Funerals. Thus we find that *Pittacus* establish'd a Law at *Mitylene*, that none but the Relations of the Deceas'd should appear at Funerals ; *Solon* also laid some Restraint upon his *Athenians*, wholly excluding all Women under threescore Years of Age from these Solemnities ; yet Relations were admitted whilst under that Age, as appears from *Lyfias's* Oration in Defence of *Eratosthenes*, who had murder'd his Wife's Gallant, whose first Acquaintance with her, he tells us, proceeded from seeing her at a Funeral.

*Effertur, imus : Interea inter mulieres,
Quæ ibi aderant, forte unam adspicio adolescentulam.*

The Corpse is carry'd forward, and we follow,
But 'mongst the Women 'twas my Chance to see
A beautiful young Creature.——

The Habit of these Persons was not always the same ; for tho' they sometimes put on Mourning, and in common Funerals as frequently retain'd their ordinary Apparel ; yet the Exequies of great Men were commonly celebrated with Expressions of Joy for their Reception into Heaven. Thus *Timoleon's* Herse was follow'd by many thousands of Men and Women in white Garments, and bedeck'd with Garlands, as in Festival Solemnities (a) ; *Aratus's* Funeral was likewise celebrated with *Pæans*, or Songs of Triumph and Dances (b).

When the Body was convey'd out of the House, they took their last Farewel, saluting it in a certain Form of Words, as appears from *Admetus's* Speech to the *Pheræans* present at the Funeral of his Wife (c) :

Ταῖς ὃ τὴν θανῶσαν, ὡς νομίζεται,
Προσείπατ' ἐξιῦσαν ὑδάτην ὁδόν.

Do you, since antient Custom so requires,
Salute the Corpse, and take your last Farewel.

The Procession was commonly made on Horseback, or in Coaches ; but as the Funerals of Persons to whom a more than ordinary Reverence was thought due, all went on Foot : Which Respect the *Athenians* paid to the Memory of *Theophrastus*, as an Acknowledgment of his excellent Virtue (d). The Relations went next the Corpse ; the rest walk'd some Distance off : Sometimes the Men went before it with their Heads uncover'd, the Women following it. *Patroclus* was carry'd to his Funeral, surrounded by the *Grecian* Soldiers :

Πρόθε μὲν ἰππῆες, μετὰ δὲ νέφε' εἶπετο πεζῶν
Μυριοί, ἐν δὲ μέσοισι φέρον Πάτροκλον ἑταῖροι (e).

The sad Procession by the Horsemen led,
The thronging Footmen in the Rear succeed,
And in the midst his Friends *Patroclus* bear.

But the ordinary Way was for the Body to go first. and the rest to

———*Funus interim.*
Procedit, sequimur.———

The Fun'ral marches first, we follow it.

Whereby the Survivors were put in Mind of their Mortality, and bid to remember they were all following in the Way the dead Person was gone before (*a*). At the Funerals of Soldiers, their Fellow-Soldiers attended with their Spears pointed towards the Ground, and the uppermost Part of their Bucklers turn'd downwards, as has been formerly observ'd (*b*). This was not done so much (as some fancy) because the Gods were carv'd upon their Bucklers, whose Faces would have been polluted by the Sight of a dead Body, as that they might recede from their common Custom; the Method of Mourning being to act quite contrary to what was usual at other Times; and therefore not only their Bucklers, but their Spears, and the rest of their Weapons, were inverted. Nor was this only a Martial Custom, but practis'd likewise in Peace; for, at the Funerals of Magistrates, their Ensigns of Honour were inverted, as appears from the Poet (*c*);

*Quos primum vidi fasces, in funere vidi,
 Et vidi versos, indiciumque mali.*

The *Fasces* first I at a Fun'ral saw,
 With Heads turn'd downwards, the sad Badge of Woe.

To perform this Ceremony they term'd ἐπιέναν, ἀναγίμνω, and ἀποτίμνω; the first with respect to the House, out of which the Body was carried forth; the second with respect to the Places by which it pass'd; and the last, to the Place whither it was convey'd.

C H A P. V.

Of their Mourning for the Dead.

THE Ceremonies by which they used to express their Sorrow upon the Death of Friends, and on other Occasions, were various and uncertain: But it seems to have been a constant Rule amongst them to recede, as much as possible, in Habit and all their Behaviour, from their ordinary Customs; by which Change they

fallen them. Hence it was, that Mourners in some Cities demean'd themselves in the very same Manner with Persons who in other Places design'd to express Joy : For, the Customs of one City being contrary to those of another, it sometimes happen'd that what in one Place pass'd for an Expression of Mirth, was in others a Token of Sorrow. The most ordinary Ways of expressing Sorrow, were these that follow :

1. They abstain'd from Banquets and Entertainments, and banish'd from their Houses all musical Instruments, and whatever was proper to excite Pleasure, or bore an Air of Mirth and Gaiety. Thus *Admetus* in *Euripides* upon the Death of *Alcestis* (a) :

Παύσω ὃ κώμης, συμποτῶν δ' ὁμιλίας,
Στεφάνους τε, μέσαν δ' ἢ κατέϊχε πρὶν δόμους.

No more to pleasing Banquets will I run,
All Conversation with my Friends I'll shun ;
No more my Brow shall fragrant Chaplets wear,
But all the Marks of Joy shall disappear ;
No more I'll Musick hear, too weak to save
My dear *Alcestis* from the conqu'ring Grave.

H. H.

They frequented no publick Solemnities, nor appear'd in Places of Concourse, but sequestered themselves from Company, and refrain'd even from the Comforts and Conveniencies of Life. Wine was too great a Friend to Chearfulness to gain Admission into so melancholy Society ; the Light itself was odious, and nothing courted but dark Shades and lonesome Retirements, which they thought bore some Resemblance to their Misfortunes (b) : Whence *Artemidorus* lays it down as a certain Forerunner of Death, for any one to dream of a Fire's being extinguish'd during the Sicknes of any in the same Family (c).

2. They divested themselves of all Ornaments, and laid aside their Jewels, Gold, and whatever was rich and precious in their Apparel. Thus *Lycophron* describes the Women that mourn'd for *Achilles*'s Death (d) :

Γυναῖξί δ' ἔσαι τεθμὸς ἐγχώροις αἰὲ
Περθεῖν τὸν εἰνάπηχυν, Αἰακῷ τρίτον
καὶ Δωρίδῳ, πρηνῆσ' ἑαυτὴ μάχης·
καὶ μήτε χρυσῷ φαιδρὰ καλλόνειν ῥέθνη,
μήθ' ἄβροπῆνυς ἀμφιβάλλεσθαι πέπλους
κάλλῃ φορυκτές.

This to the Women shall a Custom be,
To mourn *Achilles*, third from *Æacus*,

Grandchild to *Doris*, and of largest Size ;
 To mourn *Achilles* frightful in the War,
 Not cloth'd with rich Attire of Gems and Gold,
 With glitt'ring Silks or Purple——

The Custom is frequently mention'd in the Poets, but was not peculiar to Mourners for the Dead ; being likewise, with several other Ceremonies, noted in this Chapter, practis'd by all that lamented for any great Calamity. Whence *Hecuba* had no sooner heard the Fortune assign'd to herself and *Cassandra*, but she cry'd out,

—— ῥίπτε, τεκνον, ζαδύς
 Κληίδας, καπὸ χροῦς ἐν-
 δύτων σεφῶν ἱερὸς σολμύς (a).

Throw off these rich, these consecrated Robes,
 And hallow'd Crowns——

Their mourning Garments were always black ; whence *Progne*, having Notice of *Philomela's* Death, is thus describ'd by *Ovid* (b) :

—— *velamina Progne*
Diripit ex humeris auro fulgentia lato,
Induiturque atras vestes.——

From off her Back th' embroider'd Robes she tears,
 And *Progne* now in mournful Blacks appears.

Thus likewise *Althæa*, when her Brethren were slain by *Meleager* (c) :

—— *plangore dato mœstis ululatus urbem*
Implet, & auratas mutavit vestibus atris.

She fills with piteous Plants the spacious Town,
 And 'stead of glitt'ring Robes puts Sable on.

To which Custom *Pericles* had respect when he boasted, “ That he “ had never given any Citizen Cause to put on Black (d).” Hence *Artemidorus* will have it to be a Presage of Recovery, for a sick Person to dream of black Clothes, since not those that die, but those who survive to mourn, were apparell'd in Black (e). The *Egyptians* are reported by *Servius* to have introduc'd this Custom, when they mourn'd for the Death of *Liber*, otherwise call'd *Osiris*, who was treacherously circumvented and murder'd by his Brother *Typho*. Farther, mourning Garments differ'd not from their ordinary Apparel in Colour only, but likewise in Value, as being of cheap and coarse Stuff : which may

*Texentem telam studiose ipsam offendimus,
Mediocriter vestitam veste lugubri,
Ejus anus causa, opinor, quæ erat mortua.*

We found her busy at the Loom, attir'd
In a cheap Mourning Habit, which she wore
For the old Woman's Death, as I suppose.

3. They tore, cut off, and sometimes shav'd their Hair; nor was it sufficient to deprive themselves of a small Part only, for we find *Eleära* in *Euripides* finding Fault with *Helena* for sparing her Locks, and thereby defrauding the Dead (a). This Custom is too well known to need any Confirmation by Examples. They had several Ways of disposing of their Hair: It was sometimes thrown upon the dead Body, as we learn from *Patroclus's* Funeral, where the *Grecians*, to shew their Affection and Respect to him, cover'd his Body with their Hair (b);

Θειξὶ δὲ πάντα νέκυν καλαινύον, ὥς ἐπέβαλλον
Κειρόμενοι.—

They shav'd their Heads, and cover'd with their Hair
The Body.—

Staius hath likewise observ'd the same Practice (c);

— tergoque & pectore fusam
Cesariæ ferro minuit, scissique jacentis
Obnubit tenuia ora comis.—

He cut off all the Hair that from his Head
Down to the Back and Breast was comely spread,
And cover'd with it the dead Face.—

It was likewise frequent to cast it into the Funeral Pile to be consum'd with the Body of their Friend; as *Achilles* appears to have done at *Patroclus's* Funeral (d);

Στάς ἀπάνευθε πυρῆς ξανθὴν ἀπεκείρετο χεῖτην,
τὴν γὰρ Σπέρχῃ ποταμῷ τρέφε τηλεδύωσαν.

Standing hard by the Pile, the comely Hair,
Which for *Sperchius* was before preserv'd,
He now cut off, and cast into the Flames.

Sometimes it was laid upon the Grave, as we find in *Æschylus* (a) :

Ὅρῳ τομαῖον τόνδε βάρυχον τάφῳ.

I see this Hair upon the Grave,

Canace in *Ovid* bewails her Misfortunes, because she was debarr'd from performing this Ceremony to her beloved *Misærus* :

Non mihi te licuit lacrymis perfundere iussis,

In tua non tensas ferre sepulchra comas.

'Twas not permitted me with briny Tears

To bathe thy lifeless Corpse, or bring my Hairs

Unto thy Sepulchre. —————

Some restrain this Practice to Sons, or very near Relations; but it appears by many Instances to have been common to all that thought themselves oblig'd to express their Respect, or Love to the Dead; in-somuch that, upon the Death of great Men, whole Cities and Countries were commonly shav'd.

This Practice may be accounted for two Ways; for the *Scholiast* upon *Sophocles* observes, that it was us'd partly to render the Ghost of the deceas'd Person propitious, which seems to be the Reason why they threw Hair into the Fire to burn with him, or laid it on his Body; partly that they might appear disfigur'd, and careless of their Beauty; for long Hair was look'd on as very becoming, and the *Greeks* prided themselves in it; whence they are so frequently honour'd by *Homer* with the Epithet of *καρηκομῶντες*.

It may be farther observ'd, that in solemn and public Mournings it was common to extend this Practice to their Beasts, that all Things might appear as deform'd and ugly as might be. Thus *Admetus*, upon the Death of *Alceſtis*, commands his Chariot Horses to be shorn (b) :

Τεδειπνὰ τε ζεύγυσθε, καὶ μονάμηνυκας

Πᾶντες σιδέρε' τέμνεται αὐχένων φόβῳ.

My Chariot-Horses too my Grief shall share,

Let them be shorn, cut off their comely Manes.

Thus likewise the *Thessalians* cut off their own Hair and their Horses Manes at the Death of *Pelopidas* (c) : When *Mastius* was slain in a Skirmish with the *Athenians*, the *Persians* shav'd themselves, their Horses, and their Mules (d) : But *Alexander*, as in the rest of his Actions, so herein he went beyond the rest of Mankind; for at the Death of *Hepha-*

tion, he did not only cut off the Manes of his Horses and Mules, but took down the Battlements of the City Walls, that even Towns might seem Mourners; and, instead of their former beauteous Appearance, look bald at the Funeral (a).

It may be objected indeed to what I have been speaking, that Shaving was a Sign of Joy; whereas to let their Hair grow long, was the Practice of Persons in Affliction: Hence *Joseph* is said to have been shav'd when he was deliver'd out of Prison; and *Mephibosheth*, during the Time *David* was banish'd from *Jerusalem*, let his Hair grow, but on his Return shav'd himself: Thus likewise Mariners, upon their Deliverance from Shipwreck, us'd to shave themselves: To which Practice *Juvenal* hath this Allusion (b):

—gaudent ibi vertices raso

Garrula securi narrare pericula nautæ.

And there shorn Sailors boast what they endur'd.

Whence *Artemidorus* will have Mariners that dream of having their whole Head shav'd, to be forewarn'd by the Gods, that they are to undergo very great Hazards, but to escape with Life (c). *Pliny* also in one of his Epistles interprets his Dream of cutting off his Hair, to be a Token of his Deliverance from some imminent Danger; and the Poets furnish us with several Examples to our Purpose: *Lycebron*, for Instance, thus describes a general Lamentation (d);

—πᾶς ὃ ἀνθρώπων λείψ

Εσθῆτα, προσρόπαιον ἐγχαλινύμενον,
 Αὐχμὴ πινώδης, λυπρὸν ἀμπρῶσαι εἶον.
 Κροτὸς δ' ἄκρῳ ἔῶτα καλλυνεῖ φόβῳ.
 Μνήμη παλαιῶν τηλεῖσ' ὀδυρμάτων.

In mournful Blacks shall ev'ry Soul appear,
 Each shall with loathsome Dirt his Face besmear;
 Neglected Hair shall now luxuriant grow,
 And by it's Length their bitter Passion show;
 Incessantly they shall their Loss complain,
 And all their Life be one sad mournful Scene;
 Thus they the never-dying Names shall save
 Of ancient Patriots from the conquer'd Grave.

H. H.

Plutarch, undertaking to resolve this Difficulty, reports that the Men let their Hair grow, but the Women were shav'd; it being the Fashion for Men to wear their Hair short at other Times, and for Women to suffer theirs to grow (e). But, on the contrary, it plainly appears from the Instances already produced, and many others, that the Men fre-

quently wore long Hair, which they cut off upon any great Calamity; nor can it be doubted that the Women frequently wore long Hair in Sorrow, since 'tis remark'd as a Badge of a Woman in Mourning, that she has her Hair dishevell'd, and carelessly flowing about: Thus *Ariadne* bespeaks *Theseus*:

Aspice demissos lugentis more capillos,

Et tunicas lacrymis sicut ab imbre graves.

See, like a Mourner's, my dishevell'd Hair,
Wet, as with Rain, with Tears my Robes appear.

Terence likewise, the Scene of whose Fable is laid in Greece, has thus describ'd a Woman in Mourning (a);

Texentem telam studiose ipsam offendimus,

Mediocriter vestitam veste lugubri,

Ejus quous causa, opinor, quæ erat mortua;

Sine auro tum ornatam, ita uti quæ ornantur sibi,

Nulla mala re esse expositam muliebri,

Capillus passus, prolixus, circum caput

Rejectus negligenter,——

We found her at the painful Loom employ'd,
Drest in a Mourning Habit, which she wore
For the old Woman's Death, as I suppose:
She was not trick'd up in a gaudy Sute,
Nor dress'd in Robes of Velvet, or of Gold,
Nor patch'd or painted to attract the Eyes
Of her Gallants, but with dishevell'd Hair
Carelessly o'er her Shoulders thrown.——

Wherefore two Things may be observ'd for the Solution of this Difficulty:

First, The Manner of being shav'd: For tho' to be shav'd, or trimmed by Barbers, was a Token of Chearfulness, yet those that cut off their own Hair, and that in a negligent and careless Manner, were look'd on as Mourners: Whence tho' *Artemidorus* reports, that no Man under the Pressure of Misfortunes was ever shav'd (b); yet he adds in the same Chapter, that for a Man to dream of shaving himself, was a Presage of some great Calamity; because Men in such Circumstances were wont to shave themselves.

Secondly, The different Fashions of several Nations are to be consider'd: For where it was customary to wear short Hair, there the Length of Hair was a Token of Mourning; but where long Hair was in Fashion, there Mourners shav'd themselves. 'Tis reported by *Herodotus* (c) and others (d) that the *Argians* having lost *Thyrea* to the *Spartans*

made a Decree, that their whole City should cut their Hair, and never permit it to grow again to it's accustomed Length, till they recover'd that Place. The *Spartans*, on the contrary, using to wear their Hair short, put forth a Decree, that from that Time they should nourish their Hair, in Reproach to their Enemies. Now in these Cities, when the Fashion was to wear short Hair, then Mourners were distinguish'd by long Hair; but, long Hair coming into Fashion, Mourners were shav'd.

4. 'Twas frequent for Persons overwhelm'd with Grief, and unable to bear up under it, to throw themselves upon the Earth, and roll in the Dust; and the more dirty the Ground was, the better it serv'd to defile them, and to express their Sorrow and Dejection. Thus *Oeneus* behaves himself upon the Death of his Son *Melaeger* (a);

Pulvere canitiem genitor, vultusque seniles;

Fœdat humi fusos, spatiosumque increpat ævum.

His hoary Head, and furrow'd Cheeks besmears
With noisom Dirt, and chides the tedious Years.

Priam in *Homer* represents his lamenting of *Hector* in the same Po-
fure (b);

Οὐ γὰρ πω μύσαν ὥστε ὑπὸ βλεφάρεσσιν ἐμοῖσιν,
Εξ ἧ σῆς ὑπὸ χερσίν ἐμδς πᾶσις ἄλεσε θυμόν.
Ἀλλ' αἰεὶ σενάχω, καὶ κήδεα μυρία πείσσω,
Αὐλῆς ἐν χόρτοισι κυλινδόμεν κατὰ κόπρον.

Soft Sleep has never clos'd these watchful Eyes,
Since my dear Son became your fatal Prize;
But Day and Night I mourn my wretched Fate,
And on my countless Suff'rings ruminate,
Welt'ring in ev'ry filthy Place.——

H. H.

5. They cover'd their Heads with Ashes. Thus *Achilles* upon the
News of *Patroclus's* Death (c),

Ἀμφοτέρῃσι δὲ χερσίν ἐλὼν κόνιν αἰθαλόεσσαν,
Χεύατο κακκεφαλῆς.——

Then taking Ashes up with both his Hands,
He threw them on his Head.——

These Customs were likewise practis'd in the Eastern Countries, whence we find so frequent Mention of Penitents lying upon the Ground, and putting on Sackcloth and Ashes.

6. When any Occasion requir'd their Attendance abroad, their Heads were muffled up, as appears from these Verses in the Epigram (a) ;

..... ὅς ἐστιν ἀμφοτέρωθεν
 Πάματα καὶ δεικνύουσιν. ———

Her Face wrap'd in a Veil declar'd her Woes.

Whence *Orestes*, persuading *Electra* to leave off Mourning, bids her be unveil'd ;

—— ἀνακάλυπτο, ὃ κατ' ἔγνωλεν πόθος,
 Ἐκ δ' ἀκρύων τ' ἀπελθ'.

Pull off your Veil, dear Sister, and forbear
 This Grief. ———

Nor was this the Fashion of Women only ; for *Adrastus* came to *Thebes* after his Loss at *Thebes*, κατ' ἑρῆς χλαυδίσσει, wherefore *Thebes* speaks thus to him (b) :

Λέγ', ἐκκάλυπται κράτα, παρὰς γένος.

Speak out, unfold your Head, refrain your Tears.

Thus likewise *Haman*, upon the Defeat of his Plot against *Mordecai*, is said to have *hasted to his House of Mourning, and having his Head cover'd* (c) ; and the Jews are represented by *Jeremy* as being *asham'd and confounded, and covering their Heads* in the Time of a grievous Famine (d).

7. Another Token of Dejection was, to decline their Heads upon their Hands. Whence *Helan* speaks thus of the calamitous *Trojans* (e) ;

Ἐπὶ δ' ἐκαστὸν χεῖρας ἵθυκαν.

They with their Hands support their drooping Head.

8. They went softly, to express their Faintness, and Loss of Strength and Spirits. Thus *Abah*, King of *Israel*, being terrify'd, by the Judgment *Elias* denounce'd against him, *fasted, and lay in Sackcloth, and went softly* (f) : And *Henkiab*, King of *Judab*, being told by the Prophet, that he was never to recover of a Distemper he then lay under, amongst other Expressions of Sorrow hath this : *I shall go softly all my Years in the Bitterness of my Soul* (g).

9. They beat their Breasts and Thighs, and tare their Flesh, making Furrows in their Faces with their Nails: which Actions, tho' practis'd sometimes by Men, were more frequent among Women, whose Passions are more violent and ungovernable. Thus *Nonnus* represents them (a),

— φιλοθρήνα ὃ γυναικῶν

Στυγνὸς ἐρευθίδωσαν ἄνυξ ἄμυσσε παρῆν.

Καὶ ῥοδέοις ἐκδρυσσαν ἐκίσια δάκτυλα μαζοῖς.

Women with Nails their Breasts and Faces tear,

And thus their boundless headstrong Grief declare.

In the same Manner *Anna* bewails her Sister *Dido's* unexpected Death (b);

Audiit exanimis, trepidoque exterrita cursu,

Unguibus ora soror fœdant & pectora palmis.

Her Sister hearing, speeds with frightful Haste,

Tears her soft Cheeks, and beats her panting Breast.

Many Instances of this Nature occur in both Languages, the Custom being generally practis'd both in *Greece* and at *Rome*. *Salax* thought fit, amongst other Extravagancies at Funerals, to forbid this (c). The *Lacedæmonians* bore the Death of their private Relations with great Constancy and Moderation; but, when their Kings dy'd, had a barbarous Custom of meeting in vast Numbers, where Men, Women, and Slaves, all mix'd together, tore their Flesh from their Foreheads with Pins and Needles. The Design of this was not only to testify their Sorrow, but also to gratify the Ghosts of the Dead, who were thought to feed upon, and to delight in nothing so much as Blood, as *Servius* has prov'd from *Varro* (d).

10. They accus'd and cursed their Gods: Hence *Statius* (e):

— iniquas rabidis pulsare querelis

Caricolas solum erit. —

T' inveigh against the Gods with justest Rage,

And call them envious, may our Grief assuage.

Nor was this the Effect of extravagant Passion, or practis'd only by Persons of weaker Understandings in the Extremity of their Sorrow, but frequently done by *Men* of all Qualities, and that in the most grave

— *primævique senes, & longo examine matres*
Invidiam planxere Deis. —

The aged Sires, and Dames in num'rous Crouds
 Bewail, and curse the Envy of the Gods.

For, the Gods being thought subject to human Passions, 'twas very easy and natural for Men under Misfortunes to impeach them of Cruelty or Envy. Thus, when *Hylas*, *Hercules's* Darling, perish'd in the Waters, the Deities residing there were said to have been enamour'd with him, and to have stol'n him; and when any great and publick Blessing was taken away, the immortal Beings were said to envy Mankind so great Felicity. Many Instances might be produc'd to this Purpose, whereof I will only set down that remarkable one of *Marcellus* in *Virgil* (a):

Offendent terris hunc tantum Fata, neque ultra
Esse sinent: Nimum vobis Romana propago
Visa potens, superi propria hæc si dona fuissent.

This Wonder of the World the Gods but shew,
 Heav'n were improv'ish'd, thou'd he stay below:
 Bless'd to Excess had been the Roman State,
 Had Heav'n these Gifts as lasting made as great. H. H.

Sometimes their impious Rage against the Gods proceeded to the pulling down their Altars, and sacking their Temples; an Example whereof we have in *Neoptolemus*, who being inform'd that *Apollo* was accessary to his Father's Death, took up a Resolution to demolish the *Delphick* Temple, and perish'd in the Attempt (b).

11. Another Custom they had of drawling out their Words, and with Tears repeating the Interjection, *ê, ê, ê, ê*. Hence (if we may credit the *Scholiast* (c) upon *Aristophanes*) Funeral Lamentations were called *êλεγος*, Elegies.

12. When publick Magistrates, or Persons of Note dy'd, or any publick Calamity happen'd, all publick Meetings were intermitted, the Schools of Exercise, Baths, Shops, Temples, and all Places of Concourse were shut up, and the whole City put on a Face of Sorrow: Thus we find the *Athenians* bewailing their Loss of *Socrates*, not long after they had sentenc'd him to Death (d).

13. They had Mourners and Musicians to increase the Solemnity: Which Custom seems to have been practis'd in most Parts of the World, The *Roman Præfica* are remarkable enough, and the Eastern Countries observ'd the same Practice; whence we find mention of *Mourners going about the Streets*, and *Mourning Women*, in several Places of the sa.

wives to consider, and call for the Mourning Women, that they may make haste, and take up a Wailing for us, that our Eyes may run down with Tears, and our Eye-lids gush out with Waters (a). These Homer calls *ῥήνων ἐξάρχουσες*, because they endeavour'd to excite Sorrow in all the Company by beating their Breasts, and counterfeiting all the Actions of the most real and passionate Grief. They are likewise term'd *δοιδοί*, *περσῶδοι*, &c. from the Songs they sung at Funerals; of these there seem to have been three, one in the Procession, another at the Funeral-Pile, a third at the Grave: These were commonly term'd *ὀλοφυρμοί*, *λίνοι*, *ἄλινοι*, tho' the two last seem not peculiar in Funeral-Songs, but applicable to others: We find them sometimes call'd *ἰάλεμοι*, from *Ialemus*, one of *Clio's* Sons, and the first Author of these Compositions; for the same Reason Songs at Marriages were term'd *ὕμναισι*, from his Brother *Hymeneus*: Funeral Dirges were also call'd *τάλεμοι*, whence *τλημίζειν* is expounded in *Hesychius* by *θρηνεῖν*, to mourn; and *τλημίσειαι* is another Name for Mourning Women: Hence *τὰ ταλεμῶδη* signify empty and worthless Things, and *ταλήμυ ψυχρότερον* is proverbially apply'd to insipid and senseless Compositions (b); for the Songs used on these Occasions were usually very mean and trifling: whence that Saying of *Plautus* (c):

Hæ non sunt nugæ, non enim mortuaria.

These are no Trifles, since they're not compos'd
For th' hideous Chanting of a Funeral.

What the Design of their Musical Instruments was, is not agreed; some will have them intended to affright the Ghosts and Furies from the Soul of the deceas'd Person; others, agreeably to *Plato* and *Pythagoras's* Notions, would have them to signify the Soul's Departure into Heaven, where they fancy'd the Motion of the Spheres made a Divine and Eternal Harmony; others say, they were design'd to divert the Sorrow of the dead Man's surviving Relations: Lastly, the most probable Opinion seems to be, that they were intended to excite Sorrow, which was the Reason that the *Lyra* was never used at such Solemnities, as being consecrated to *Apollo*, and fit only for *Pæans* and cheerful Songs. *Admetus* indeed commands the Flute likewise to be banish'd out of his City upon the Death of *Alcebis* (d):

Αὐλῶν δὴ μὴ κατ' ἄστυ, μὴ λύρας κτύπον
Ἔσω, σελήνας δ' ὥδε κ' ἐκπληρεμένας,
Οὐ γὰρ τιν' ἄλλον φίλτερον θάψω νεκρὸν
Τῷ δ'.

Let not the pleasing Flute, nor sprightly Lyre,
Till *Phæbe* twelve Times has repair'd her Horns,

Be in the mournful City heard, for I

A Corse more dear than this shall ne'er inter:

H. H.

But hence we are only to collect, that the Antients had different Sorts of Flutes, some of which were proper in Times of Mirth, others in Times of Mourning; for it appears by many Examples, that some of their αὐλὴ, or *tibia*, were of all other Instruments the most common at Funerals, Hence *Statius* in his Description of young *Archamorus's* Funeral (a):

Tam signum luctus cornu graves magis adhaere

Tibia, cui teneros sustam traducere manus

Lege Phrygum mæsta: Pelopem monstrasse ferebant

Exequiale sacrum, carmenque minoribus umbris

Utile. —

In doleful Notes the *Phrygian* Flute complains,

And moves our Pity with it's doleful Strains:

The *Phrygian* Flute of old us'd to convey

The Infant-Souls on their unerring Way;

Which Custom into th' World first *Pelops* brought,

And th' unknown Use of Fun'ral Dirges taught;

Dirges, whose pow'rful Sounds were thought to speed,

And smoothe the Passage of the younger Dead.

H. H.

Some indeed will have the *Lydian* Flutes more suitable to Funerals, the *Phrygian*, of which *Statius* speaks, to agree better with Mirth and Cheerfulness, and to be used only at Funerals of Infants or Youths, which were ordinarily solemniz'd in a manner quite different from those of grown Persons, which they think confirm'd by *Statius's* Words; but as these may bear a quite different Sense, not the Instruments, but the Song whereof he there speaks, being proper for the Funerals of Persons under Age; so it appears farther, that the most common Flutes used at these Solemnities were of the *Phrygian* Fashion, tho' perhaps neither the *Lydian*, nor some others might be wholly excluded: Hence *nénia*, which is the *Latin* Word for Funeral-Dirges, seems to have been deriv'd from the *Greek* νenia, which is used by *Hippanax*; and (however *Saliger* deduces it from the *Hebrew*) affirm'd by *Pollux* to be of *Phrygian* Original; νηυπιζειν is of the same Descent, and expounded by *ἑρνεῖν*. The *Carian* Flute was likewise used on these Occasions, whence the Musicians and Mourners were term'd *Καρίαι* (b), and *Καεὶκὴ μῦσα* is a Funeral-Song; now this was the very same with that us'd by the *Phrygians*, from whom *Pollux* tells us it was first

Καὶ σὺν ἀπλάσει, καὶ πικρῇ τῇ Μύσῳ.

He beats his Breasts, and sounds the *Myxan* Flute.

The last is the *Lydian* Flute, which, as *Plutarch* reports out of *Aristophanes*, was first apply'd to this Use by *Olympus* at *Pytho*'s Death (a).

CH A P. VI.

Of their Manner of Interring and Burning the Dead.

IT would be needless to prove that both Interring and Burning were practis'd by the *Grecians*; yet whether of these Customs has the best Claim to Antiquity, may perhaps admit of a Dispute. But it seems probable, that however the latter *Grecians* were better affected to the Way of Burning, yet the Custom of the most primitive Ages was to inter their Dead. 'Tis plain the *Athenians*, however afterwards addicted to Burning, us'd Interment in *Cecrop*'s Reign, if any Credit may be allow'd to *Cicero* (b); and the *Scholiast* upon *Homer* (c) positively affirms, that Interring was more antient than Burning, which he reports to have been first introduc'd by *Hercules*. However it appears that the Custom of Burning was receiv'd in the *Trojan* War, and both then and afterwards generally practis'd by the *Grecians*: infomuch that when *Lucian* enumerates the various Methods us'd by different Nations in disposing of their Dead, he expressly assigns Burning to *Greece*, and Interment to the *Persians* (d). But this is not so to be understood, as if the *Grecians* in the Ages he speaks of never interr'd their Dead, or thought it unlawful so to do, but only that the other Custom was more generally receiv'd by them, *Socrates* in *Plato*'s *Phædon* speaks expressly of both Customs; and it appears that some of them look'd on the Custom of Burning as cruel and inhuman; whence a Poet cited by *Eustathius* (e) introduces a Person exclaiming against it, and calling out upon *Prometheus* to haste to his Assistance, and steal, if possible, from Mortals the Fire he had given them. The Philosophers were divided in their Opinions about it; those who thought human Bodies were compound'd of Water, Earth, or the four Elements, inclin'd to have them committed to the Earth: But *Heraclitus* with his Followers, imagining Fire to be the first Principle of all Things, affected Burning. For every one thought it the most reasonable Method, and most a-

Eustathius (a) assigns two Reasons why Burning came to be of so general Use in *Greece*: The first is, because Bodies were thought to be unclean after the Soul's Departure, and therefore were purify'd by Fire; whence *Euripides* speaks of *Clytemnestra*:

— πῦρ καθήγνισαι δέμας.

The Body's purify'd by Fire. —

The second Reason is, That the Soul, being separated from the gross and unactive Matter, might be at Liberty, to take it's Flight to the Heavenly Mansions (b). Wherefore the *Indian* Philosophers, out of Impatience to expect the Time appointed by Nature, us'd to consume themselves in a Pile erected for that Purpose, and so loose their Souls from their Confinements. A remarkable Example hereof we have in *Calanus*, who follow'd *Alexander* out of *India*, and, finding himself indisposed, obtained that King's Leave to prevent the Growth of his Distemper, by committing himself to the Flames (c). *Hercules* was purify'd from the Dregs of Earth by the same Means before his Reception into Heaven. And it seems to have been the common Opinion, that Fire was an admirable Expedient to refine the Cœlestial Part of Man, by separating from it all gross and corruptible Matter, and the impure Qualities which attend it. Thus *Scylla*, being slain by *Hercules*, was rais'd from the Dead, and render'd immortal by her Father *Phorcys* (d):

— ἦν αἰθεὶς πατὴρ

Σάρκα καὶ αἶθων λοφίσσιν δομήσατο,

Λέπτεσσιν ἐτρέμεσαν ἑδάσαν θεάν.

— into whose stiffen'd Limbs

Phorcys by quick'ning Flames new Life inspir'd,

And rais'd her high above the Fears of Death.

The Piles whereon they burnt dead Bodies were call'd *συραί*. They seem not to have been erected in any constant Form, or to have consisted of the same Materials; these being vary'd as Time and Place, and other Circumstances requir'd.

The Body was plac'd upon the Top of the Pile, but was rarely burn'd without Company; for, besides the various Animals they threw upon the Pile, we seldom find a Man of Quality consum'd without a Number of Slaves or Captives: Besides these, all Sorts of precious Ointments and Perfumes were pour'd into the Flames. Many Instances of this Nature might be produc'd out of the antient Poets, but I shall only set down the following one out of *Homer's* Description of *Patroclus's* Funeral (e):

Ποίησαν δὲ πυρὴν ἐκατόμποδον ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα;
 Ἐν ᾗ πυρὴν ὑπ᾿ αὐτὴν νεκρὸν θέσαν ἀχρυμένοι κῆρ;
 Πολλὰ δὲ ἱφία μῦλα, καὶ εἰλίποδας ἑλίπας βῆς
 Πρύθρα πυρῆς ἔδερόν τε, καὶ ἄμρεπον· ἐκ δ' ἄρα πάντων
 Δημόν ἐλὼν ἐκάλυψε νέκυν μεγάλθυμ· Ἀχιλλεὺς
 Ἐς πόδας ἐκ κεφαλῆς, περὶ δὲ δρεῖδ σώματα νῆσι.
 Ἐν δ' ἐτίθει μέλιτ' καὶ ἀλείφατ' ἀμφοφορίας
 Πρὸς λέχεα κλίνων· τίσσεας δ' ἐλαιούχοντας ἱππῆς
 Ἐσσυμένους ἐνέβαλλε πυρὴν μεγάλην σοναχίζων·
 Ἐννία τῶν γε ἀνακτῶν τραπέζης κύνες ἦσαν,
 Καὶ μὲν τῶν ἐνέβαλλε πυρὴν δύο διεστομύσας.
 Δώδεκα δὲ Τρώων μεγαθύμων ἕτας ἐδωλὺς
 Χαλκῶ δ' ἠϊόων.

A spacious Pile the mournful *Grecians* made,
 And on the Top his comely Body laid ;
 Next stripp'd the Sheep and Oxen there, that stood
 In solemn Ranks before the flaming Wood.
 But brave *Achilles*, as above the rest
 Concern'd, more Signs of Care and Love exprest'd ;
 Straight off the Victims all the Fat he slay'd,
 And over all the much-lov'd Corpse it spread :
 Then plac'd their Carcasses around the Pile,
 And Vessels fill'd with Honey and with Oil ;
 Next deeply groaning, with becoming Haste,
 Four sprightly Coursers on the Pile he cast ;
 Nine lovely Dogs he at his Table fed,
 And two of these upon the Pile he laid ;
 Twelve valiant *Trojan* Captives next he slew,
 And on the Pile the mangled Bodies threw.

H. H.

The Reason why the Body was cover'd with the Fat of Beasts was, that it might consume the sooner (a) ; for it was look'd on as a singular Blessing to be quickly reduc'd to Ashes : Wherefore in Funerals, where Numbers of Bodies were burnt on the same Pile, they were so dispos'd that those of moist Constitutions, and easy to be inflam'd, being proportion'd to Bodies of contrary Tempers, should increase the Vehemence of the Fire ; whence *Plutarch* (b) and *Macrobius* (c) have observ'd, that for ten Men it was the Custom to put in one Woman.

Soldiers usually had their Arms burnt with them : Wherefore *El-*

Αλλὰ με καυῆσαι σὺν ταύχουσιν ἄνω μοι ἔστω.

Let all the Arms I have be with me burnt.

It seems likewise to have been the Custom for the Garments they had worn in the Time of their Lives, to be thrown into the Pile. Some were so solicitous about this, that they gave Orders in their last Wills to have it done : And the *Athenians* were, as in all other Observances which related any way to Religion, so in this the most profuse of all the *Grecians* ; inasmuch that some of their Law-givers were forced to restrain them, by severe Penalties, from defrauding the Living by their Liberality to the Dead. *Lycurgus* allow'd nothing to be bury'd with Bodies beside one red Garment, or, at the most, a few Branches of Olive (a) ; nor these neither, except the Person had been eminent for Virtue and Fortitude. *Solon* allow'd three Garments and one Ox (b). At *Charonea* those that were convicted of Extravagance at Funerals, were punish'd as soft and effeminate by the *Censors of Women* (c).

The Pile was lighted by some of the dead Person's nearest Relations or Friends, who made Prayers and Vows to the Winds to assist the Flames, that the Body might quickly be reduc'd to Ashes. Thus *Achilles*, having fir'd *Patroclus's* Pile, intercedes with *Boreas* and *Zephyrus* to fly to his Assistance with their joint-forces (d) ;

Οὐδὲ πῦρ ἢ Πατρόκλου καίετο τεθνηῶτα,
 ἔνθ' αὖτ' ἄλλ' ἐνόησε ποδάρκης δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς,
 Στάς ἀπέκλυθε πῦρ ἡς δοιοῖς ἦράτ' ἀέμοισι
 Βορὴν καὶ Ζεφύρῳ, καὶ ὑπέσχετο ἱερὰ καλά,
 Πολλὰ δ' ἢ καὶ σπένδων χρυσίῳ δέπναι λιτάνευεν
 Ἐλθέμεν, ὅρρα τάχιστα πῦρ φλεγεθῆαι το νεκρὸν,
 Τλη τ' ἐωυόντο καίμεναι.

When we perceiv'd the Flames t' abate their Force,
 Unable to consume th' unhappy Corpse,
 Some Distance from the Pile the Hero stands,
 The golden Calice fills his royal Hands,
 And there to *Boreas* and to *Zeph'rus* pray'd,
 And with each Deity solemn Cov'nants made,
 That grateful Victims should their Altars stain,
 And choicest Off'rings load the joyful Fane,
 If with their kinder Blasts they'd fan the Fire,
 And with new Force the languid Flames inspire,
 That they to Earth the Corpse might soon reduce.

H. H.

At the Funerals of Generals and great Officers, the Soldiers, with the rest of the Company, made a solemn Procession three Times round the Pile, to express their Respect to the Dead. Thus *Homer's Grecians* (e) :

Οἱ δὲ τρεῖς περὶ νεκρὸν εὐτειχας ἤλασαν ἵππους
Μυρόμενοι.——

They drive their Horses thrice about the Dead
Lamenting.——

This Action was call'd in Greek *περιδρομή*, in Latin, *decurſio* ; we find frequent Mention of it in the Poets. Statius has elegantly deſcrib'd it in his Poem on the Theban War (a) :

*Tunc ſeptem numero turbas (centenus ubique
Surgit eques) verſis ducunt inſignibus ipſi
Grajugenzæ reges, luſtrantque more ſiniſtro
Orbe rogam, & ſtantes inclinant pulvere flammas :
Ter curvos egere ſinus, illiſque telis
Tela ſonant ; quater horrendum pepulere fragorem
Arma, quater mollem ſamularum brachia plantum.*

Seven goodly Troops the ſad Decurſion made,
In each of which an hundred Horſe appear'd,
And theſe (a Poſture ſitting thoſe that mourn'd)
The Captains led with Enſigns downwards turn'd :
Towards the Left they march ; on th' Pile they gaze,
Whiſt Clouds of Duſt the thronging Horſes raiſe,
Whoſe much-prevailing Force depreſs the riſing Blaze :
Three Times they all the burning Pile ſurround,
Whiſt Darts ſtrike Darts, and make a frightful Sound ;
Four Times the Din of clashing Arms invades
The ſuff'ring Air, four Times the mournful Maids
Loudly lament, each ſtrikes her panting Breſt,
And Pity in us moves for the Deceas'd.

H. H.

Where it may be obſerv'd, that in this *Decurſion* the Motion was towards the Left-Hand, by which they expreſs'd Sorrow ; as, on the contrary, Motion to the Right was a Sign of Joy. Thus the ſame Author (b) ;

——— *Hic luſtus abolere, novique
Funeris auſpiciuſ wates, quanquam omnia ſentit
Vera, jubet, dextro gyro, & vibrantibus baſtis
Huc redeant.*———

The Prieſt, tho' by the boding Signs he knew
Some dire Calamity wou'd ſure enſue,

And moving tow'rd's the Right with brandish'd Arms
Back to return.———

H. H.

These Motions were accompany'd with Shouts and Sound of Trumpet, as we learn from *Valerius Flaccus* (a) :

*Inde ter armatos Minyis referentibus orbes
Concussi tremere regi, ter inborruit æther
Luctificum clangente tuba, jecere supremo
Tum clamore faces.———*

Three Marches round the Pile the *Minyæ* make ;
Their weighty Strides the well-pil'd Structure shake :
Thrice doleful Sounds from hollow Tubes are sent ;
The Clangor wounds the troubled Firmament ;
With Torches next accompany'd with Shouts,
They light the Pile.———

H. H.

Which last Words seem to intimate the *Decurſion*'s being made before the Pile was lighted ; whereas it appears from other Authors to have been made whilst the Pile was burning : Thus *Virgil* tells us in express Words (b) ;

*Ter circum accensos cinēi fulgentibus armis
Decurrere rogos, ter mæſtum funeris ignem
Luſtravere in equis, ululatusque ore dedere.*

Well-arm'd thrice round the Pile they march'd on Foot,
Thrice round it rode, and with a dismal Shout
Survey'd the rolling Flames.———

During the Time the Pile was burning, the dead Perſon's Friends ſtood by it pouring forth Libations of Wine, and calling upon the Deceas'd. Thus *Achilles* attended all Night at *Patroclus*'s Funeral (c) :

——— Καὶ πάννυχ' ὦκ' Ἀχιλλεύς
Χρυσέκ' ἐκ κρητῆρ', ἔχων δέπας ἀμφικύπελλον,
Οἶνον ἀφυσάμεν' χάμαδις χέει, δαΐει δ' ὕγαιαν,
Ψυχὴν κελύσκων Πάρις κληῖ' δαίλοιο.
All Night divine *Achilles* does attend
At the ſad Funeral of his dear Friend.

His pious Off'ring thus the Hero paid,
Calling upon the *Manes* of the Dead.

H. H.

When the Pile was burnt down, and the Flames had ceas'd, they extinguish'd the Remains of the Fire with Wine ; which being done, they collected the Bones and Ashes. Thus *Homer* relates of the *Trojans* at *Hector's* Funeral (a) :

Πρῶτον μὲν κατὰ πυρκαϊὴν σείσαν αἶθοπι οἶνω
Πᾶσαν, ὅποσον ἔπαισχε πυρὸς μὲν αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
Ὅσα λευκὰ λείγοντο κασίγνητοι ἑταερί τε.

About the Pile the thronging People came,
And with black Wine quench'd the remaining Flame ;
His Brothers then, and Friends search'd every-where,
And gather'd up his snowy Bones with Care.

Mr Congreve.

From which Words it appears, that this Office was perform'd by near Relations. To which Practice *Tibullus* likewise alludes :

————— *Non hic mihi mater,
Quæ legat in matris ossa perusta sinus.*

Nor was my dear indulgent Mother by,
Who to her Breast my mould'ring Bones wou'd lay.

The Bones were sometimes wash'd with Wine, and (which commonly follow'd Washing) anointed with Oil. *Agamemnon* is introduc'd by *Homer* informing *Achilles* how this Ceremony had been perform'd to him (b) :

Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ σε φλῆξ ἥνυσιν Ἡραΐσιοι
Ἡῶθεν δὴ το λείγομεν λευκ' ὀσέ', Ἀχιλλεῦ,
Οἶνω ἐν ἀκρήτῳ καὶ ἀλείφασι. —

But when the Flame your Body had consum'd,
With Oils and Odours we your Bones perfum'd,
And wash'd with unmix'd Wine. —

Patroclus's Remains were inclos'd in Fat (c) :

Κλαίοντες δ' ἑτάριοι ἐννέῳ ὀσέα λευκὰ
Ἐλλεγον ἐς χρυσέην φιάλην καὶ δίπλακα δημόν.

It may here be demanded, how the Reliques of the Body were distinguish'd from those of the Beasts and Men burnt with it? In Answer to this Enquiry (omitting those groundless Stories of the Stone *Amiantus*, and *Indian Hemp*, which could not be consum'd by Fire) I shall produce two Instances, whereby it appears the Method they took to effect this, was by placing the Body in the Middle of the Pile, whereas the Men and Beasts burnt with it lay on the Sides. Thus *Achilles* tells the *Grecians*, it would be easy to discover the Remains of *Patroclus* (a):

Πρῶτον μὲν κατὰ πυρκαϊὴν σβέσαιτ' αἰδοπι οἶνον
 Πᾶσαν, ὅπως ἐπισχεῖ πυρὸς μὲν· ἀτὰρ ἔπειτα
 Ὅσα Πατρύκλω Μενoitιάδαο λέγωμεν.

Εὖ διαγιγνώσκοντες, λειψεδέα ἣ τέτυκται,
 Ἐν μίσσει γ' ἕκατο πυρῇ, τοὶ δ' ἄλλοι ἀνθρώπων
 Ἐσχατὴ καίοντ' ἐπιμῖξ ἵπποι τε καὶ ἄνδρες.

First with black Wine extinguish all the Flames,
 Quench ev'ry glowing Cinder that remains;
 Then let us gather up, 'tis eas'y done,
 The unmix'd Bones of brave *Menatius*' Son.
 Your nicer Care need not be here express'd;
 You'll soon distinguish his from all the rest:
 For in the midst o' th' Pile his Corpse was plac'd,
 Whilst Men and Beasts, promiscuously cast,
 Lay frying on the outward Parts. —————

H. H.

Achilles's Bones are said to have been distinguish'd the same Way (b):

Δὴ τότε πυρκαϊὴν οἶνον σβέσαν, ὅσα δ' αὐτῆ
 φαίνεται λειψεδέως· ἐπεὶ ἔχ' ἐτέρωθεν ὕμωτα
 Ἦν, ἀλλ' οἷα γίγαντο ἀταρέ. ἔδ' ἔμιν ἄλλα
 Σὺν κείνοισι ἑμέμικτο, ἐπεὶ βόες, ἠδὲ καὶ ἵπποι
 Καὶ παῖδες Τρώων μίγδα κταμένοιισι καὶ ἄλλοις
 Βαίον ἄνωθε κέοντο περὶ νέκυν· ὅς δ' ἐνὶ μέσσοις
 Ριπῇ ὑφ' Ἡφαίστιο δειδμημένον οἶον ἔκατο.

When the remaining Flames they'd quench'd with Wine,
 Which were the Hero's Bones was plainly seen;
 Not like the rest which fell his Sacrifice,
 But of a larger and gigantick Size;
 Nor could his Bones be with the Vulgar mixt,

There burnt some Distance from the nobler Dead,
Who in the midst o' th' Pile alone was laid. H. H.

The Bones thus discover'd, they seem to have gather'd the Ashes which lay close to them; nor does it appear there was any other Way to distinguish the Remains of the Men from common Ashes.

The Bones and Ashes, thus collected, were repositd in Urns, call'd *κάπται*, *φιάλαι*, *κρῶσι*, *λάρνακες*, *ὀσοθήκαι*, *ὀσοδοχεῖα*, *σοροί*, &c. The Matter they consistd of was different, either Wood, Stone, Earth, Silver or Gold, according to the Quality of the Deceas'd. When Persons of eminent Virtue died, their Urns were frequently adorn'd with Flowers and Garlands; but the general Custom seems to have been to cover them with Cloths till they were deposited in the Earth, that the Light might not approach them. This is particularly remark'd in *Homer's* Funerals, as when he speaks of *Hector's* Bones (a):

Καὶ τὰ γὰρ χρυσεῖν εἰς λάρνακα θῆκαν ἐλόντες,
Πορφύρεοις πέπλοισι καλύφαντες μαλακῶσιν.

— An Urn of Gold was brought
Wrapp'd in soft Purple Palls, and richly wrought;
In this the sacred Ashes were interr'd.

The same Ceremony was perform'd towards *Patroclus's* Urn in the preceding *Iliad*:

Εν κλισίῃσι δ' ἔθεντες ἐνθ' λιτὲ καλύφαν.

Within the Tent his costly Urn was laid,
And over it a Linnen-cloth was spread.

Concerning their Interment it may be observ'd, that their Bodies lay in their Coffins with the Faces upwards, it being thought more proper, and perhaps more conducive to the Welfare of the Deceas'd, to have their Faces towards Heaven, the Abode of the Cœlestial Gods, and Fountain of Light, than the dark Mansions of the Infernal Deities: Whence *Diogenes the Cynick*, being ask'd in what Posture he would be interr'd, answer'd, *εἰς πρόσωπον*, with my Face downwards; the Reason of which being demanded of him, he reply'd, that in a short Time the World would be turn'd upside down (b); which Answer seems design'd to ridicule the *Grecian* Superstition in this Point.

It may be observ'd farther, that the Heads of the deceas'd Persons were so plac'd in the Grave, that they might look towards the Rising-Sun (c). *Plutarch* informs us indeed, that the *Mæarenians* placed their

herein to be the same with the rest of the *Greeks*, towards the West (a); and *Ælian*, as far as concerns the *Athenians*, agrees with him (b): But it must be consider'd, that to situate the Face so as it should look toward the Rising-Sun, 'twas necessary the Head should lie towards the West (whence also the Head, or uppermost Part of the Sepulchre, being to face the Rising-Sun, was likewise placed at the West-End.

Before I conclude this Chapter, it will not be improper to add that the *Megarensians* commonly put two, three, or four Carcasses into the same Sepulchre; but at *Athens* one Sepulchre, much less one Coffin or Urn, seldom contain'd above one Carcase (c); which seems to have been commonly observ'd by the rest of the *Greeks*; only those that were join'd by near Relation or Affection, were usually bury'd together, it being thought inhuman to part those in Death, whom no Accidents of Life could separate. Many Examples of this Nature occur in antient Writers. Hence *Agathias's* Epigram concerning two Twins:

Εἷς δὴ ἀδελφὸς δὴ ἐπὶ χεῖ τάφῳ, ἐν δὲ ἐπίσχον
 Ημᾶρ καὶ γενεῆς οἱ δύο καὶ θανάτου.

Two Brothers lie interr'd within this Urn,
 Both dy'd together, as together born.

Lovers thought this no small Accession to their Happiness: *Thibet's* last Request was, that she might be interr'd with *Pyramus* (d):

Hoc tamen amborum verbis estote rogati,
 O multum miseri meus illiusque parentes;
 Ut, quos certus amor, quos hora novissima junxit,
 Componi tumulo non invidetis eodem.

At length, our thrice unhappy Parents, hear,
 And grant us this our last most earnest Pray'r;
 That we, whom Love and Death together join'd,
 As both one Fate, one common Tomb may find.

H. H.

Admetus in *Euripides* declares his Resolution to lie in the same Coffin with his Wife *Alceftis* (e):

Ἐν ταῖσιν αὐταῖς καὶ μ' ἐπισκήψω κείνου
 Σοὶ τε θείναι πλεονέξω.

Close by thy Side I'll in thy Urn be laid.

Patroclus, appearing after Death to *Achilles*, begs of him, that he

And when *Achilles* was dead, we find the *Grecians* put the Ashes of his Friend *Antilochus* in the same Urn with his ; but those of *Patroclus* they not only reposit in the same Vessel, but mingled them together. Thus the Ghost of *Agamemnon* tells him at their Meeting in the Shades below (a) ;

Εν τῷ τοι κείται λευκ' ὄσέα, παίδιμ' Ἀχιλλεύ,
Μίγδα δ' Πατρόκλω Μενoitιάδαο θανόντι. •
Χρῆς δ' Ἀντιλόχοιο, τὸν ἔξοχα τίς ἀπάντων
Τῶν ἄλλων ἐτάρων μετὰ Πατρόκλῳ γε θανόντα.

Within this Urn your sad Remains are laid,
Mixt with the Bones of your *Patroclus* dead :
In the same Urn *Antilochus* doth lie,
His Bones not mix'd with yours, but plac'd hard by ;
For much you did that worthy Chief esteem,
Only *Patroclus* was preferr'd to him.

H. H.

Halcyon's Love carry'd her still farther ; for, her Husband *Ceyx* having perish'd in a Tempest at Sea, she comforts herself in this, that, tho' his Body could not be found, yet their Names should be inscrib'd upon the same Monument, and, as it were, embrace each other (b) ;

————— *Crudelior ipso*

Sit mihi mens pelago, si vitam ducere nitar
Longius, & tanto pugnem superesse dolori.
Sed neque pugnabo, nec te, miserande, relinquam ;
Ex tibi nunc saltem veniam comes, inque sepulchro
Si non urna, tamen junget nos litera, si non
Offibus ossa meis, at nomen nomine tangam.

But I more cruel than the Sea should be,
Could I have Thoughts to live depriv'd of thee ;
Could I but dare to struggle with my Pain,
And fondly hope behind thee to remain ;
Ah ! no, dear *Ceyx*, I'll not leave thee so,
I'll not contend with my too pressing Woe,
Where-e'er you lead, *Halcyon* will go :
And now at length, my dearest Lord, I come,
And though we are deny'd one common Tomb,
Tho' in one Urn our Ashes be not laid,
On the same Marble shall our Names be read :
In am'rous Folds the circling Words shall join,

}

C H A P. VII.

Of their Sepulchres, Monuments, Cenotaphia, &c.

THE primitive *Grecians* were bury'd in Places prepar'd for that Purpose in their own Houses (*a*). The *Thebans* had once a Law, that no Person should build an House without providing a Repository for his Dead. It seems to have been very frequent, even in later Ages, to bury within their Cities; the most publick and frequented Places whereof seem to have been best stored with Monuments: But this was a Favour not ordinarily granted, except to Men of great Worth, and publick Benefactors; to such as had rais'd themselves above the common Level, and were Examples of Virtue to succeeding Ages, or had deserv'd by some eminent Service to have their Memories honour'd by Posterity. The *Magnesians* rais'd a Sepulchre for *Themistocles* in the Midst of their Forum (*b*); *Euphron* had the same Honour at *Corinth* (*c*); and it appears to have been common for Colonies to have buried their Leaders, under whose Conduct they possess'd themselves of new Habitations, in the Midst of their Cities (*d*).

Temples were sometimes made Repositories for the Dead, whereof the primitive Ages afford us many Instances; insomuch that some have been of Opinion, that the Honours paid to the Dead were the first Cause of erecting Temples (*e*). Nor were later Times wholly void of such Examples, for the *Platæans* are said to have bury'd *Euclides* in the Temple of *Diana Euclea*, for his pious Labour in going a thousand *Stadia* in one Day, to fetch some of the hallow'd Fire from *Delpbi* (*f*): From which, with many other Instances, it appears that this was look'd on as a very great Favour, and granted as a Reward to publick Services. Sometimes it was desir'd for Protection, as we learn from *Medea's* Case, who interr'd her two Sons in *Juno Acræa's* Temple to secure them from the Malice of her Enemies (*g*), as hath been already observed.

But the general Custom, in later Ages especially, was to bury their Dead without their Cities, and chiefly by the Highways: Which seems to be done, either to preserve themselves from the noisome Smells wherewith Graves might infect their Cities, or to prevent the Danger their Houses were expos'd to, when Funeral-Piles were set on Fire: Or, it may be, to fill the Minds of Travellers with the Thoughts of Mortality; or to excite themselves to encounter any Dangers, rather than permit an Enemy to approach their Walls, and despoil the Mo-

no more different Opinions, others think it most probable, that this Custom was first introduc'd by a Fear of contracting Pollution from the Dead, of which I have already treated in a foregoing Chapter.

But *Lycurgus*, as in most of his Institutions, so herein too differ'd from the rest of the *Grecian* Law-givers; for, to cut off the Superstition of Burying-places, he allow'd his *Lacedaemonians* to bury their Dead within their City, and even round about their Temples, to the End their Youth, by being us'd to such Spectacles, might not be afraid to see a dead Body; and withal to rid them of the Conceit, that to touch a Corpse, or to tread upon a Grave, would defile a Man (a).

Every Parish was wont to have their proper Burying-place, to be deprived whereof was reputed one of the greatest Calamities that could befall them: Wherefore when the *Lacedaemonians* were resolv'd to conquer the *Messenians*, or lose all their Lives in the Attempt, we read that they bound Tickets to their right Arms, containing their own and their Fathers Names; that if all should perish in the Battle, and their Bodies be so mangled as not to be distinguished, those Notes might certify what Family they belong'd to, that so they might be carried to the Sepulchres of their Ancestors (b). The rest of the *Grecians* had the same Custom; whence (to trouble you with only one Instance more) there being a Law, that such as preserv'd not their Inheritance, should be depriv'd of the Sepulchre of their Fathers, *Democritus*, having spent his Estate in the Study of Philosophy, was in Danger of incurring that Penalty (c).

The common Graves of primitive Greece were nothing but Caverns dug in the Earth (d), and call'd *ὑπόγαια*; but those of later Ages were more curiously wrought; they were commonly pav'd with Stone, had Arches built over them, and were adorn'd with no less Art and Care than the Houses of the Living, insomuch that Mourners commonly retir'd into the Vaults of the Dead, and there lamented over their Relations for many Days and Nights together, as appears from *Petronius's* Story of the *Ephesian* Matron.

Kings and great Men were antiently buried in Mountains or at the Feet of them (e). Thus *Aventinus Sylvius* was interr'd in the Hill which receiv'd it's Name from him (f). *Virgil* reports the same of *Dercennus* (g);

————— *Fuit ingens monte sub alto*
Regis Dercenni terreo ex aggere bustum.

A Tomb beneath a mighty Mount they rear'd
For King *Dercennus*.—————

Et regum cineres extructo monte quiescunt.

Beneath a Mount their Monarch's Ashes rest.

This consisted sometimes of Stone ; whence *Theseus* in *Euripides* tells *Hercules*, the *Athenians* would honour his Corpse

— Λαίνοισι τ' ἐξογκάμασι.

With high-built Monuments of Stone. —

But the common Materials were nothing but Earth ; whence 'tis usually call'd *χῶμα*. Thus *Euripides* (a) :

————— Ορθὸν χῶμ' Ἀχιλλεῖς τάφου.

The Mount which o'er *Achilles'* Tomb was rais'd.

To cast it up *Homer* calls *χέειν σῆμα*, speaking of *Hector's* Tomb (b) :

Χεύαντες τόδε σῆμα, πάλιν κίον.

Having a Tomb of Earth rais'd o'er his Grave,

They all departed. —————

The same Words he had us'd before in the Description of *Patroclus's* Funeral (c). *Antipater* terms it *χώννουχ τάφον* :

Ἡρώ⊙ Πειρίμυ βαιὸς τάφου⊙, ἐκ ὅτι τοῖς

Ἀξιο⊙, ἀλλ' ἐχθρῶν χερσὶν ἐχωννύμεθα (d).

Under this fordid Tomb doth *Priam* rest,

Not that his Worth did not deserve the best,

But 'cause his Enemies it rais'd.

'Tis sometimes express'd by the more general Names of *ὀγκῶσαι*, *ὕψῶσαι*, &c. Thus *Euripides*,

————— Μητρί ἐξώγκην τάφω.

O'er my dead Mother's Corpse a Tomb I rais'd.

The Author of the following Epigram has such another Expression (e) :

What Care and Love the Nymphs to *Hesiod* shew'd ?

At their own Fountains in the *Locrian* Wood

They bath'd his lifeless Corpse, and o'er't a Tomb they rear'd.

Whence the *Latin* *Tumulus*, which in it's proper Sense imports no more than a Hillock, came to signify a Grave.

Whatever the Materials were, they were usually laid together with Care and Art : Thus *Homer* witnesseth of *Patroclus's* Tomb (a) :

Τορνώσαντο δὲ σῆμα, θεμελίᾳ τε προβάλοντο
 Ἀμφὶ πύρην, εἶθαρ δὲ χυλὴν ἐπὶ γαῖαν ἔχουσιν.

They inclos'd the Ground wherein the Grave was made,
 And cast in Earth upon it. —

Where by *θεμελίᾳ* some understand the *lorica*, or inclos'd Ground round the Grave, sometimes term'd by the metaphorical Names of *δεικός*, *γεῖσον*, &c. and call'd by *Pausanias* *περιοικοδομή*, and *κρηπίς*, by others *σκέπη*, &c. For the antient *μνημεῖα* were compos'd of two Parts, one was the Grave or Tomb, which was likewise term'd *μνημεῖον* in a strict Sense of the Word, and is known by several other Names, mostly taken from it's Form, as *σπήλαιον*, *τύμβος*, &c. The second Part was the Ground surrounding the Grave, which was fenced about with Pales or Walls, but usually open at the Top, and therefore sometimes call'd *ὑπαιθρον*. Tombs of Stone were polish'd and adorn'd with greater Art, whence there is so frequent Mention of *ξεσοὶ τάφοι* :

Τύμβον κατόψαι ξεσόν (b) : —

And see the polish'd Tomb. —

And again (c) :

— Ἐπὶ ξεσῶ τάφῳ.

— Upon the polish'd Tomb.

The Ornaments wherewith Sepulchres were beautify'd, were numerous. Pillars of Stone were very antient, as appears from the Story of *Ida's* striking *Pollux* with a Pillar broken from his Grandfather *Amyclae's* Monument (d) :

— Τῷ δὲ δευτέρῳ ἐπὶ
 Πληγὴν ἀδαμῆος κείος ἐγκορύψεται,
 — ἐπὶ τῷ τάφῳ.

Next with a Pillar *Idas* him shall strike;
A Pillar pluck'd from th' hallow'd Sepulchre
Of *Amyclas*. —

Pindar calls it ἀγάλμ' αἰδέας, ἔσδ' ἐν σίτρῳ (a), and *Theocritus* takes Notice of the same Accident (b).

The Pillars were term'd σῦλλαι, and frequently contain'd Inscriptions declaring the Family, Virtues, and whatever was remarkable in the Deceas'd, which were commonly describ'd in Verse. The *Sicyonians* had no such Inscriptions (c); *Lycurgus* also would by no Means allow of *Talkative Grave-stones*, nor suffer so much as the Names to be inscrib'd, but only of such Men who died in the Wars, or Women in Child-bed (d). Nor was it unusual at other Places to omit the Names of the Deceas'd, writing instead of them some moral Aphorism, or short Exhortation to the Living, such as this,

ΤΟΥΣ ΑΓΑΘΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΘΑΝΟΝΤΑΣ ΕΤΕΡΓΕΤΕΙΝ ΔΕΙ.

The Virtuous even when dead ought to be respected.

Besides this, especially where there was no Inscription, they commonly added the dead Man's Effigies, or some other Resemblance pertinent to the Occasion, and signifying his Temper, Studies, Employment, or Condition. Virgins had commonly the Image of a Maid with a Vessel of Water upon their Tombs (e); the former to represent the Deceas'd, the latter to denote a Custom the young Men had of carrying Water to the Sepulchres of unmarried Maids. A careful House-keeper was represented by such Figures as are mention'd in the following Epigram of *Antipater* upon *Lyfidice*:

Μαεῦν τίς συ, τίς ἐπὶ σαλήτιδι πείτρῃ,
Λυσιδίκα, γλυπτὸν τὸν δ' ἐχάραξε νόον;
“ Τὰ μὲν ἀνεξρομένα με ποτ' εἶεα νύκτερος ὄρεϊς.
“ Ἀνία δ' αὐδάσει δώματ' ἠνίοχον,
“ Ἰππαῆς δ' ὄδε κημὶς αἰεσεῖται ἐ πολύμυθον,
“ Οὐ λαλὸν, ἀλλὰ καλᾶς ἐμπλεῖον ἡσυχίης.

I've often sought, tell me, *Lyfidice*,

What is the Meaning of this Imag'ry?

What mean these curious Figures round thy Tomb?

What are they all design'd for, and by whom?

“ I tell you, Sir; and first that Bird of Night

“ Shews how I us'd to spin by Candle-light:

“ That well-carv'd Bridle on the Side is meant

“ My well-rul'd Family to represent:

My peaceful Temper next the Muzzle knew,
 "That I no Scold, or busy Tatler was."

H. H.

Diogenes the Cynick had a Dog engraven upon his Monument, to denote the Temper of his Sect, or his own. *Isocrates's* Tomb was adorn'd with the Image of a *Syren*; *Archimedes's* with a Sphere and Cylinder; whereby the charming Eloquence of the former, and the Mathematical Studies of the latter were signify'd. Nor was it unusual to fix upon Graves the Instruments which the Deceas'd had us'd. The Graves of Soldiers were distinguish'd by their Weapons; those of Mariners by their Oars; and, in short, the Tools of every Art and Profession accompany'd their Masters, and remain'd as Monuments to preserve their Memory. Hence *Elpenor* is introduc'd by *Homer* (a) begging of *Ulysses* to fix the Oar he us'd to row with upon his Tomb, as has been already observ'd (b). *Aeneas* in *Virgil* performs the like Office to his Trumpeter *Misenus* (c).

These, with many other Ceremonies, were design'd to perpetuate the Memory of the Deceas'd; whence their Graves were term'd σήμαλα, μνημεῖα μνήμαλα, &c. *Agamemnon* reckons it a great Happiness to *Achilles*, that he was honour'd with a Monument, which would continue his Name to Posterity (d):

Ολβιε, Πηλέος υἱέ, θεῶις ἐπείμειλ' Ἀχιλλεύ,
 ὅς δ' αὖτε ἐν Τροίῃ, &c.

You are thrice happy, God-like *Peleus's* Son,
 Who did at *Troy* resign your Breath. —

And afterwards,

— μέγαν κ' ἀμύμονα τύμβον
 Χεύαμεν Ἀργείων ἱερὸς στρατὸς αἰχμητῶν
 Ἀκτῇ ἐπὶ πρεχέσῃ ἐπὶ πλατείῃ Ἑλλησπόντῳ.
 Ὡς κεν τηλεφανὴς ἐκ ποντοφίνων ἀνδράσιν εἴης,
 Τοῖς οἱ νῦν γεγάσσι, κ' οἱ μετόπισθεν ἔσονται.

To thy great Name did warlike *Grecians* rear
 A large and never-fading Sepulchre.
 And this they plac'd upon a rising Mount
 Impending o'er the spacious *Hellepont*;
 That so both Ages present and to come,
 From distant Shores, might see the sacred Tomb.

H. H.

But later
 Law-givers
 severe Pena

grew so extravagant in these Structures, that their
 forc'd to keep them within Bounds, by inflicting
 upon such as exceeded their Prescriptions; *Salon* in

particular is reported to have order'd that no Statues of *Mercury* (as had been customary, because *Mercury* was an infernal God) or arch'd Roofs, should be made in the *Athenian* Monuments, and that they should never be greater than ten Men were able to erect in three Days; and *Demetrius* the *Phalerean* enacted a Law, that not above one Pillar, and that not exceeding three Cubits in Height, should be plac'd upon any Monument (a).

It may not be improper to mention their Custom of praying for their Friends, and Men of Piety and Virtue, that the Earth might lie light upon them; for their Enemies, and all wicked Men, that it might press heavy upon them; for they thought the Ghosts that still haunted their Shrowds, and were in Love with their former Habitations, had a very acute Sense of all the Accidents which beset their Bodies. Hence the *Chorus* prays for *Alceſtis* (b),

— Κῆρα σοι

χθὼν ἐπάνω πίσει, γύναι.

I wish the Earth may fall upon you light.

Menelaus is introduc'd by the same Poet (c), arming himself against Death by this Consideration, that the Gods took Care that such who died with Honour should have no Sense of any Pressure from the Earth; whereas Cowards should be crush'd under it:

— Εἰ γὰρ εἰσιν οἱ θεοὶ σοφοὶ

εὐψυχὸν ἄνδρα πολεμίων θανόνθ' ὕπο

κῆρῃ καλαμπίσχουσιν ἐν τύμβῳ χθονί.

Κακοῖς δ' ἐφ' ἔρμα σερσὸν ἐμβάλλουσι γῆς.

For if the Gods (and sure they all Things know)
Have due Regard for Mortals here below,
They will not, cannot suffer those that die
By the too pow'rful Force o'th' Enemy,
If they with Courage have maintain'd their Post,
And for the publick Good their Lives have lost,
To be o'erburthen'd with the heavy Weight
Of Earth; but such as stand aghast at Fate,
Base dastard Souls that shrink at ev'ry Blow,
Nor dare to look on a prevailing Foe;
These shall (nor is the Punishment unjust)
Be crush'd and tortur'd by avenging Dust.

— *Istam terra defossam prmat,
Gravisque tellus impio capiti incubet.*

And may the Earth that is upon her laid,
Lie heavy on her Corpse, and crush her curs'd Head.

Ammianus has ingeniously inverted this Order in the following Epigram (a) ;

Εἰν σοι κατὰ γῆς κῆφον κόνις, οὐκ ἐπὶ Νέκυρι,
Ὅφρα σε ἐνὶ δ' ὠς ἐξεβύωντο κύνες.

Which *Martial* translates thus (b) ;

*Sit tibi terra levis, mollique tegaris arena,
Ne tua non possint eruere ossa canes.*

Let there be one, who lighter Dust, or Sand
Shall sprinkle o're your Corpse with sparing Hand,
So to the Dogs you'll be an easier Prey.

Pass we now to the Monuments erected in Honour of the Dead, but not containing any of their Remains, and thence call'd *κεκοτάφια, κρήια*.

Of these there were two sorts : One was erected to such Persons as had been honour'd with Funeral Rites in another place ; of which we find frequent mention in *Pausanias* (c), who speaks of such honorary Tombs dedicated to *Euripides*, *Aristomenes*, *Achilles*, *Dameon*, *Tiresias*, &c.

The second sort was erected for those that had never obtain'd a just Funeral ; for the Ancients were possess'd with an Opinion, that the Ghosts of Men unbury'd could have no Admittance into the blessed Regions, but were forced to wander in Misery 100 Years ; and that when any Man had perish'd in the Sea, or any other place where his Carcase could not be found, the only Method of giving him Repose, was to erect a Sepulchre, and by repeating three times with a loud Voice the Name of the Deceased, to call his Ghost to the Habitation prepared for it ; which Action was termed *ψυχαστήρια*.

This Practice seems to have been very ancient : *Pelias* is introduc'd in *Pindar* (d) telling *Jason* he must recall the Soul of

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Thy Tomb I rear'd on the *Rhætan* Coast,
And thrice aloud call'd back thy wand'ring Ghost.

Ausonius has elegantly describ'd, and assign'd the reason of this Custom (a);

*Hoc satis & tumulis, satis & telluris egenis;
Voce ciere animas funeris instar habet:
Gaudent compositi cineres sua nomina dici;
Frontibus hoc scriptis & monumenta jubent;
Ille etiam mæsti cui defuit urna sepulchri,
Nomine ter dicto pene sepultus erit.*

is th Privilege the Unbury'd crave,
No Grave, or decent Burial they have;
Only instead of pompous Funeral,
Aloud upon their wand'ring Ghosts we call;
This they command, with this they most are pleas'd,
And empty Mon'ments with Inscriptions rais'd:
For he, whose *Manes* have been so recall'd,
Tho' his dead Corpse of fit Interment fail'd,
Is nigh as happy, and as fully blest,
As he whose Bones beneath a Tomb-stone rest.

H. H.

Many other Instances of this nature may be met with in the Poets. The Sign whereby honorary Sepulchres were distinguish'd from others, was commonly *ἑλίου*, or a Wreck of a Ship, to signify the Decease of a Person in some foreign Country.

It may be expected that I should add something concerning the Sacredness of Sepulchres: these, with all other Things belonging to the Dead, were had in so great Esteem, that to deface, or any way violate them, was a Crime no less than Sacrilege, and thought to entail certain Ruin upon all Persons guilty of it. Examples of this nature are too common to be enumerated in this place, wherefore I shall only set down that of *Idas*, who upon breaking one of the Pillars in *Aphareus's* Sepulchre, was immediately Thunder-struck by *Jupiter* (b);

Ἡ γὰρ ὅτε γάλαν Ἀφαρήϊς ἐξανάχυσαν
Τύμβῳ ἀναρρήξας ταχίως Μισσάνῳ Ἰδας,

To dart at *Castor*, dreadfully he stood,
The fierce Revenger of his Brother's Blood ;
Jove interpos'd, and by his strict Command
Swift Lightning struck the Marble from his Hand ;
He strove to reach it, but his Soul was fir'd,
He fell, and in no common Destiny expir'd.

Mr. Creech.

It has been a Question, whether the *Cenotaphia* had the same religious Regard, which was paid to the Sepulchres where the Remains of the Deceased were repositèd ; for the Resolution hereof it may be observ'd, that such of them as were only erected for the Honour of the Dead, were not held so sacred as to call for any Judgment upon such as profan'd them ; but the rest, wherein Ghosts were thought to reside, seem to have been in the same Condition with Sepulchres, the want whereof they were design'd to supply.

C H A P. VIII.

Of their Funeral Orations, Games, Lustrations, Entertainments, Consecrations, and other Honours of the Dead, &c.

BEfore the Company departed from the Sepulchre, they were sometimes entertained with a Panegyric upon the dead Person. Such of the *Athenians* as died in War, had an Oration solemnly pronounced by a Person appointed by the public Magistrate, which was constantly repeated upon the Anniversary-Day (a). These Customs were not very ancient, being first introduc'd by *Solon*, or (as some say) by *Pericles*, but were generally receiv'd, not in *Greece* only, but at *Rome*. It was thought no small Accession to the Happiness of the Deceased to be eloquently commended ; whence we find *Pliny* completing his Account of *Virginus Rufus's* Felicity in this, that his Funeral Oration was pronounced by one of the most eloquent Tongues of that Age (b).

It was farther customary for Persons of Quality to institute Games, with all sorts of Exercises, to render the Death of their Friends more remarkable ; this Practice was generally received, and is frequently mentioned by ancient Writers. *Miltiades's* Funeral in *Herodotus*, *Brasidas's* in *Thucydides*, *Timoleon's* in *Plutarch*, with many others, afford Examples hereof. Nor was it a Custom

the Ghost of *Achilles* that he had been a Spectator of great Numbers of such Solemnities (a) ;

Μήτηρ δ' αἰτήσασα θεῶς, περικαλλέει δα
Θῆκε μίσσην ἐν ἀγῶνι ἀριγέσσειν Ἀχαιῶν·
Ἦδη μὲν πολέως τάφῳ ἀνδρῶν ἀντιβόλησα
Ἦρώων, ὅτι κέν ποτ' ἀποφθιμένοι βασιλῆες
Ζώνονταί τε νῆοι, καὶ ἐπιτιτύβονταί· αἶδλα·
Ἀλλὰ καὶ κτεῖνα μάστιγα ἰδὼν ἐταδέπεια θυμῷ,
Οἳ ἐπὶ σοὶ κατίθηναι θείᾳ περικαλλέει δα
Ἀργυρόπιζα Θέτις. —————

Your Mother, full of Piety and Love,
Craves first a Blessing from the Pow'rs above ;
Then she doth rich Rewards and Prizes state,
While sprightly Youth the Games do celebrate ;
I've been at many Games, great Piles survey'd,
Which eternize heroic Chiefs when dead,
But none can equal Wonders seem to be,
As those the pious *Thetis* made for thee.

J. A.

In the Age before we find *Oedipus's* Funeral solemniz'd with Sports, and *Hercules* is said to have celebrated Games at the Death of *Pelops* (b). The first that had this Honour was *Axan*, the Son of *Arcas*, the Father of the *Arcadians*, whose Funeral, as *Pausanias* reports (c), was celebrated with Horse-Races. The Prizes were of different sorts and value, according to the Quality and Magnificence of the Person that celebrated them. The Garlands given to Victors were usually of Parsly, which was thought to have some particular relation to the Dead, as being feign'd to spring out of *Admetus's* Blood, whence it became the Crown of Conquerors in the *Ne-mean* Games, which were first instituted at his Funeral (d).

'Twas a general Opinion that dead Bodies polluted all things about them ; this occasion'd purifying after Funerals, which *Virgil* has thus described (e).

*Idem ter socios pura circumtulit unda,
Spargens rore levi, & ramo felicitis olivæ,
Lustravitque viros.* —————

Then carrying Water thrice about his Mates,
And sprinkling with an Olive-twig, their Fates
Good *Chorineus* wisely expiates.

Several other ways of Purification may be met with, but these containing nothing peculiar to Funerals, and being describ'd in one of

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the preceding Books, have no Claim to any mention in this place. Till this Purification was accomplish'd, the polluted Person could not enter into the Temples, or communicate at the Worship of the Gods; whence *Iphigenia* speaks the following Words concerning *Diana* (a);

Τὰ τῆς θεῆς δὲ μέφομαι σοφίσματα,
 Ἦτις, βροτῶν μὲν ἢ τις ἄλφεται φόβῳ,
 Ἡ καὶ λοχείας ἢ νεκρῷ θύγει χεροῖν,
 Βωμῶν ἀπεύρηγ, μουσαρεῖν ὡς ἡγυμνή.

The superstitious Tricks and Niceties
 Of strict *Diana's* Worship I dislike,
 Since of departed Friends the farewell Touch,
 All Murder done in Passion; or elfewise,
 And Acts of Venery she doth reject,
 As great Pollutions of her sacred Rites,
 Actors herein proscribing from her Gifts.

J. A.

Nor was it *Diana* alone, of whom the Poet speaks, that had such an Aversion to these Pollutions, but the rest of the Gods and Goddesses were of the same Temper. *Lucian* in his Treatise concerning the Syrian Goddess, tells us, that when any Person had seen a Corpse, he was not admitted into her Temple till the Day following, and not then, except he had first purified himself; and the general Use of this Custom (b) shews that the rest of the Cælestial Beings were equally afraid of Defilement. This may farther appear, from its being unlawful for those Persons to enter into the Temples, who were call'd ὑπερόδομοι, or δειυρόδομοι (c) i. e. such as were thought dead, but after the Performance of their Funeral Rites recovered; or such who were reputed to be dead in some foreign Country, and unexpectedly return'd; these Men were prohibited from worshipping any of the Gods; *Hesychius* mentions only the *Eumenides*, but others speak of the Gods in general; whence *Aristinus* was forced to send Messengers to consult the *Delphian* Oracle, what Method he should use to be freed from Pollution, where he receiv'd this Answer;

Ὅσσα μὲν ἐν λεχέσσι γυνὴ τίκτησα τελεῖται,
 Τόσσα μὲν αἶν τελέσαντα δύνει μακάρισσι θεοῖσι.

All Forms and Customs which Child-birth attend,
 The same must you to th' angry Gods commend.

whereupon he was wash'd, swaddled, and treated in all other respects as new-born Infants, and then receiv'd into Communion. But

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as my Author (a) proceeds, others make this Custom much ancient-
er than *Aristinus*, carrying it up as high as the primitive Ages. And
'tis certain, the Opinion that dead Bodies polluted all things about
them, was very ancient, as appears from the *Jewish* Laws.

The House was also purified, an Instance whereof we have in
Homer (b), where *Ulysses* having slain *Penelope's* Courtiers, and car-
ried them out of his House, thus bespeaks his old Nurse :

Οἶσε Δίσιον, γῆνῃ, καὶ αἶνι ἄνθ', οἶσε δέ μοι πῦρ,
Ὀφρα Διεύωσω μέγαρον. —————

Fetch Brimstone hither, Nurse, and Fire, that I
My tainted Dwelling-house may purify.

Afterwards the Poet adds (c) ;

————— Οὐδ' ἀπίθησε φίλῃ τροφῇ Εὐρύκλεια,
Ἥτοικε δ' ἄρα πῦρ καὶ θῆιον· αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσεύς
Εὐ διθείωσεν, μέγαρον καὶ δῶμα, καὶ αἴλην.

Strait trusty *Eurycle* perform'd his Will,
Then he with sulph'rous Smoke the House doth fill,
And chas'd th' Infection from polluted Rooms.

But the *Lacedemonians* were taught by their Lawgiver to con-
temn these superstitious Follies, and to think it unreasonable to
fancy, that such as liv'd a virtuous Life, and conformable to their
Discipline, should contract any Pollution by Death ; on the con-
trary, they esteem'd their Remains worthy of Respect and Ho-
nour, and therefore thought no Places so fit to repose them in, as
those adjoining to the Temples of their Gods (d).

After the Funeral was over, the Company met together at the
House of the deceased Person's nearest Relations, to divert them
from Sorrow ; here there was an Entertainment provided (e), which
was term'd *περίδινον*, *νικρόδινον*, *τάφον*, in Latin *circumpotatio*, ac-
cording to *Cicero*, who informs us, that the *Attick* Laws prohibited
the Use of this Ceremony at the Funerals of Slaves (f). The Cu-
stom was very ancient ; the *Trojans*, having celebrated *Hector's* Fu-
neral, were splendidly entertain'd at King *Priam's* Palace (g) ;

Χίμαντι δὲ τὸ σῆμα, πάλιν κίον· αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
Εὖ συναγειράμενοι δαίνυντ' ἱερὴν δαῖτα
Δάμασιν ἰν Πριάμοιο διοτρεφίῃ βασιλῆϊ.

A Tomb being rais'd, they orderly resort .
In pensive Crowds unto King *Priam's* Court,

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Where a rich Banquet cheerful Mirth invites,
And sparkling Wine whets their pall'd Appetites.

J. A.

The same may be observ'd in the *Grecian* Camp, with this difference, that *Achilles* entertain'd them before *Patroclus's* Funeral (a);

Καὶ δ' ἴζον παρὰ τοῖς ποδῶνσι • Αἰανίδαο
Μυριοί, αὐτὰρ ὁ τοῖσι τάφοις μινουκία δαῖτυ·
Πολλοὶ μὲν βόες ἀργοὶ ὀρέχθιοι ἀμφὶ σιδήρῳ
Σφαζόμενοι, πολλὰ δ' οἷα καὶ μηκέτις αἰγῆς·
Πολλοὶ δ' ἀργιόδοις ὕς θαλίδοις ἀλοιφῇ
Εὐόμενοι τανύοισι διὰ φλογὸς Ἠφαίστῳ.
Παῖς δ' ἀμφὶ νέκυνι κελύφησιν ἔρρετο αἶμα.

While great *Achilles* doth prepare and fit
The Fun'ral Banquet, thronging *Grecians* sit
About the Hero's Ship; whole Herds he kills
Of huge fat Oxen, roaring while he spills
Their Lives, that issue from their reeking Wounds;
Whole Flocks of Sheep he kills; the Air resounds,
While Goats and fatted Swine make hideous Roar,
When Purple Streams from their gash'd Throats do pour;
These having kill'd, he roasts, the while the Blood
Around the Corpse in a great Current flow'd.

J. A.

By which last Words it appears, that the dead Person had some Interest in these Entertainments; and as the Blood of the Beasts was design'd for *Patroclus's* Ghost, so even in latter Ages we are told, the broken Morfels which fell from the Tables were look'd on as sacred to the departed Souls, and not lawful to be eaten (b). To this Fancy *Pythagoras's* Aphorism, tho' perhaps containing a more mystical Sense, was an undoubted Allusion (c), *Τὰ πρὸς τὴν μὴ ἀναίμωστα*, i. e. *Take not up things fall'n down*; or, as others express it, *Μὴδὲ γούσθαι ἄντ' ἀντὶ τῆς τραπέζης καὶ ἀκτίον*, i. e. *Do not so much as taste things fall'n under the Table*. These Fragments were carried to the Tomb, and their left for the Ghost to feast upon; whence to denote extream Poverty, it was usual to say, that a Person *stole his Meat from the Graves*. To this *Tibullus's* Curse alludes,

*Ipsa same stimulant furens, escasque sepulcro
Quarar, Et a sevis ossa relicta lupis.*

The Entertainments of latter Ages consisted not, like *Homer's*, of Flesh only, but all sorts of Pulse (a), Beans, Pease, and Lettices, Parsly, Eggs, and many other things. The chief Subject of Discourse at these Meetings were the Praises of the Dead, especially if they had been eminent for any Virtue, or commendable Quality; otherwise so great was the Simplicity of primitive Ages, that they look'd upon it most expedient to say nothing, when by speaking they must unavoidably offend the dead Man, or transgress the Rules of Truth, both which were thought equally criminal. But afterwards they grew more lavish of their Commendations, distributing them to all Persons without distinction; whence came the Proverb *Ὁὐκ ἱκανοῖσι, ὅδ' ἐν κηδείᾳ*, which was only apply'd to Villains of the first Rate, and such as had not the least Shadow of a good Quality to recommend them.

There was a Custom at *Argos*, obliging those that had lost any of their Kindred or Acquaintance, to sacrifice to *Apollo* presently after Mourning, and thirty Days after to *Mercury*, out of an Opinion, that as the Earth received their Bodies, so their Souls fell into *Mercury's* Hands; the Barley of the Sacrifice they gave to *Apollo's* Minister, the Flesh they took themselves; and having extinguish'd the sacrificial Fire, which they accounted polluted, kindled another, whereon they boil'd the Flesh, calling it *ἱερώματα* (b), from the Fumes ascending from the burning Sacrifice, which were term'd in Greek *κίσμα*.

The Honours paid to the Sepulchres and Memories of the Deceased were of divers sorts: It was frequent to place Lamps in the subterraneous Vaults of the Dead, whether such as would express an extraordinary Affection for their Relations, retir'd, and cloyer'd themselves up; an Example whereof we have in *Petronius's Ephebian Matron*.

They had a Custom of bedecking Tombs with Herbs and Flowers, amongst which Parsly was chiefly in use, as appears from *Plutarch's* Story of *Timoleon*, who marching up an Ascent, from the top of which he might take a view of the Army, and Strength of the *Carthaginians*, was met by a Company of Mules laden with Parsly; which (saith my Author) his Soldiers conceived to be a very ill-boding and fatal Occurrence, that being the very Herb wherewith we adorn the Sepulchres of the Dead. This Custom gave birth to that despairing Proverb when we pronounce of one dangerously sick *ἀνίσταται σελίς*, that he has need of nothing but Parsly; which is in effect to say, he's a dead Man, and ready for the Grave. All sorts of purple and white Flowers were acceptable to the Dead, as *Amaranthus*, which was first used by the *Thessalians* to adorn *Achille's* Grave (c); *κόκκινον* (d), which some will have to be the *Jessamin*, with *Lillies*, and several others: Hence *Vivril* (e).

Purpureosque jacet flores, ac talia satur.

He having Purple Flowers strew'd, thus spoke.

In the subsequent Book he alludes to the same Custom (a) :

*Hæ, miserande puer, siqua fata aspera rumpas,
Tu Marcellus eris: manibus date lilia plenis,
Purpureos spargam flores, animamque nepotis
His saltem accumulem donis. ———*

Ah! could'st thou break thro' Fate's severe Decree,
A new *Marcellus* shall arise in thee:
Full Canisters of fragrant Lillies bring,
And all the curious Drap'ry of the Spring;
Let me with Purple Flowers his Body strow,
This Gift which Parents to their Children owe,
This unavailing Gift at least I may bestow.

The Rose too was very grateful, whence *Anacreon* has these Verses in his Ode upon that Flower;

τὸδε καὶ ποσειδὼν ἀρκεῖ,
τὸδε καὶ νεκροῖς ἀμύνει.

When Age and Vigour do decay,
The *Rose* their Strength repairs,
It drives all *Maladies* away,
And can prolong our Years;
The *Dead* to in their Graves do lie,
With peaceful Slumbers blest,
This is the *Analect*, hereby
No Ills their Tombs molest.

J. A.

Nor was the Use of Myrtle less common, whence *Euripides* introduces *Electra* complaining that *Agamemnon's* Tomb had never been adorn'd with Boughs of that Plant;

Ἀγαμέμνων δὲ τίμας ἡμιμαρμένον
Οὐ γὰρ τίς ἐχράς, ἐκλῶνα μυρσίνης
Ελάς. ———

With no *Libations*, nor with Myrtle Boughs,
Were my dear Father's *Manes* gratify'd.

Ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἦλθον πατρὸς ἀρχαίου τάφον,
 Ὄρῳ κολωντῆς ἐξ ἄκρας πορφυρεῖς
 Πηλᾶς γάλακτι, καὶ περιγεφῇ κίχλη
 Πάσιων ὅσ' ἐστὶν αἰδέων δῆκη πατρός.

No sooner came I to my Father's Tomb,
 But *Milk* fresh pour'd in copious Streams did flow,
 And Flow'rs of ev'ry sort around were strew'd.

These were commonly call'd *ἑρπῆς* (a), either from their Design to express Love and Respect to the deceas'd Person, or from *ἑρα*, because they were usually compos'd of a Collection of several sorts of Flowers; or from *ἑρα*, as being laid upon the Earth; tho' neither of these last Reasons are constant; for the Garlands were sometimes compos'd of only one sort of Flowers, and frequently hung upon the Pillars, and not laid upon the Grave-stone. Several other things were frequently laid upon Graves, as Ribbands, whence 'tis said, that *Epaminondas's* Soldiers being disanimated at seeing the Ribband that hung upon his Spear, carry'd by the Wind to a certain *Lacedæmonian* Sepulchre, he bid them take Courage, for that it portended Destruction to the *Lacedæmonians*, it being customary to deck the Sepulchres of their Dead with Ribbands (b). Another thing dedicated to the Dead, was their Hair. *Electra* in *Sophocles* says, that *Agamemnon* had commanded her and *Chrysothemis* to pay him this Honour,

Ἡμεῖς δὲ πατρὸς τύμβον, ὡς ἰφίετο,
 Λοιβᾶσι πρῶτον καὶ καρατόμοις χυδαῖς
 Στίοντες.

With *Drink-Off'rings* and *Locks of Hair* we must,
 According to his *Will*, his *Tomb* adorn.

Candace in *Ovid* (c) bewails her Calamity, in that she was not permitted to adorn her Lover's Tomb with her Locks, as has been already observ'd.

It was likewise customary to perfume the Grave-stones with sweet Ointments, to which Practice *Anacreon* has this Allusion,

Τί σε δι' λίθου μυρίζω,
 Τί δὲ γῇ χέειν ματαία;
 Ἐμὲ μάλλον, ὡς ἔτι ζῶ,
 Μύρισον, ῥόδοις δὲ κρᾶται
 Πύρρον.

Why do we precious *Ointments* show'r,
 Noble *Wines* why do we pour,
 Beauteous *Flow'rs* why do we spread
 Upon the Mon'ments of the *Dead*?
 Nothing they but *Dust* can show,
 Or *Bones* that hasten to be so.
 Crown me with *Roses* while I live.

Mr. Cowley.

Whence *Leonidas* seems to have borrow'd the Sense of this Epigram,

Μὴ μύρα, μὴ τιφάνεις λιβάναις ἐλάσαις χαρίζε,
 Μὴδὲ τὸ πῦρ φλέξης, εἰς κενὸν ἢ δαπάνη.
 Ζῶντί μοι, εἴτι θύλης, χάρισται· τίφρην δὲ μεθύσκων
 Πηλὸν ποίησιν, ὅχ' ὁ θανάτῳ τίεται.

When cold and lifeless in my Grave I'm laid,
 No fragrant *Oil* then pour, no *Chaplets* spread :
 All *expiatory* Fires, all Rites are vain,
Wine only can my fruitless *Asbes* stain :
 Come, let's carouse, let's revel while we live,
 'Twill elevate our Souls, 'twill Ease to Troubles give.

J. 4.

To these Practices we find another added, *viz.* running naked about Sepulchres ; for *Plutarch* (a) tells us, that *Alexander* arriving at *Troy*, honour'd the Memories of the Heroes bury'd there with solemn Libations, anointed *Achilles's* Grave-stone, and (according to ancient Custom) together with his Friends, ran naked about his Sepulchre, and crown'd it with Garlands.

Beside the foremention'd Ceremonies, there remain several others, especially their Sacrifices and Libations to the Dead : The Victims were black and barren Heifers, or black Sheep, as being of the same sort with those offer'd to the infernal Gods, to denote the Contrariety of those Regions to Light and Fruitfulness : whence *Homer* introduces *Ulysses* making a Vow to the Ghosts after this manner (b) :

Πολλὰ δὲ γυνέμην νεκύων ἀμνηστὰ κάρηνα,
 Ελθὼν εἰς Ἰθάκη, γαῖραν βῶν, ἥτις ἀρίστη,
 Ρίξω ἐν μεγάροισι, πυρὴν τ' ἐμπλησίσμην ἰοθαλῶν.
 Τιμωσὴν δ' ἀπάνευθεν εἶν ἱερυσίμενον οἶον
 Παμμέλειν, ὃς μήλοισι μετέπει ἡμετέροισι.

A barren Cow to all
 I did with solemn

ours below
 ion vow,

If e'er I should again my Lordship see,
 After the petilous Wand'rings on the Sea,
 Their Altars then I likewise swore to load
 With Fruit and other Offerings as were good :
 But the best of our *black Rams* I could chuse,
Tiresias I promis'd with chaste Vows.

J. A.

Besides their offering these Sacrifices in Ditches, and some other Customs spoken of in one of the former Books (a), it may be observ'd farther, that the first thing they offered was the Hair upon the Victim's Forehead, which for that reason was term'd *ἀπαρχαί*, and to offer it *ἀπαρχόμεναι*. But however these Terms are sometimes used for the Sacrifices of the Ghosts, yet the Custom of offering these First-fruits was common to the Sacrifices of the Celestial and other Deities, as appears from several instances : *Homer* mentions it at one of *Minerva's* Sacrifices (b) ;

— Πολλὰ δ' Ἀθήνη
 Εὐχέτ' ἀπαρχόμεναι κεφαλῆς τρίχας ἐν πυρὶ βάλλων.

Having invok'd *Minerva* with his Pray'rs,
 He on the Altar threw the Forehead Hairs.

In another place he speaks of it as acceptable to the Gods (c) :

Ἄλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἀπαρχόμεναι κεφαλῆς τρίχας ἐν πυρὶ βάλλων
 Ἀγριόδοτον ὕος, καὶ ἐκθύχεϊο πᾶσι Διόσσι.

Of the Sow's Forehead having burn'd the Hairs,
 To all the Gods he offers servent Pray'rs.

But their ordinary Offerings were nothing but Libations of Blood, Honey, Wine, Milk, Water, &c. *Solon* forbid the *Athenians* *ἱναγίζειν βέν*, to offer an Ox on this Occasion (d). Upon the Sacrifice they commonly sprinkle Barley-flour. Some of these are mention'd in *Homer* (e).

— Χοαὶς χρίμεν πᾶσι νεύουσιν
 Πρῶτα μελικρήνῳ, μελίπεπτα δὲ ὀδύϊ οἶνον,
 Τὸ τρίτον αὐτῷ ὕδατι ἐπὶ δ' ἄλφιλα λευκά πάλυνον.

We did with Reverence the Shades adore,
 We first did Honey mix'd with Water pour,
 Then Wine, then simple Water, and next Barley-flour.

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of the Deceased came to be term'd *μυλίσσαι*, the infernal Gods, *μυλῖχοι*, and their Oblations *μυλίσματα*.

They were design'd to render the Ghosts kind and propitious, and therefore term'd *χοαὶ ἰδυστήριοι*, or *δαλκτήριοι*. *Iphigonia* in *Euripides* thus describes them (a),

Ω, τὰ οὖδ'
Χοαὶ μὲν κρᾶτ' ἔρα τε
τῶν φθιμένων
ὑδραίνει γαίης ἐν ῥότοις,
Πηγάς τ' ἑρείων ἐκ μόσχων,
Βάκχῃ τ' οἶνηράς λουβάς,
Ξανθᾶν τε πόσημα μυλίσσων,
Αἰκροῖς δαλκτήρια καὶ
τ'.

To whom I in this sacred Chalice bear
These solemn Liquids as an Offering,
This Blood in Crimson Streams shall stain the Ground,
With Wines and th' Product of the fed'ulous Bee,
The common Peace-Attemper for the Dead. J. A.

These were sometimes offer'd upon Altars, which were commonly plac'd near the ancient Sepulchres, with Tables for the sacrificial Feasts; sometimes they were pour'd forth upon the Ground, or Grave-stone, and, together with a certain form of Words, offer'd to the Deceas'd. Thus *Helena* desires *Hermione* to address *Clytemnestra* in her Name (b);

Ω τί κεν ἔξειθ', Ἑρμιόνη, δόμον πατρῶν,
καὶ λάβῃ χοαὶ τὰς δ' ἐν χερσίν, κῆμας τ' ἑμὰς,
ἐλθῶσα δ' ἄμφι τὸν Κλεοκλειμένηας πέφον
Μελίκρατ' ἄφες γάλακ' οἶνον τ' ἄχην,
καὶ γὰρ ἐν ἄκρῳ χῶματι λέξον ταῖδε,
“ Ἐλθ' ὁ δαδὼς ταῖσδε θυρεῖται χοαίς.

Daughter *Hermione*, come forth and take
These Offerings to thy dear Aunt's Sepulchre,
These Locks of my Hair, and this Honey mix'd
With Milk, and this Wine to pour o'er her Grave;
Which having done, stand on its Top, and say,
“ Thy Sister *Helen* to declare her Love,
“ Offers these Rites to thy dear Memory.

The Water thus employ'd was term'd *λευτὸν*, *χθόνιον λευτὸν*;

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marry'd, there was a Custom for Women to carry Water to their Graves, who from *pouring* it forth were termed *ἡψυλέρπαι* (a). When a young Man or Maid dy'd, the Water was carried by a Boy (b), or (which appears to some more probable) by a Boy to the Sepulchres of young Men, by a Maid to the Sepulchres of Maids; whence came the Custom of erecting Images representing Maids with Vessels of Water upon the Sepulchres of such as dy'd in their Virginity, as was observ'd in the foregoing Chapter, tho' I have there interpreted this Custom so as to agree with the former Opinion. As for those that dy'd in their Infancy, they were honour'd with no Libations, nor had any Right to the rest of the Funeral Solemnities (c).

These Honours were paid the Dead the ninth and thirtieth Days after Burial (d), and repeated when any of their Friends arrived that had been absent at the Solemnity, and upon all other Occasions which required their surviving Relations to have them in Memory. But some part of the Month *Anthisterion* seems to have been especially set apart for these Ceremonies in several of the *Græcian* Cities. *Atthæus* reports in particular of the *Appolloniata* (e), that they paid the Dead the customary Honours in this Month. *Hesychius* (f) likewise reports that the same Custom was observ'd at *Athens*, and that they termed the Days appointed for those Solemnities *μυαὶ ἡμέραι*, which were by others call'd *ἀνοσπράδες* (g), as being *polluted* by their Dedication to the Dead, whose Ghosts were thought to ascend from their subterraneous Habitations, to enjoy the kind Entertainment of their Friends (h); the want hereof was thought a great Calamity, and therefore it is reckon'd by *Cassandra* among the manifold Misfortunes of the *Trojans*, that they should have no surviving Friends to offer Sacrifices at their Tombs.

— Οὐδὲ πρὸς τάφους
ἔσ' ὅτις αὐτῶν αἷμα γῆ δαψύσται.

— Nor shall one Friend remain
To stain their desert Sepulchres with Blood.

Upon these public Days they called over the Names of their dead Relations one by one, excepting such as died under Age, or forfeited their Title to these Honours, by dissipating their Paternal Inheritances, or other Crimes. There was likewise another time when they call'd over the Names of the Dead, which being omitted in the foregoing Chapters, I shall speak of it in this place; it was when they lost their Friends in foreign Countries, whence before they departed they call'd the Names of all that were missing out of their Company three times. Thus *Ulysses* in *Homer* declares he did, when he lost some of his Men in *Phœnicia* with the *Cyclops* (i).

Οὐδ' ἄρα μοι πρότερον τῆς κίον ἀμφίλασσαι,
Πρὶν τινα τῶν διδῶν ἰτάρην τρίς ἱκατον αὔσαι,
Οἱ θάνατον ἐν πιδίῳ Κικόνων ὑπερδιδόντες.

My high-built Ships I launch'd not from the Shore:
A better Fate and Voyage to explore,
Till I had singly *thrice* call'd o'er my Friends,
Who by *Cicônians* came t' untimely Ends.

J. A.

Hercules in *Theocritus* calls *Hylas* three times (a) ;

Τρίς μετὰ Τλάν ἄυσιν ὅσον βαδὺς ἔργου λαιμός.

His much lov'd *Hylas* perish'd in the Flood
He call'd on *Thrice* as loud as e'er he cou'd.

The Reasons of this Custom were, according to *John Tzetzes* (b), partly, that such as were left behind might upon hearing the Noise, repair to their Ships, and partly to testify their Unwillingness to depart without their Companions ;

Τὸ πρότερον τοῦς θήσκειας εἰς γῆν τὴν ἀλλοτρίαν
Ἀποδημιῖτες οἱ αὐτῶν τρισάκις ἀνακάλυν,
Ὡς Ομηρὸς ἰδιδάξει βίβλῳ τῆς Οδυσσεύς
Τέτο δ' ἔδρων ὡς μνήμονες τυγχάνουσι φίλιας.
Καὶ ὡς δ', εἰ ἀπολείφθῃ τις, πρὸς τὸν φανῆν συνδράμοι;

It was a Custom 'mongst all ancient *Greeks*,
That he who trav'ling into foreign Parts
Did die, should by surviving Friends be call'd
Thrice, as a Token of their mutual Love.
Hence all that were alive then join'd their Voice,
As *Homer* in his *Odyssy* attests.

J. A.

To return : They had anniversary Days, on which they paid their Devotions to the Dead ; these were sometimes term'd *Νεμῆσια*, as being celebrated upon the Festival of *Nemesis*, who was thought to have especial Care for the Honours of the Dead (c) ; sometimes *Θρῆνια* (d), as also *Γενίσια* (e) ; the reason of which Name seems to be, that it signifies the anniversary Day of Man's Nativity, which after his Death was celebrated with the same Ceremonies that were

The Honours of the Dead were distinguished according to the Quality and Worth of the Person they were conferred on. Such as by their Virtues and Public Services had raised themselves above the common Level, had ἀνδρείων τιμαί, the Honours of Heroes; the Participation hereof was termed ἀνδρείουσαι, or εὐσεβείας τιμαί, ἡρωϊκῶν, ἰσοθέων, or ἰσοκαρπίων. Others, who had distinguish'd themselves from the former, were rais'd a Degree higher, and reckon'd among the Gods, which Consecration was termed θεοποίησις, and was very different from the former, to worship the former Persons being only termed ἱεραῖαι, but the latter Σείν. The latter Honour was very rare in the heroic Times, but in subsequent Ages, when great Examples of Virtue were not so frequent, and Men more addicted to Flattery, it became more cheap, inasmuch that those Persons, whom former Ages had only worshipped as Heroes, were afterwards accounted Gods; an Instance whereof we have (to omit several others) in *Lampis*, one of *Plutarch's* Heroines (a). The *Athenians* were especially remarkable for immoderate and profuse Distributions of those Honours, and it is generally observ'd that that Nation exceeded all the rest of the *Greeks* in the Arts of Flattery and Superstition, as appears from several Instances in the precedent Books.

I shall observe in the last place, that these and the rest of the Honours of the Dead, were thought most acceptable when offered by their nearest Friends; when by their Enemies, they were reject-ed with Indignation; whence *Sophocles* introduces *Electra* advising her Sister *Chrysothemis*, that she should by no means offer *Clytemnestra's* Gifts to *Agamemnon* (b).

Αλλ', ὦ φίλη, σέττοι μὲν, ὧν ἔχουσ' ἡρώων,
 Τύμβῳ προσάψας μηδὲν ἢ γὰρ σοὶ δέμης,
 Οὐδ' ὅσσον ἰχθῆρας ἀπὸ γυναικὸς ἰσάναι
 Κτερίσματ', ἐδὲ λήϊα προσφίλου πατρὶ.

Dear Sister, don't attempt his Tomb r' approach
 With a Design of offering those Gifts,
 Since the infernal *Manes* do detest,
 As heinous, Rites paid by an Enemy.

J. A.

For Men were thought to retain the same Affections after Death which they had entertain'd when alive. This appears farther from the Story of *Ætodes* and *Polymices*, *Oedipus's* Sons, who having kill'd each other in single Combat, and being burn'd in the same Pile, the Flames of their Bodies would not unite, but by parting from

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Καίτοι ἐν αἰδοῖς Ἰδαμόσσατο καὶ Ἀχέρουδι
Μάριανται κείναι χω τάφῳ ἀνέπαλοι·
Καὶ πυρὶ πῦρ ἤλειξαν ἱερῆος δ' ἱλευνοὶ·
Παῖδες, ἀποιμήτων ἀφάμεινοι δοράτων·

Within thy Walls, O Thebes, two Brothers lie,
Who, tho' deceas'd, cease not their Enmity ;
For from their Bodies on the Pile do fly
Enrag'd Corpuscles jutting in the Sky ;
With pointed Fury eagerly they meet,
Then in Aversion scornfully retreat.
Unhappy Youths, by Fates deny'd to have
The peaceful Slumbers of a silent Grave.

J. A.

Lycophron has furnished us with the parallel Example of *Mopsus* and *Amphilocheus*, who having slain each other, were buried in the opposite sides of an Hill, lest their Ghosts should be disturbed by having their Sepulchres within sight of one another (a) ;

Αἰπὺς δ' ἀλκρὸς ὄχμῳ ἐν μέλαι χυμῷ
Μεῖαρόν· ἀνίων ἥριον γαθήσεται
Ὅς μὴ βλέπωσι, μηδὲ περιστρὶς ἰδράς
Δύοις, φόνῳ λυσθῆναις ἀλλήλων τάφους·

An high and craggy Mount, *Megarfus* nam'd,
Shall stand between the sacred Monuments,
Lest the griev'd *Manes* should offended be
To see each other's Tomb by Slaughter stain'd.

J. A.

C H A P. IX.

Of their Love of BOYS.

WHO it was that first introduced the Custom of loving Boys into Greece, is uncertain; however (to omit the infamous Amours of *Jupiter*, *Orpheus*, *Lajus* of *Thebes*, and others) we find it generally practised by the ancient *Grecians*, and that not only in private, but by the public Allowance and Encouragement of their Laws ; for they thought there could be no Means more effec-

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whereof we have in *Athenæus* (a). On the contrary, free Commonwealths, and all those States that consulted the Advancement of their own Honour, seem to have been unanimous in establishing Laws to encourage and reward it. Let us take a View of some few of them.

First we shall find it to have been so generally practised, so highly esteem'd in *Crete*, that such of their well-born and beautiful Youths as never had any Lovers, incurred the public Censure, as Persons some way or other faulty in their Morals; as if nothing else could hinder, but that some one's Affections would be placed upon them. But those that were more happy in being admired, were honoured with the first Seats at public Exercises, and wore, for a distinguishing Badge of Honour, a sort of Garment richly adorned; this they still retained after they arrived to Man's Estate, in memory they had once been *κλεισολ*, *eminent* (b), which was the Name the *Cretans* gave to Youths that had Lovers. The Lovers themselves were called *Φιλήτορες*. One thing was remarkable in this Place, that the Lovers always took their Boys by Force; for having placed their Affections upon any one, they gave notice of it to his Relations; and withal certified them what Day they designed to take him: If the Lover was unworthy of the Boy, they refused to yield him up; but if his Quality and Virtues were answerable, they made some slight Opposition, to satisfy the Law, and pursued him to his Lodgings, but then gave their Consent. After this the Lover carried the Boy whither he pleased, the Persons that were present at the Rape bearing him company. He entertained him some time, two Months at the farthest, with Hunting, and such Diversions, then returned him Home. At his Departure it was ordered by Law that the Boy should receive a Suit of Armour, an Ox, and a Cup, to which the Lover usually added out of his own Bounty several other Presents of value. The Boy being returned Home, sacrificed the Ox to *Jupiter*, made an Entertainment for those that had accompanied him in his Flight, and gave an Account of the Usage he had from his Lover; for in case he was rudely treated, the Law allowed him Satisfaction (c). 'Tis farther affirmed by *Maximus the Tyrian*, that during all the time of their Converse together, nothing unseemly, nothing repugnant to the strictest Laws of Virtue passed between them (d); and however some Authors are inclined to have hard Thoughts of this Custom, yet the Testimonies of many others, with the highest Characters given by the Ancients of the old *Cretan* Constitutions, by which it was approved, are sufficient to vindicate it from all false Imputations. The same is put beyond dispute by what *Strabo* tells us (e). that 'twas not so

remarkable all over *Greece*, and for the whole Conduct and excellent Consequences of it every where admired. There was no such thing as Presents passed between the Lovers, no foul Arts were used to insinuate themselves into one another's Affections; their Love was generous, and worthy the *Spartan* Education; it was first entertained from a mutual Esteem of one another's Virtue; and the same Cause which first inspired the Flame, did alone serve to nourish and continue it; it was not tainted with so much as a Suspicion of Immodesty. *Agesslaus* is said to have refused so much as to kiss the Boy he loved (*a*), for fear of Censure; and if a Person attempted any thing upon a Youth besides what consisted with the strictest Rules of Modesty, the Law, (however encouraging a virtuous Love) condemned him to Disgrace (*b*), whereby he was deprived of almost all the Privileges of free Denizens. The same Practice was allowed the Women towards their own Sex, and was so much in fashion among them, that the most staid and virtuous Matrons would publicly own their Passion for a modest and beautiful Virgin (*c*), which is a farther Confirmation of the Innocency of this Custom. *Maximus* the *Tyrian* (*d*) assures us the *Spartans* lov'd their Boys no otherwise than a Man may be enamour'd with a beautiful Statue, which he proves from what *Plutarch* (*e*) likewise reports, that tho' several Men's Fancies met in one Person, yet did not that cause any Strangeness or Jealousy among them, but was rather the beginning of a very intimate Friendship, whilst they all jointly conspired to render the beloved Boy the most accomplish'd in the World; for the End of this Love was, that the young Men might be improved in all virtuous and commendable Qualities, by conversing with Men of Probity and Experience; whence the Lover and the Beloved shared the Honour and Disgrace of each other; the Lover especially was blamed if the Boy offended, and suffer'd what Punishment was due to his Fault (*f*). *Plutarch* has a Story of a *Spartan* fined by the Magistrates, because the Lad whom he loved cried out effeminately whilst he was fighting (*g*). The same Love continued when the Boy was come to Man's Estate; he still preserved his former Intimacy with his Lover, imparted to him all his Designs, and was directed by his Counsels, as appears from another of *Plutarch's* Relations concerning *Cleomenes*, who before his Advancement to the Kingdom, was beloved by one *Xenares*, with whom he ever after maintained a most intimate Friendship, till he went about his Project of new modelling the Commonwealth, which *Xenares* not approving, departed from him, but still remained faithful to him, and concealed his Designs (*h*).

If we pass from *Sparta* to *Athens*, we shall find that there *Solon* forbade Slaves to love Boys. making that an honourable Action, and

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giver himself is said to have loved *Pisistratus* (a), and the most eminent Men in that Commonwealth submitted to the same Passion. *Socrates*, who died a Martyr for disowning the Pagan Idolatry, is very remarkable for such Amours, yet seems not whilst alive to have incur'd the least Suspicion of Dishonesty; for what else could be the cause, that when *Callias*, *Thrasymachus*, *Aristophanes*, *Amytus* and *Melitus*, with the rest of his Enemies, accused him of teaching *Critias* to tyrannize, for Sophistry, for Contempt of the Gods, and other Crimes, they never so much as upbraided him with impure Love, or for writing or discoursing upon that Subject? And tho' some Persons, especially in later Ages, and perhaps unacquainted with the Practice of the old *Grecians*, have called in question that Philosopher's Virtue in this Point, yet both he and his Scholar *Plato* are sufficiently vindicated from that Imputation by *Maximus* the *Tyrian* (b), to whom I refer the Reader. The Innocency of this Love may farther appear from their severe Laws enacted against immodest Love, whereby the Youths that entertained such Lovers were declared infamous, and render'd incapable of public Employments, and the Persons that prostituted them, condemned to die; several other Penalties were likewise order'd, to deter all Men from so heinous and detestable a Crime, as appears from the Laws of *Athens*, described in one of the foregoing Books (c).

There are many other Examples of this nature, whereof I shall only mention one more; it shall be taken from the *Thebans*, whose Lawgivers *Plutarch* tells us (d) encouraged this excellent Passion, to temper the Manners of their Youth; nor were they disappointed of their Expectation, a pregnant Evidence whereof (to omit others) we have in the *ισπὶ φάλαγγι*, *sacred Band*; it was a Party of 300 chosen Men, composed of Lovers and their Beloved, and therefore called *sacred*; it gained many important Victories, was the first that ever overcame the *Spartans* (whose Courage till then seemed irresistible) upon equal Terms, and was never beaten till the Battle at *Cheronea*; after which King *Philip* taking a View of the Slain, and coming to the Place where these 300, who had fought his whole *Phalanx*, lay dead together, he was struck with Wonder, and understanding that 'twas the Band of Lovers, he said weeping, *Let them perish who suspect that these Men either did or suffered any thing base.*

Before I conclude this Chapter, it may be necessary to observe, that the Lover was called by the *Spartans* *ἑσπικλῶς*, *ἑσπικλῶς*, or as others write it, *ἑσπικλῆς*; the Beloved was termed by the *Thebans* *αἰνός*. Thus *Theocritus* (e);

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The *Greek Scholiast* derives both the Names *παρὰ τὸ τὸν ἐρώμενον εἶσαται* καὶ εἰσωνεῖ τὸν ἔρωτα τῷ ἀγαπῶντι, from the Lover's being inspired with Affection by his Belov'd; and other ancient *Grammarians* agree with him herein.

CHAP. X.

Of their Customs in expressing their Love, their Love-Potions, Incantations, &c.

Lovers had several ways of discovering their Passion, and expressing the Respect they had for their Beloved. Every Tree in the Walks they frequented, every Wall of their Houses, every Book they used, had inscribed upon it the Beloved's Name, with the Epithet of *καλὴ* or *καλὸς*. Whence *Lucian* (a) relating a Story of one desperately in love with *Venus Cnidia*, after other Expressions of his Passion, adds, that there was never a Wall or Tree but what proclaimed *Αφροδίτη καλὴ*, *Venus fair*. *Callimachus's* Lover has the same Fancy, only that he wishes his Mistress's Name written on Leaves, if we may credit the *Scholiast* upon *Aristophanes* (b),

Ἀλλ' ἐν δὴ φύλλοις κεκαμμένα τόσσα φέροιεν
Γράμματα, Κυδίππην ὡς ἐρώσι καλὴν.

May the kind *Trees* on *Leaves* such *Letters* bear
As shall proclaim my dear *Cydippe* fair.

'Twas in Allusion to this Practice, that one in *Euripides* declared he should never entertain a good Opinion of the Female Sex, tho' the *Pines* in Mount *Ida* were filled with the Names (c). *Aristophanes* had an Eye to the same Custom, when jesting upon an old *Athenian* that was mightily in love with deciding Causes, he says, that upon every Place he writ *κημὸς καλὸς*, which Word signifies the Cover of the judiciary Urn (d),

— Ἀν' ἴδη γε πε γεγραμμένον
Τὸν Πυριλάμπους ἐν θύρᾳ Δῆμον καλὸν,
ὧν παρέγραψε πλεῖστοι Κημὸς καλὸς.

Lovers usually deck'd the Doors of their Beloved with Flowers and Garlands; for thinking the Persons their Affections were placed upon, to be the very Image of the Doors of Love, their House

could be no less than *Cupid's Temple* (a), which was accustomed to receive those Honours. From the same Original they seem to have derived the other Custom of making Libations before their Mistresses Doors, and sprinkling them with Wine, of which we have mention in the *Scholiast* upon *Aristophanes* (b), where he reports, that many of the *Theſſalian* Gentlemen were in love with the beautiful *Nais*, and publicly own'd their Passion, by sprinkling the Doors of her House with Wine.

When a Person's Garland was unty'd, it was taken for a Sign of being in love (c); and for a Woman to compose a Garland, was another Indication of her Passion (d),

————— Ἐάν τις πλέκη
Γύνη γέφανον, ἱερῶν δοκεῖ.

*The Wreathing Garlands in a Woman is
The usual Symptom of a Love-sick Mind.*

They had several Methods of discovering whether their Love would prove successful; that of the *κότλας* was very frequent at Entertainments, which is hereafter described. Two other ways we have in *Theocritus* (e)

Εγὼν πρὸν, ὅσα μιν μεμαμένω εἰ φιλέεις με,
'Οὐδὲ τὸ τηλέφιλον πολεμάξαιε τὸ πλαλάγημα,
'Αλλ' αὐτὼς ἀπαλῶ ποτὶ παχεῖ ἐξεμαράνθη·
Εἶπε κ' Ἀγροῖα τ' αλαδία κόσκινόμαυς,
'Α πρὸν ποιολογέουσα, παραιβάτις, ἔνεκ' ἐγὼ μὲν
Τὸν ὅλ' ἔγκειμαι, τὸ δὲ μιν λόγον ἄδεια ποιῶ.

All this I knew, when I design'd to prove
Whether I should be happy in my Love;
I press'd the *Long-life*, but in vain did press,
It gave no lucky Sound of good Success:
To *Agria* too I made the same Demand,
A *cunning* Woman she, I cross'd her Hand,
She turn'd the *Sieve* and *Sheers*, and told me true,
That I should love, but not be lov'd by you.

Mr. Creech.

Both these Customs I have already described in one of the precedent Books (f), which the Reader may consult.

When their Love was without Success, they had several Arts to procure the Affections of their Beloved. The *Theſſalian* Women were famous in their Skill in this, as well as other Magical Prac-

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it was sometimes done by Potions called *φύλαρα*, which are frequently mentioned in Authors of both Languages. *Juvenal* speaks thus (a),

*Hic Magicos affert cantus, hic Thessala vendit
Philtrea, quibus valeant mentem vexare mariti.*

This Pedlar offers Magic *Charms*, the next
Philtres, by which the Husband's Mind's perplex.

Their Operations were violent and dangerous, and commonly deprived such as drank them of their Reason. *Plutarch* and *Cornelius Nepos* report, that *Lucullus* the Roman General first lost his Reason, and afterwards his Life, by one of them. *Lucretius* the Poet ended his Life the same way; and *Caius Caligula* (as *Suetonius* reports) was driven into a Fit of Madness by a *Philtre* given him by his Wife *Cæsonia*; which Story is mentioned by the same Poet (b),

—— *Tamen hoc tolerabile, si non
Et furere incipias, ut avunculus ille Neronis,
Cui totam tremuli frontem Cæsonia pulli
Infudit*——

Some nimbler Juice would make him *foam* and *rave*,
Like that *Cæsonia* to her *Caius* gave,
Who plucking from the Forehead of the Fole
His Mother's Love, infus'd it in the Bowl. Mr. Dryden,

Ovid likewise assures us that this was the usual Effect of these Potions.

*Nec data profuerint pallentia philtrea puellis,
Philtrea nocent animis, vimque furoris habent.*

All pois'nous Drugs, and necromantic Arts
Ne'er move the scornful Maids relentless Hearts,
They but distract the Senses, seize the Brain,
And *Venus* Rites and Mysteries profane. J. A.

The Ingredients they were made up of were of several sorts, divers of which applied by themselves were thought effectual. Some of the most remarkable were these that follow :

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Powder, and swallow'd with some Drops of the Lover's Blood. 'Tis frequently mention'd by the Writers of Natural History. *Aristotle*, *Pliny*, *Solinus*, *Columella*, with many others, have thought it worth their Notice. The Poets are full of its Effects; whence *Dido* in *Virgil* (to omit other Instances) has recourse to it, when pretending to recall *Aeneas* to her Affection (a),

*Quæritur & nascentis equi de fronte revulsus,
Et matri præceptus amor. —*

She from the Forehead of a new foal'd Colt
Th' excrescent Lump doth seek, —

The same Word is frequently taken in another Sense, and is described by *Pliny* to be *virus distillans ab inguine equæ coitum maris appetentis, & in furorem agens*. This was no less powerful than the former, as appears from *Pausanias's* Story of a Horse's Statue dedicated by one *Pbormis* an *Arcadian*, which being infected by a Magician with the *Hippomanes* I am speaking of, so enraged all the Stone-Horses that passed that way, that they would break their Bridles in pieces, and throw their Riders, to come at it (b), and could not without great Difficulty and many Stripes be forced from it. Several of the Poets speak of its Effects; *Ovid* (c),

*Scit bene quid gramen, quid torto concita rhombo
Licia, quid valeat virus amantis equæ.*

She knows the Virtue of each Herb to move
The latent Seeds of a coy Lady's Love:
She knows the Rhomb, what Feats in Magic are,
From pois'nous Issue of a lustful Mare.

Virgil will have it to proceed from *Lufitanian* Mares impregnated by the Wind (d),

*Continuque avidis ubi subdita flamma medullis
Vere magis, quia vere calor redit ossibus; illæ,
Ore omnes versæ in Zephyrum, stant rupibus altis,
Exceptantque leves auræ; & sæpe sine ullis
Conjugiis, vento gravida (mirabile dictu)
Saxa per, & scopulas, & depressas convalles
Diffugiunt; non, Eure, tuos, neque solis adortus,
In Boream, Caurumque, aut unde nigerimus Ausfer.*
Et aliam contrahit finem calum

*Hippomanes, quod sepe mala legere noverca,
Miseruntque verbas, & non innoxia verba.*

When at the Spring's Approach their Marrow burns,
(For with the Spring their genial Heat returns)
The Mares to Cliffs of rugged Rocks repair,
And with wide Nostrils snuff the Western Air;
When (wondrous to relate) the Parent Wind,
Without the Stallion, propagates the Kind;
Then fir'd with am'rous Rage they take their Flight
Thro' Plains, and mount the Hills unequal Height;
Nor to the North, nor to the rising Sun,
Nor Southward to the rainy Regions run,
But bearing to the West, and hov'ring there,
With gaping Mouths they draw prolific Air,
With which impregnate, from their Groins they shed
A slimy Juice by false Conception bred
The Shepherds know it well, and call the same
Hippomanes, to note the Mother's Flame;
This gather'd in the Planetary Hour,
With noxious Weeds, and spell'd with Words of Pow'r,
Dire Stepdames in the Magic Bowl infuse,
And mix for deadly Draughts the pois'nous Juice.
Mr. Dryden.

The same Story is attested by *Aristotle*.. Others make *Hippomanes* to be a Plant in *Arcadia*, which also was powerful in producing the forementioned Effects (a),

Ἴππομανὲς φύλον ἐστὶ παρ' Ἀρκασί· τῷ δ' ἐπὶ πᾶσαι
καὶ πῶλοι μαίνονται ἀν' ὥρα, καὶ θοαὶ ἵπποι·
Ὡς καὶ Δέλφιδ' ἴδοιμι καὶ ἐς τόδε δῶμα περῆσαι
Μαινομένην ἵκλον, λιπαρᾶς ἐκλίσσει παλαιστῆρας·

Hippomanes, a Plant *Arcadia* bears,
This makes Steeds mad, and this excites the Mares;
And oh! that I could see my *Delpbis* come
From th' oily Fencing-house to raving Home. Mr. Creech.

Iuvē, is the Name of a small Bird, the *Latin* of which is not agreed on; some translate it *passerculus*, others will have it the same with *torquilla*, *frutilla*, or with *regulus*. This Bird the Writers of Fables tell us (b) was once the Daughter of *Pan* and *Pisbo*, or *Echo*, and having inveigled *Jupiter* into *Io*'s Love was transformed by *Juno*; upon this she became the Darling of *Venus*, and retaining the same Inclinations she had formerly, still served to pro-

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mote the Affairs of Love: The first time the Goddess made use of her was in the *Argonautic Expedition*, when she invented Love-magick with Charms and Potions, a chief Ingredient whereof was this Bird, which she communicated to *Jason*, to gain his Access to *Medea's Affections*. Hence *Pindar* (a),

Μαινάδ' ὄρει Κυπρογένεια φέρει
Πρῶτον ἀνθρώποισι, λιτάς τ' ἔπαισι·
Δας ἐκδιδάσκεισι σοφὸν Αἰσονίδαο·
Ὅφρα Μηδίας Τοκίον ἀφίλοι·
τ' αἰδῶ. —————

The Goddess *Venus* first disclos'd the Use,
To *Jason* first the Magic Charm display'd,
Told how the Bird would fire the Maid,
And glowing Love into her Breast infuse;
Nor Duty, nor Paternal Love should blind,
Too weak and feeble is that Force;
When *Lynx* steers the Lover's Course,
A safe Admittance he is sure to find.

H. H.

The Part most valued by Enchanters was the Tongue, which they looked on as having a sovereign Virtue in Love-potions: Sometimes they fasten'd the whole Bird to a Wheel of Wax, which they turn'd over the Fire till both were consumed, thus inflaming the Party in whom they had a mind to create Love. Others there are that will have ἵνυξ to signify nothing but a Musical Instrument; and some take it for all sorts of Allurements.

To these may be added several Herbs, and Insects bred out of putrid Matter, with other Animals, such as the Fish called ἰχθυίς, or *remora*; the Lizard, with another not much unlike it, called *stellio* and *stincus*; the Brains of a Calf, the Hair upon the Extremity of a Wolf's Tail, with some of his secret Parts; the Bones of the left side of a Toad eaten by Ants, for these were thought to generate Love, whereas those on the right side caused Hatred. Others took the same Bones, when the Fleth was devoured by Ants, and cast them into a Vessel of Water, wherein those that sunk, being wound up in a white linnen Cloth, and hung about any Person, inflamed him with Love, the others with Hatred. Other Parts of the Toad were used in poisonous Compositions; whence *Juvenal* (b).

At nunc res agitur tenui pulmone rubetæ.

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To these others add the Blood of Doves, the Bones of Snakes, Scritch-Owl's Feathers, Bands of Wooll twisted upon a Wheel (which were very much used on these Occasions, for their Resemblance to the soft Ties of Love) especially such as had been bound about one that hang'd himself; some of these are mentioned by *Propertius (a)*,

*Improba non vicit me moribus illa, sed herbis.
Staminea rhombi ducitur ille rota;
Illum turgentis ranæ portenta rubetæ,
Et læta exsecratis anguibus ossa trahunt,
Et frigis inventæ per busta jacentia plumæ,
Cinctaque funesto lanea vitta viro.*

Were there no Merit but a due Regard,
I should not fear my Rival's being preferr'd;
But she, too conscious of my pow'rful Charms,
By Spells and Magick tears him from my Arms;
The pois'nous Bones of swelling Toads she takes,
And mingles them with those of crested Snakes;
Then strait where Owls frequent she doth repair,
And picks their scatter'd Feathers up with Care;
Next she procures some fatal woollen Band
That late bound him that dy'd by his own Hand.

H. H.

Several other Ingredients of Love-potions are mentioned in *Lucilius's* Verses cited by *Appuleius (b)*,

*Pbiltra omnia undique eruunt,
Antipathes illud quæritur,
Trochiscis, iyngeis, taniæ,
Radiculæ, herbæ, furculi,
Auræ ilices, bichordilæ,
Himnientium dulcedines.*

From ev'ry Part they Magic Draughts procure,
For that much-fam'd *Antipathes* they seek,
Pills, Fillets, and those Love-enforcing Birds,
Roots too, and baneful Herbs, and sappy Sprigs,
With Scarlet Oaks, and with *Hippomanes*.

Other sorts of Ingredients were Rags, Torches, and, in short all Relics, and whatever had any relation to dead Corpses. or

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then they open'd the Grave, and such of them as were found with Mouths shut were thought conducive to allay the Passion of Love; but the rest, which perished with Mouths gaping for Food, were thought to excite it. To the same End they used Bones snatched from hungry and ravenous Bitches, which were believed to derive some part of the eager Desire of those Animals into the Potion; Hence *Horace* gives us this elegant Description of an Enchantress's Practices (a),

*Canidia brevibus implicata viperis
Crines & incompum caput,
Jubet sepulcris caprificos erutas,
Jubet cupressos funebres,
Et uncta turpis ova ranæ sanguine,
Plumamque nocturnæ strigis,
Herbasque, quas & Iolchos, atque Iberia
Mittit venenorum ferax,
Et ossa ab ore raptæ jejunæ canis,
Flammis aduri Colchicis.*

Canidia then does for the Charm prepare,
And binds with Snakes her uncomb'd Hair;
Maid, speed she cries, and pillage ev'ry Tomb,
Bring Cypress and wild Fig-tree Home;
Let Eggs first steep'd in Blood of Toads be sought,
And Feathers from the Scritch-Owl brought;
Bring ven'mous Drugs, such as *Iolchos* yields,
And Poison from *Iberian* Fields;
Bring Bones from Jaws of hungry Bitches torn,
And those I'll seeth, and those I'll burn,
As first *Medea* did inform,

H. H.

To these they added another Ingredient more powerful than any of the rest, which the Poet has thus described in the same Ode (b),

*Abacta nulla Veja conscientia,
Ligonibus duris humum
Exhauriebat ingemens laboribus;
Quo posset infossus puer
Longo die bis terve mutatæ dapis
Inemori spectaculo,*

Veja, who ne'er Remorse of Conscience felt,
Nor blush'd at her own horrid Guilt,
Toils at the Spade, and digs the fatal Pit,
In which th' unhappy Lad she set,
Where choicest Dainties, while his Life should last,
Oft feast his Eyes, deny'd his Taste;
Just o'er the Brim appears his sickly Head,
As theirs who in the Rivers wade;
That there his Marrow drain'd and Liver dry,
Might with Love-potions her supply,
As soon as e'er his fainting Eye-balls shew'd
Approaching Death for want of Food. H. H.

Let us pass now to some other Arts they had of exciting Love :
Some thought the Udder of an *Hyæna* tied about their left Arm, a
good Expedient to entice to their Affections any Woman they fixed
their Eyes on : others took *πίτυρα*, a sort of small and hard Olives,
or (as others interpret it) Barley-bran, which either by itself, or
made up in Pasté, they cast into the Fire, hoping thereby to inspire
the Flame of Love : Hence *Simætha* in *Theocritus* (a),

Νῦν θυσῶ τὰ πίτυρα ———

Now will I strew the Barley-bran.

Sometimes they used *ἄλφιλα*, or Flour, which the *Scholiast* upon
Theocritus will have termed *θυλήματα*. That Poet has described
this Custom, where he introduces his Enchantress thus calling out
to her Maid (b) ;

Ἀμφιλίᾳ τοι πρῶτον πυρὶ τάσσεται, ἀλλ' ἐπίπασσι,
Θίσυλι δειλαία, πᾶ τὰς φρένας ἐκπεπότασαι ;
Ἡ ῥά γι' τοι, μυσαρά, καὶ τὴν ἐπίχαρμα τίτυμαι,,
Πᾶσσι ἅμα, καὶ λίσι ταῦτα, τὰ Δελφιδῶν ὅς τίς πάσσω.

First burn the Flour, then strew the other on,
Strew it ; how ? where's your Sense and Duty gone ?
Base *Thestylis*, and am I so forlorn,
And grown so low, that I'm become your Scorn ?
But strew the Salt, and say in angry Tones,
I scatter Delphid's, perjur'd Delphid's Bones. Mr. Creech.

Instead of Bran or Flour, 'twas usual to burn Laurel, as we learn
from the same Enchantress, who proceeds thus :

Δίλφης ἴμ' ἀνίσταται, ἰγὰ δ' ἐπὶ Δίλφιδι δάφνας
 Αἶθω· ἥ ὡς αὐτὰ λακίαι μέγα καπκυρίσασα,
 Κηξαπίτης ἄφθνη, καὶ στυδὸν εἶδοιμ' αὐτῆς,
 Οὕτω τοί κ' Δίλφης ἐν φλογὶ σάκε' ἀμαθύνει.

First *Delphid* injur'd me, he rais'd my Flame,
 And now I burn this Bough in *Delphid's* Name;
 As this doth blaze, and break away in Fume;
 How soon it takes! let *Delphid's* Flesh consume.

Mr. Creech.

'Twas likewise frequent to melt Wax, thereby to mollify the Person's Heart whom they desired: Hence she goes on,

Ὡς τῷτον τὸν καρὸν ἐγὼ σὺν δαίμονι τάκω,
 Ὡς τάκοιδ' ἵπ' ἑωῖο· ὁ Μύνδιος αὐτίκα Δίλφης.

As the devoted Wax melts o'er the Fire,
 Let *Myndian Delphis* melt with soft Desire.

Sometimes they placed Clay before the Fire, together with Wax, that as one melted whilst the other hardened, so the Person that then rejected them, might have his Heart mollified with Affection, and inflamed with Desire, whilst their own became hard and unrelenting; or that his Heart might be rendred incapable of any Impression from other Beauties but easy of Access to themselves. This seems to be *Virgil's* Meaning in the first of the following Verses: the latter two contain some of the Customs before described out of *Theocritus*.

*Limus ut hic durefcit, & hæc ut cera liquefcit,
 Uno eodemque igni; sic nostro Daphnis amore;
 Sparge molam, & fragiles incende bitumine lauros;
 Daphnis me malus urit, ego hanc in Daphnide laurum (a).*

As Fire this Figure hardens made of Clay,
 And this of Wax with Fire consumes away,
 Such let the Soul of cruel *Daphnis* be,
 Hard to the rest of Women, soft to me.
 Crumble the sacred Mole of Salt and Corn,
 Next in the Fire the Bays with Brimstone burn,
 And whilst it crackles in the Sulphur say,

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praying he might fall down before their Doors, and rowl himself on the Ground. Thus *Theocritus's* Enchantress,

Χ' ὡς δινεῖθ' ὁδὸν ῥέμβῃ· ὁ χάλκιον, ἐξ Ἀφροδίτης
'Ως κινῇ· δινεῖτο ποδ' ἀμείβεαισι Δελφιδαιον.

And, *Venus*, as I whirl this brazen Wheel,
Before my Doors let perjur'd *Delphid* rowl.

We are told that it has been usual to compose an Image of Wax, and calling it by the Name of the Person to be inflam'd with Love to place it near the Fire, the Heat whereof affected the Image, and the Person represented by it, at the same time (a). *Virgil's* Enchantress speaks of drawing it three times round the Altar.

—— *terque hæc altaria circum*
Effigiem duco ——

Thrice round this Altar I the Image draw.

She had before taken care to have it bound, thereby to intimate the tying his Affections;

Terna tibi hæc primum triplici diversa colore
Licia circumdo. ——

Three threads I of three different Colours bound
About your Image. ——

It was not unfrequent to sprinkle enchanted Medicaments upon some part of the House where the Person resided. Thus *Theocritus's* Enchantress commands;

Θέλει, νῦν δὲ λαβοῖσα τὸ τὰ θρόνα ταυθ', ἐπιμαζον
Τὰς τήνῃ φλιας λαθυπίερον, ἃς ἔτι κ' νῦν
'Εκ θυμῷ δίδεμαι· (ὃ δὲ μὲν λόγον ἔδνα ποιῶ)
Καὶ λὺγ' ἐπιφθύσδοισα, τὰ Δέλφιδ' ὄστ' ἰά πάσσω.

Now take these Poisons, I procure you more,
And strew them at the Threshhold of his Door,
That Door where violent Love hath fix'd my Mind,
Tho' he regard not, cruel and unkind!
Strew them, and spitting say in angry Tones,
I scatter Delphid's, perjur'd Delphid's Bones. Mr. Creech.

If they could get into their Hands any thing that belonged to the

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Enchantress burns the Border of *Delphid's* Garment, that the Owner might be tortured with the same Flame ;

Τὴν ἀπὸ τᾶς χλαῖνας τὸ κρέσσιδον ἄλσει Δελφίς,
Ὡγὰ νῦν τίλλοισα κατ' ἀγρίῳ ἐν πυρὶ βάλλω.

This Piece from dear false *Delphid's* Garment torn,
I tear again, and am resolv'd to burn.

Virgil's Enchantress deposits her Lover's Pledges in the Ground,
underneath her Threshhold,

*Has olim exuvias mihi perfidus ille reliquit,
Pignora cara sui ; quæ nunc ego limine in ipso,
Terra, tibi mando ; debent hæc pignora Daphnin.*

These Garments once were his, and left to me,
The Pledges of his promis'd Loyalty ;
Which underneath my Threshhold I bestow,
These Pawns, O sacred Earth, to me my *Daphnis* owe.
Mr. Dryden.

The Design of which Action seems to be the retaining her Lover,
and securing his Affections from wandering.

Virgil has thus described another Method in the Nymph's Command to her Woman,

*Fer cineres, Amarylli, foras, revoque fluenti,
Transque caput jace ; ne respexeris : His ego Daphnin
Aggrediar, nihil ille Deos, nil carmina curat.*

Bear out these Ashes, cast them in the Brook ;
Cast backwards o'er your Head, nor turn your Look ;
Since neither Gods, nor God-like Verbe can move,
Break out ye smother'd Fires, and kindle smother'd Love.
Mr. Dryden.

I shall only trouble you with one Expedient more, which was
their tying *Veneréal* Knots, to unite the beloved Person's Affections
with their own :

*Necte tribus nodis ternos, Amarylli, colores ;
Necte, Amarilli, modo ; & Veneris, dic, vincula necto.*

Knit with three Knots the Fillets, knit them streight ;
And say *These Knots to Love I consecrate*

Ἐς τρεῖς ἀποσπίνδω, καὶ τρεῖς τὰς ἐνθάδε χάριτας φωνῶ.

Thrice, thrice I pour, and thrice repeat my Charms.

Virgil has assigned the Reason hereof to the Pleasure the Gods were thought to take in that Number.

———— *Numero Deus impari gaudet.*

Unequal Numbers please the Gods.

Whether this Fancy owe its Original to the supposed Perfection of the Number Three, because, containing a Beginning, Middle, and End, it seems natural to signify all Things in the World; or whether to the Esteem the *Pythagoreans*, and some other Philosophers had for it, on the Account of their Trinity; or lastly (to mention no more Opinions) to its Aptness to signify the Power of all the Gods, who were divided into three Classes, Celestial, Terrestrial, and Infernal, I shall leave to be determined by others. Thus much is certain, that the Ancients thought there was no small Force and Efficacy in unequal Numbers; whence we find *Vegetius* advising, that the Ditches round Encampments should be at the least nine Feet in Breadth, at the most seventeen, but always of an unequal Number (*a*). Shepherds are likewise advised to take care that the Number of their Sheep be not even (*b*); but the Number three was acceptable to the Gods above all others; whence we find three *fatal Sisters*, three *Furies*, three Names and Apperances of *Diana*, according to the Poet:

———— *Tria virginis ora Dianæ.*

Three different Forms does chaste *Diana* bear.

The Sons of *Saturn*, among whom the Empire of the World was divided, were three; and for the same Reason we read of *Jupiter's fulmen trifidum*, *Neptune's Trident*, with several other Tokens of the Veneration they had for this Number.

Many of their other Practices were the same with those used at common Incantations: The *Charm*, or Form of Verses, had little Difference beside the proper Application to the present Occasion: *Virgil's* Nymph speaks of her Verses as of the same Sort, and endued with the same Efficacy as *Circe's*;

———— *Nil hic nisi carmina desunt:*
Ducite ab urbe domum, mea carmina, ducite Daphnin;

*Carminibus Circe socios mutavit Ulyssæi,
Frigidus in pratis cantando rumpitur anguis.*

———— We want but Verse; restore, my Charms,
My ling'ring *Daphnis* to my longing Arms;
Pale *Phæbe* drawn by Verse, from Heav'n descends,
And *Circe* chang'd with Charms *Ulysses'* Friends:
Verse breaks the Ground, and penetrates the Brake,
And in the winding Cavern splits the Snake.

Mr. Dryden.

And the Herbs' and Minerals used in other magical Operations, were no less sought for in this, there being in them (as 'twas thought) some wonderful Powers, which were equally prevalent in all supernatural and miraculous Effects; whence we find *Virgil's* Nymph alluring *Daphnis* to her Love by the very same Medicaments which *Mæris* had found effectual in performing other magical Feats:

*Has herbas, atque hæc Ponto mihi læta venena
Ipso dedit Mæris; nascuntur plurima Ponto;
His ego sæpe lupum fieri, & se condere filvis
Mærin, sæpe animas imis excire sepulcris,
Atque satas alio vidi traducere menses.*

These pois'nous Plants for Magic Use design'd,
(The noblest, and the best of all the baneful Kind)
Old *Mæris* brought me from the Pontic Strand,
And cull'd the Mischief of a bounteous Land;
Smear'd with the pow'rful Juices, on the Plain
He howls a Wolf among the hungry Train;
And oft the mighty Necromancer boasts,
With these to call from Tombs the stalking Ghosts;
And from the Roots to tear the standing Corn,
Which whirl'd aloft, to distant Fields is born.

Mr. Dryden.

The Gods likewise (to mention no more Instances of their Agreement) were the same that superintended all magical Arts, as we learn from *Theocritus Simætha*, who is introduced invoking the *Moon* and *Hecate* to her Assistance;

———— Ἀλλὰ Σελάνᾳ
Φαῖνε καλόν, τὴν γὰρ ποταίσσομαι ἄσυχᾳ, δαῖμον,
Τᾷ χθονία θ' ἑκάτα, τὰν καὶ σκύλας τρομοῦσι
Ἑνομέναν νεκρῶν ἀνὰ τ' ἦοια. καὶ μέλαν αἶμα.

— Moon, shine bright and clear,
To thee I will direct my secret Pray'r;
To thee and *Hecate*, whom Dogs do dread,
When stain'd with Gore she stalks amidst the Dead,
Hail, frightful *Hecate*, assist me still,
Make mine as great as fam'd *Medea's* Skill. Mr. Creech.

Thus far concerning their Arts in exciting Love. It may be enquired in the next Place, whether they had any Means to allay the Passion, when once rais'd? Now it appears, that it was common to set the Patient at Liberty by the Help of more powerful Medicaments, or Dæmons superior to those that had bound him; whence we find *Canidia* in *Horace* complaining, that all her Enchantments were render'd ineffectual by Arts superior to her own;

*Quid accidit? cur dira barbaræ minus
Venena Medæ valent,
Quibus superba fugit ulta pellicem,
Magni Creontis filiam,
Cum palla, tabo munus imbutam, novam
Incendio nuptam abtulit?
Atqui nec herba, nec latens in asperis
Radix fefellit me locis.
Indormit unctis omnium cubilibus
Oblivione pellicum.
Ah, ah, solutus ambulat veneficæ
Scientioris carmine.*

Am I so serv'd? my base degrading Charms,
Shall *Colchos* foster greater Harms?
What! shall the Present spell'd with Magic Rage,
Medea's vengeful Breast assuage?
Since the fallacious Gift to Flames is turn'd,
And her unhappy Rival burn'd?
Then what am I? There's not an Herb doth grow,
Nor Root, but I their Virtues know,
And can the craggy Places show;
Yet *Venus* flights my Love, above my Pow'r,
And sleeps on rosy Beds secure;
Ah! much I fear some Rival's greater Skill
Defends him from my weaker Spell. H. H.

But Love inspir'd without the Assistance of Magic, scarce yielded to any Cure; *Apollo* himself could find no Remedy against it, but is introduced lamenting in these Words (a);

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*Inventum medicina meam est, opiferque per orbem
Dicor, & herbarum est subiecta potentia nobis;
Hei mihi! quod nullus amor est medicabilis herbis,
Nec profunt domino, quæ profunt omnibus, artes.*

Med'cine is mine, what Herbs and Simples grow
In Fields and Forests, all their Pow'rs I know,
And am the great Physician call'd below;
Alas! that Fields and Forests can afford
No Remedies to heal their Love-sick Lord!
To cure the Pains of Love no Plant avails,
And his own Phyfic the Physician fails. *Mr. Dryden.*

The same Poet professes, in another place, that no Art was ever able to set a Lover at Liberty (a);

*Nulla recantatas deponunt pectora curas,
Nec fugiet vivo sulphure victus amor.
Quid te Phasiacæ juverunt gramina terre,
Cum cuperes patria, Colchi, manere domo?
Quid tibi profuerunt, Circe, Perseides, herbæ,
Cum tibi Neritias abstulit aura rates.*

Not all the Pow'r of Verse with Magic join'd
Can heal the Torture of a Love-sick Mind;
Altars may smook with expiatory Fire,
Too weak to make a well-fix'd Love retire,
Love by Repulse still works the Passion higher.
What Help, *Medea*, did thy Potions yield?
Not all the Drugs that stock'd the *Colchian* Field,
Cou'd Ease to your distracted Breast afford,
When forc'd from home, you lov'd the foreign Lord.
Nor greater the Relief that *Circe* found,
When left by her *Ulysses* homewards bound;
Nor Herbs, nor Poisons could her Grief allay,
When envious Blasts had stol'n her Dear away. *H. H.*

But notwithstanding the Difficulty of this Cure, there is not wanting Variety of Prescriptions adapted to the several Causes and Occasions of the Malady; as appears from the old Nurse's Words to *Myrrha* desperately in love (b);

Madness by sacred Numbers is expell'd,
And Magic will to stronger Magic yield ;
If the dire Wrath of Heav'n this Fury rais'd,
Heav'n is with Sacrifice and Pray'r appeas'd.

Mr. Hopkins.

The Antidotes may be reduced to two sorts ; they were either such as had some natural Virtue to produce the designed Effect ; such are *Agnus Castus*, and the Herbs reputed Enemies to Generation (a). Or, secondly, such as wrought the Cure by some occult and mystical Power, and the Assistance of *Dæmons* ; such are the Sprinkling of the Dust wherein a Mule had rowl'd herself (b), the tying Toads in the Hide of a Beast lately slain (c), with several others mentioned by *Pliny* ; amongst which we may reckon all the Minerals and Herbs, which were looked on as Amulets against other Effects of Magic, for those were likewise proper on such Occasions ; whence the Poets usually mention *Caucasus*, *Calchis*, and other Places famous for magical Plants, as those which alone could furnish Remedies and Antidotes against Love ; I shall only set down one Instance, wherein the Poet enquiring what should be the Cause his Mistress had so forsaken him, puts this Question among others (d) ;

————— *An quæ*
Letta Prometheus dividit herba jugis.

What ! do those odious Herbs, the *Lower's Bane*,
Growing on *Caucasus*, produce this Pain ?

By *Prometheus's* Mountain he means *Caucasus*, which was remarkable for Herbs of sovereign Power, that sprung out of *Prometheus's* Blood.

The Infernal Gods were call'd upon for Assistance, as may be learn'd from *Virgil's Dido*, who signifies her pretended Design to dispel the Remains of her Love for *Aeneas* in these Words (e) ;

Sacræ Jovi Stygio, quæ rite incepta paravi,
Perficere est animus, sinemque imponere curis,
Dardaniique regum capitis permittere flammæ.

Thus will I pay my Vows to *Stygian Jove*,
And end the Cares of my disastrous Love ;
Then cast the *Trojan Image* on the Fire,
And as that burns my Passion shall expire. Mr. Dryden.

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Silius introduces *Anna*, *Dido's* Sister, telling how she had endeavoured to render the same Gods propitious (a) ;

*Nigro forte Jovi, cui tertia regna laborant,
Atque atri sociæ thalami nova sacra parabam,
Quis ægram mentem, & trepidantia corda levaret
Infelix germana tori* —————

To grisly *Jove* of Hell I Off'rings paid,
And to the swarthy Consort of his Bed,
In Pity of my Love-sick Sister's Grief,
And in Assurance of a blest'd Relief,
To charm her Cares to sleep, her Fears to rest,
And still the Tumults of her troubled Breast. *J. A.*

Not long before the same Person, relating how the Diviners assay'd to restore *Dido* to her right Mind, says, they invok'd the Gods of *Night* (whereby she means the Shades below) to aid them ;

*Hæu ! Sacri vatatum errores, dum numina Noctis
Eliciunt, spondentque novis medicamina curis.*

O soothing *Priestcraft* ! O the close *Disguise*
Of Cheat, Imposture, and well-varnish'd Lies !
With a pretended Zeal the Shades they implore,
The Gods of *Night* demurely they adore,
With promis'd Cures they gull our easy Minds,
A solemn Vow their holy Knav'ry binds. *J. A.*

I shall only mention one Expedient more, whereby they cured themselves of Love ; 'tis the Water of *Selemnus*, a River that falls into the Sea near *Argyra* in *Achaia*. The Story is thus : *Selemnus*, a beautiful young Shepherd in those Parts, was belov'd by *Argyra*, the Nymph, from whom the Town and Fountain of that Name were called ; but the Flower of his Age being over, the Nymph deserted him, upon which he pined away, and was transformed into a River by *Venus* ; after this he still retain'd his former Passion, and (as the *Patrensiens* report) for some time convey'd his Waters through a subterraneous Passage to *Argyra's* Fountain, in the same manner that *Alpheus* was said to join himself with *Antebusa*, till by *Venus's* Favour, the Remembrance of her was caus'd to vanish quite out of his Mind. Hence it came to pass, that as many as wash'd themselves in this River, were made to forget that Passion. Thus *Pausanias* (b).

Thus much concerning their Love. I am not ignorant that

C H A P. XI:

Of their MARRIAGES.

THE first Inhabitants of *Greece* liv'd without Laws and Government, no Bounds were prescrib'd to their Passions, their Love (like the rest of their Desires) were unconfin'd, and promiscuous Mixtures, because forbidden by no Human Authority, were publicly allowed. The first that restrained this Liberty was *Cecrops*, who having rais'd himself to be King over the People, afterwards called *Athenians*, amongst many other useful Constitutions, introduced that of Marriage (a). Others refer the Honour of this Institution, together with the Invention of Dancing, to *Erato*, one of the *Muses*; but some rather understand that Story of the Marriage-Solemnity, the regular Conduct whereof, they say, was first ordered by *Erato*. However that be, it was in some Time received by all the *Grecians*; for no sooner did they begin to reform their savage and barbarous Course of Life, and join themselves in Towns and Societies, but they found it necessary to confine the unruly Lusts of Men, by establishing lawful Marriage, with other Rules of good Manners.

Marriage was very honourable in several of the *Grecian* Commonwealths, being very much encouraged by their Laws, as the abstaining from it was discountenanced, and in some Places punished; for the Strength of States consisting in their Number of People, those that refused to contribute to their Increase, were thought very cold in their Affections to their Country. The *Lacedæmonians* are very remarkable for their Severity against those that deferred marrying, as well as those who wholly abstained from it (b). No Man among them could live without a Wife beyond the Time limited by their Lawgiver, without incurring several Penalties; as first, the Magistrates commanded such once every Winter to run round the publick *Forum* naked; and to increase their Shame, they sung a certain Song, the Words whereof aggravated their Crime, and exposed them to Ridicule. Another of their Punishments was, to be excluded from the Exercises, wherein (according to the *Spartan* Customs) young Virgins contended naked (c). A third Penalty was inflicted upon a certain Solemnity, wherein the Women dragg'd them round an Altar, beating them all the time with their Fists (d). Lastly, they were deprived of that Respect and Obedience which the younger sort were obliged to pay to their Elders; and therefore ~~saith~~ *Plutarch* (e), no Man found fault with what was

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Armies, who coming into the Place of Assembly, a young Man, instead of rising and making room, told him, *Sir, you must not expect that Honour from me being young, which cannot be returned to me by a Child of yours when I am old.* To these we may add the *Athenian Law* (a), whereby all that were Commanders, Orators, or intrusted with any public Affair, were to be married, and have Children, and Estates in Land; for these were looked on as so many Pledges for their good Behaviour, without which they thought it dangerous to commit them to the Management of public Trusts.

Polygamy was not commonly tolerated in *Greece*, for Marriage was thought to be a Conjunction of one Man with one Woman; whence some will have γάμος derived, γὰρ τὸ δύο ἑναί εἶναι, from *two becoming one*. When *Herodotus* reports that *Anaxandrides* the *Spartan* had two Wives, he remarks that it was contrary to the Custom of *Sparta* (b). The rest of the *Grecian Cities* did, for the most part, agree herein with the *Lacedaemonians*; only upon some emergent Occasions, when their Men had been destroyed by War, or other Calamities, Toleration was granted for marrying more Wives; an Instance whereof we have at *Athens* in *Euripides's* Time, who, as some say, conceived an Hatred against the whole Sex, for which he is famous in Story, by being harrassed with two Wives once (c). *Socrates* is said to have been married to *Xantippe*, and *Myrto* at the same time (d), and *Athenaus* concludes it was then reputed no Scandal, because we never find any of his Enemies casting it in his Teeth (e); but some think the Matter of Fact may be justly called into question, and in *Plutarch's* Opinion, *Panætius* of *Rhodes*, ἰσχυρῶς ἀνελίγων has it fully confuted in his Discourse concerning *Socrates* (f).

The Time of Marriage was not the same in all Places: The *Spartans* were not permitted to marry till they arrived at their full Strength (g); and tho' I do not find what was the exact Number of Years they were confined to, yet it appears from one of *Lycurgus's* Sayings, that both Men and Women were limited in this Affair; which that Lawyer being asked the Reason of, said, his Design was that the *Spartan* Children might be strong and vigorous. The *Athenian Laws* are said once to have ordered, that Men should not marry till above 35 Years of Age; for Human Life being divided by *Solon* into 10 Weeks (ἰσδομαδες) he affirmed, in *harm hebdomadam quintam maturitatem ad stirpem reliquendam homini inesse*; that in the fifth of these Weeks Men were of Ripeness to multiply their Kind (h); but this depended upon the Humour of the Lawgiver, and is not generally received to in this Matter. *Aristotle*

Ὡραῖν δὲ γυναῖκα τοὺς πολλοὺς οἶκον ἀγεσθαι,
Μῆτε τρηχόθην ἱτέων μάλα πολλὰ ἀπολείπων,
Μῆτ' ἐπιθίς μάλα πολλὰ. γάμῳ δὲ τοι ἄρις ἔστω (a).

The Time to enter on a marry'd Life
Is about *Thirty*, then bring home a Wife ;
But don't delay too late, or wed too young,
Since Strength and Prudence to this State belong. J. A.

Women married sooner than Men; some of the old *Athenian Laws* permitted them to marry at 26, *Aristotle* at 18, *Herodotus* at 15.

Ἡ δὲ γυνὴ τέσσαρ, ἡδὲν, πέμπτῃ δὲ γαμοῖτο (b).

A Wife when fifteen chuse, then let her wed,
I th' Prime for *Hymen's* Rites, for th' Joys of th' Marriage-bed.

Where the Poet advises that Women be permitted to grow to Maturity in four Years, *i. e.* four after ten, and marry in the fifth, *i. e.* the fifteenth. Others think he means they must continue unmarried four Years after their Arrival at Woman's Estate, *i. e.* at fourteen Years, and marry in the fifth, *i. e.* the nineteenth. But as the Women were sooner marriageable than Men, so their Time was far shorter, it being common for Men to marry much older than Women could expect to do, as *Lyfistrate* complains in *Aristophanes* (c) :

ΔΥ. Παρὶ πάντε κορῶν ἐν τοῖς θαλάμοις γηρασκυσῶν ἀνωμαι.

ΠΡ. Οὐκ ἔστι γ' ἄνδρες γερασκυσῶν ; ΔΥ. Μὰ Δὲ ἄλλ' ἢ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὅμοιον,

Ὁ γὰρ ἦσαν μὲν, καὶ ἡ παλὴς, ταχὺ παῖδα κόρην γειάμηναι.

Τῆς δὲ γυναῖκος μικρὸς ὁ καιρὸς, καὶ τότο μὴ παλαιώσῃται.

Οὐδέ τις ἰδέσθαι γῆμαι ταύτην, ὅτι νοσήσῃ δὲ καθήλαι.

LY. 'Tis some Concern to me, when I reflect
On the poor Girls, that must despair of Man,
And keep a stale and loathed Celibacy.

PR. What? ha'nt the Men the same hard Measures then ?

LY. Oh ! no, they have a more propitious Fate,
Since they at sixty, when their Vigour's past,
Can wed a young and tender Spouse to warm
Their aged Limbs, and to repair their Years :
But Womens Joys are short and transient ;
For if we once the golden Minutes miss

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The Times or Seasons of the Year most proper for Marriage were, according to the *Athenians*, some of the Winter Months, especially *January*, which for that reason was called γαμηλιών (a). Hence the Person in *Terence*, the Scene of whose Fable is laid in *Greece*, affirms the Soothsayers had forbidden to enter upon Matrimony till Winter (b);

*Aruspex vetuit ante brumam autem quid novi
Negotii incipere* ———

Until the seasonable Time of Year,
When frosty Weather binds all Things, the Priest
Counsell'd us by all means to put off Marriage.

The most convenient Season was when there happen'd a Conjunction of the Sun and Moon, at which time they celebrated their Festival called Θισγάμια, or Marriage of the Gods (c). *Clytemnestra* in *Euripides* having ask'd *Agamemnon* when he design'd to give *Iphigenia* in Marriage to *Achilles*, he answers, that the Full-Moon was the fittest Time;

Όταν σελήνης εὐτυχῆς ἔλθῃ κύκλῳ (d).

When the Full-Moon darts forth her lucky Rays.

Themis in *Pindar* advises that *Thetis* be married to *Peleus* in the same Season (e); for by διχομηνίδες ἰσπείραι he means the Full-Moon, which happens in the middle of Lunar Months, which were used in the old Grecian Computations. The Poet's Words run thus:

——— Εὐ διχομηνίδεσσιν
Δὲ ἰσπείραις, ἱερὰ τὸν
Λύοι κεν χαλινὸν ὕ-
-φ' ἱερῷ παρθενίᾳς,

When crescent *Phæbe* is about to shine
In a full Orb with radiant Light,
Then may he marry, then may she invite
The Hero, both their Loves to join,
Then let them blend, and tie, their Joys, their All combine.
J. A.

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Hesiod thinks the fourth most convenient, because (as one of the *Scholiasts* observes) it was dedicated to *Venus* and *Mercury* (a);

Ἐν δὲ τετάρτῃ μηνὸς ἄγεσθαι εἰς οἶκος ἀκοίῃν,
Οἰωνὸς κείνου οἱ ἐπ' ἐγγυάλῃ τέτάρ' ἄριστοι,

On the fourth Day of the Moon's Age your Wife
Bring home, to enter on the Cares of Life;
But first take heed yourself to certify
In the respective Signs of Augury.

J. A.

The sixteenth, or, as some, the eighteenth, is mentioned as most unfit of all others (b);

Ἐκίη δ' ἡ μέσση μάλ' ἀσύμφορός ἐστι φυλοῖσιν,
Ἀνδρογόνου τ' αγαθῆ, κέρη δ' ἐ σύμφορός ἐστιν
Οὔτε γυνίσθαι πρῶτ', ἔτ' ἀρ' γάμῳ ἀνιθεσθῆσαι.

Whatever Trees you plant the sixteenth Day,
They'll never thrive, but wither and decay;
But if your Wife's deliver'd of a Son,
His Life with lucky Prospects is begun;
But Girls, if born, or marry'd now, will see
Their Years annoy'd with Woe and Misery.

J. A.

Several other Days were look'd on as favourable, or otherwise, in this and all other Affairs, which it would be too tedious to enumerate in this place.

Most of the *Greeks* look'd on it as scandalous to contract within certain Degrees of Consanguinity. *Hermione* in *Euripides* speaks of the Custom of Brethren's marrying their Sisters, with no less Detestation than of Sons marrying their Mothers, or Fathers their Daughters (c);

———Τοιῦτον πᾶν τὸ βάρβαρον γένος·
Πατὴρ τε θυγατρί, παῖς τε μητρὶ μίγνυται,
Χόρη τ' ἀδελφῷ, διὰ φόνου δ' οἱ φίλτατοι
Χαῖρουσι καὶ τῶν ἐδὲν γ' ἐνξείρει νόμος.

Such Things *Barbarians* act, such Villanies
Are the Result of Lust, or perverse Will,
Where no Laws cement, and no Right confines,
Fathers their Daughters, Sons their Mothers force
To an incestuous Bed, and hurry'd on
By boiling Lusts Brothers with Sisters join;

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Several of the barbarous Nations seem to have overlook'd the Rules of Decency, and allowed unlawful and incestuous Mixtures; the *Persians* are especially remarkable for such Practices; for their *Magi*, the most sacred Persons among them, were the Off-spring of Mothers and their Sons: Hence *Catullus* (a),

*Nascetur Magnus ex Gelli matrisque nefando
Conjugio, & discat Perficum aruspicium:
Nam Magnus ex matre & gnato gignatur oportet,
Si vera est Persarum impia religio.*

Gellius hath Issue by his Mother got,
Nor is it in his Heraldry a Blot;
The Boy must straight be made profoundly wise
In all the Magic Trumpery and Lyes.
What must the *Persian* Religion be,
Where such an Act is no Impiety?

J. A.

The *Lacedemonians* were forbidden to marry any of their Kindred, whether in the direct Degrees of Ascent and Descent, but a collateral Relation hindered them not, for Nephews married their Aunts, and Uncles their Nieces; an Instance whereof *Herodotus* gives us in *Anaxandridas*, who married his Sister's Daughter (b). The Marriages of Brothers and Sisters were utterly unlawful, tho' countenanced by several Examples of their Gods; an ample Account hereof may be seen in *Egylis's* Words, when in love with her Brother *Canaus*, where notwithstanding the Greatness of her Passion, she confesses that no Examples were sufficient to license her incestuous Desires (c);

*Dii melius! Dii nempe suas habuere sorores:
Sic Saturnus Opim junctam sibi sanguine duxit,
Oceanus Tethyn, Junonem Rector Olympi.
Sunt superis sua jura. Quid ad cœlestia ritus
Exigere humanis, diversaque fœdera tento?
Aut nostro vetitus de corde fugabitur ardor;
Aut, hoc si nequeo, peream precor ante, toraque
Mortua componar, postæque det oscula frater:
Et tamen arbitrium quærit res ista duorum.
Finge placere mihi, scelus esse videbitur illi;
At non Æolidæ thalamos timuere sororum:*

The Gods forbid ; yet those whom I invoke
 Have lov'd like me, have their own Sisters took.
 Great *Saturn*, and his greater Off-spring *Jove*,
 Both stock'd their Heaven with incestuous Love :
 Gods have their Privilege, why do I strive
 To strain my Hopes to their Prerogative ?
 No, let me banish this forbidden Fire,
 Or quench it with my Blood, or with't expire ;
 Unstain'd in Honour, and unhurt in Fame,
 Let the Grave bury both my Love and Shame ;
 But when at my last Hour I gasping lie,
 Let only my kind Murderer be by ;
 Let him, while I breath out my Soul in Sighs,
 Or gaze't away, look on with pitying Eyes ;
 Let him (for sure he can't deny me this)
 Seal my cold Lips with one kind parting Kifs :
 Besides 'twere vain should I alone agree
 To what another's Will must ratify,
 Could I be so abandon'd to consent
 What I have past for good and innocent,
 He may, perhaps, as worst of Crimes resent.
 Yet we amongst our Race Examples find
 Of Brothers, who have been to Sisters kind ;
 Fam'd *Canace* could thus successful prove,
 Cou'd crown her Wishes in a Brother's Love.
 But whence could I these Instances produce ?
 How came I witty to my Ruin thus ?
 Whither will this mad Phrenzy hurry on ?
 Hence, hence you naughty Flames, from hence be gone,
 Nor let me e'er the shameful Passion own.

Mr. Oldham.

Yet 'twas not reputed unlawful in several Places for Brothers to marry their Half-sisters ; and sometimes their Relation by the Father, sometimes by the Mother, was within the Law. The *Lacedæmonian* Lawgiver allowed Marriages between those that had only the same Mother, and different Fathers (a). The *Athenians* were forbidden to marry Sisters by the same Mother, but not those by the same Father, as we are told by *Philo the Jew* (b). An Instance here-of we have in *Archeptolis*, *Themistocles's* Son, who married his Sister *Mnesiptolema* (c) ; as likewise in *Cimon*, who being unable thro' his extreme Poverty to provide a suitable Match for his Sister *Elpinice*,

Laws : *Cornelius Nepos* likewise (a) assures us, it was nothing but what the Custom of their Country allow'd. We find indeed that *Cimon* is sometimes taxed for his Familiarity with *Elpinice* ; but this is only to be understood of his taking her after she had been married to *Callias* ; for it appears from the forecited Authors, that *Cimon* first married her himself, then gave her to *Callias* a rich *Atbenian* ; after which he again became familiar with her, which indeed was look'd on as Adultery, she being then another Man's Wife.

Most of the *Grecian* States, especially those that made any Figure, required their Citizens should match with nothing but Citizens ; for they look'd upon the Freedom of their Cities as too great a Privilege to be granted upon easy Terms to Foreigners, or their Children. Hence we find the *Athenian* Laws sentencing the Children of such Matches to perpetual Slavery ; an Account whereof has been given in one of the foregoing Books (b). This was not all, for they had a Law, that if a Foreigner married a Free-woman of *Athens*, it should be lawful for any Person to call him to account before the Magistrates called *Thesmothetæ*, where, if he was convicted, they sold him for a Slave, and all his Goods were confiscated, and one third part of them given to his Accuser. The same Penalty was inflicted upon such Citizens as gave foreign Women in Marriage to Men of *Athens*, pretending they were their own Daughters, save that the Sentence of Slavery was changed into Ignominy, whereby they were deprived of their Voices in all public Assemblies, and most other Privileges belonging to them as Citizens. Lastly, if any Man of *Athens* married a Woman that was not free of that City, he was fined 1000 *Drachms* (c). But these Laws were not constant and perpetual. Sometimes the Necessity of the Times so far prevailed, that the Children of strange Women enjoyed all the Privileges of freeborn Citizens. The old Law, which prohibited the Men of *Athens* to marry Strangers, having been some time disused, was revived by *Pericles*, and afterwards, at the Instance of the same Person, abrogated by a Decree of the People (d), but again renewed in the Archonship of *Euclides*, at the Motion of *Aristophan*, when it was enacted, that no Person should be free Denizens of *Athens*, unless both their Parents were free (e).

Virgins were not allowed to marry without the Consent of their Parents ; whence *Hero* in *Musæus* (f) tells *Leander*, they could not be honourably joined in Marriage, because her Parents were against it.

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Hermione in *Euripides* (a) professes she had no Concern about her Marriage, but left that wholly to her Father ;

Νυμφευμάτων μὲν τῶν ἱμῶν πάλη ἱμὸς
Μίριμναν ἔξει, κῦν ἱμὸν φρονεῖν τάδε.

I'm not concern'd, my Father will take care
Of all things that respect my Nuptials.

The Mother's Consent was necessary as well as the Father's ; and therefore *Iphigenia*, in *Euripides*, was not to be given in Marriage to *Achilles* till *Clytemnestra* approved the Match (b). Nor were Men permitted to marry without consulting their Parents ; for even the most early and ignorant Ages were too well acquainted with the Right which Parents have by Nature over their Children, to think these had Power to dispose of themselves without their Parents Consent. *Achilles*, in *Homer*, refuses *Agamemnon's* Daughter, and leaves it to his Father *Peleus* to chuse him a Wife (c) ;

Ἡ γὰρ δὴ με σώσει θεοὶ, καὶ ὅκαδ' ἴκωμαι,
Πατρὺς δὴν μοι ἔπειτα γυναῖκα γαμήσσειν αὐτός.

If by Heaven's Blessing I return, a Bride
My careful Father will for me provide.

And *Pamphilus* in *Terence* is betroth'd by his Father *Simo*, who is introduced thus speaking (d) ;

— *bac fama impulsus* Chremes
Ultrō ad me venit, unicam gnatam suam
Cum dote summa filio uxorem ut daret ;
Placuit ; despondi ; hic nuptiis dictus est dies.

When Virgins had no Fathers, their Brothers disposed of them. Thus we find *Creon* promising his Sister *Jocasta* to any Person who should destroy the Sphinx that infested *Thebes* ; and *Orestes* gave his Sister *Electra* to his Friend *Pylades*. When they had neither Parents nor Brethren, or if their Brethren were not arrived to Years of Discretion, they were disposed of by their Grandfathers, those especially by the Father's Side ; when these fail'd, they were committed to the Care of Guardians, called *ἐπίτροποι*, or *κύριοι* (e). Sometimes Husbands betrothed their Wives to other Persons upon their Death beds ; as appears from the Story of *Damocleas's* Father who

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Magistrates, and accused him in an elegant Oration (a). And that this Custom was not unusual, appears from the same Orator's Defence of *Phormio*, who being a Slave, and faithful in his Business, his Master gave him both his Liberty and his Wife.

They had several Forms of betrothing, such as this cited by *Clemens* the *Alexandrian* (b) out of *Menander*, Παιδὸν σῶβην τῶν γυναικῶν δίδωμί σοι τὴν ἐμὰν τὴν θυγατέρα; i. e. *I give you this my Daughter to make you Father of Children lawfully begotten.* The Dowry was sometimes mentioned, as we find in *Xenophon* (c) where *Cyaxares* betroths his Daughter to *Cyrus*, Δίδωμαί σοι, ὦ Κύρῃ, αὐτὴν τὰς τῆς γυναῖκος θυγατέρας ἕσας ἐμῆς, παρ' ἐμοῦ δ' αὐτῇ ἔγω καὶ φερὴν Μυθίας πάντα, i. e. *I give you, Cyrus, this Woman who is my Daughter, with all Media, for her Dowry.* The Persons to be married plighted their Faith to one another, or to their Relations. Thus *Clitophon* and *Lucippe* swear to each other (d), the former to be constant and sincere in his Love, the latter to marry him, and make him Master of all she had. *Ovid* makes the next Ceremony after betrothing, to be the Virgin's Oath to her Lover;

Promisit pater hanc, hæc & juravit amanti.

Her Father promis'd, she an Oath did take
Her faithful Lover never to forsake.

The Ceremony in promising Fidelity was kissing each other, or giving their Right-hands, which was the usual Form of ratifying all Agreements. Hence *Clytemnestra* in *Euripides* calls for *Achilles*'s Right-hand, to assure her of his sincere Intention to marry her Daughter (e);

————— Δεξιὰν γ' ἐμῇ χεὶρᾷ
Σύναψον, ἀρχὴν μακαρίαν συμπευμάτων.

Join your Right-hand to mine, a sacred Tie
Of this our Compact. —————

The *Thebans* had a Custom for Lovers to plight their Faith at the Monument of *Iolau*s, who was a Lover of *Hercules*, and assisted him in his Labours (f), and was therefore believed to take care of Love Affairs when advanced into Heaven.

In the primitive Ages Women were married without Portions from their Relations, being purchased by their Husbands, whose Presents to the Woman's Relations were called her Dowry. Thus we

Several Instances may be produced to the same Purpose, were not this Custom too well known to need further Confirmation ; only thus much must be observed, that when Civility and good Manners came to be established in any Place, it was usually laid aside ; for *Aristotle* makes it one Argument to prove that the ancient *Grecians* were an unciviliz'd People, because they used to buy their Wives (a). No sooner therefore do we find them beginning to lay aside their barbarous Manners, but this Practice was left off ; insomuch that *Medea* in *Euripides* complains that Women were the most miserable of all rational Creatures, because lying under a Necessity of purchasing their own Masters at a dear Rate (b). So frequent became the Custom for Women to bring Portions to their Husbands, that some make the most essential Difference between *γυνή* and *παλλακή*, i. e. *Wife* and *Concubine*, to consist in this, that Wives had Dowries, whereas Concubines were usually without ; whence one in *Plautus*, the Scene of whose Action is laid in *Greece*, speaks thus (c) ;

————— *Sed ut inops,*
Infamis ne sim, ne mihi hanc famam differant, ne
Germanam meam sororem in concubinatum tibi
Sic sine dote dedisse magis, quam in matrimonium.

Tho' I am low i' th' World, and am but mean,
 I'll offer some small Matter for her Dowry,
 Lest this Asperſion should be thrown abroad,
 That she as *Mistress*, not as *Wife*, is to you.

Hence Men who were content to marry Wives who had no Fortune, commonly gave them *περικώα*, an Instrument of Writing, whereby the Receipt of their Dowry was own'd. The rest of their Distinction was chiefly founded upon this ; for she that had a Dowry, thought it a just Title to a greater Freedom with her Husband, and more Respect from him, than such as ow'd their Maintenance to him. Hence *Hermione* in *Euripides* is enraged, that the Captive *Andromache* should pretend to be her Rival in *Pyrrhus's* Affection.

Κόσμον μὲν ἄμφι κρατὶ χρυσίας χλιδῆς,
 Στολμῶντε χρωὶδός τῶνδε ποικίλων πέπλων
 Οὐ τῶν Ἀχιλλεύως, ἔδῃ Πηλέως ἄπο
 Δόμων ἀπαρχὰς δεῦρ' ἔχουσ' ἀφικόμην·
 Ἀλλ' ἐκ Λακαϊνῆς Σπαρτιάτιδ' ὀχθονός
 Μενίλα' ἡμῖν ταῦτα δωρεῖται πάλη
 Πολλοῖς σὺν ἔδναις, ὥς' ἐλευθερογομῆν,
 Ὑμᾶς μὲν ἔν τοιοῖσδ' ἀμείβομαι λόφοις·
 Ζὺ δ' ἔσα δάλη, καὶ δορίκλιθ' ὀγυνη.
 Δόμους καλᾶσχειν, ἐκβαλῶσ' ἡμᾶς
 Τέσδ' (d) ;

This rich Attire, these costly Ornaments,
 My various Change of Clothes, and all my Jewels,
 Ne'er did *Achilles* or old *Peleus* give;
 No, they are only kind, indulgent Tokens
 Of my dear Father's Blessing; these I brought
 From *Sparta*, with a Fortune great and noble,
 To shew my Quality, and that I might
 Speak freely, without any slavish Awe;
 And dost thou think, *thou dirty, servile Woman*,
 To paramount, to cast me out, and gain
 Th' Ascendant o'er my Lord's Affections?

J. A.

So sensible was *Lycurgus* of this, and some other Inconveniencies attending this Custom, that partly for fear Wives should domineer over their Husbands, and partly out of a Desire that Men should chuse Wives more for the sake of their Person than their Money, and that no Woman's Poverty should hinder her of an Husband, he quite banish'd it out of *Sparta* (a). *Solon* agreed herein with *Lycurgus*, for all the Dowry he permitted the *Athenian* Wives to have, was a little inconsiderable Household-stuff, and three Suits of Clothes: "For (says *Plutarch*) he would not have Marriages for Gain, or an Estate, but for pure Love, kind Affection, and to get Children (b)." But some are of Opinion that this Ordinance had no Relation to Dowries, but only to those Gifts which the Bride brought with her, called *ἐπαύλια*, of which an Account will afterwards be given. And that *Solon* did not prohibit other Dowries, appears hence, that Men who had no Sons, were allowed to entail their Estates upon Daughters; and every Heiress (the *Athenians* called them *ἐπιμήτορες*) was obliged to marry her nearest Relation, lest her Estate should go out of the Family; but in Consideration of her Dowry, she had the Privilege, when her Husband was impotent, to lie with his nearest Kinsman; which Law was contrived against those who, conscious of their own Inability, would match with Heiresses for the Portion's sake, and make use of Law to put a Violence upon Nature; yet (saith my Author) 'twas wisely done to confine her to her Husband's nearest Kinsman, that the Children might be of the same Family. A farther Privilege Heiresses had above other Women was, that their Husbands were obliged to lie with them thrice a Month (c). When there were any Orphan-Virgins without Inheritance, whom they term'd *ἑκταταί* (d), he that was next in Blood was obliged to marry her himself, or settle a Portion on her, according to his Quality; if he was *πρωτοκροσίου*, one of the first Rank, five minæ, or 500 Drachms; if *ἑκτοκροσίου*, of the second Rank, 300; if *τρίτοκροσίου*, of the third Rank, 150: But if she had many Re-

make up the Sum : If there were more than one Virgin, their nearest Kinsman was only obliged to marry, or give a Portion to one of them ; and upon his Refusal to do this, any Person was allowed to indict him before the *Archon*, who was obliged to compel him to his Duty ; and if he refused to put the Law in Execution, was fined 1000 Drachms, which were consecrated to *Juno* the Goddess of Marriage (a). *Terence* has several Hints at these Customs ; for his Scenes being laid in *Athens*, he frequently describes the Usages of that City. Thus in *Phormio* (b) ;

*Lex est, ut orba, qui sunt genere proximi,
Eis nubant, & illos ducere eadem hæc lex jubet.*

'Tis an establish'd Form in *Attic* Laws,
That the next Male Kinsman without Demur,
Must be t' an Orphan Girl in Wedlock join'd.

In the same Comedy (c) he expressly mentions the five *Minae* given by the Men of the first Quality ;

*Etsi mihi facta injuria est, verumtamen
Potius quam lites secter, aut quam te audiam
Itidem ut cognata si sit, id quod lex jubet
Dotem dare, abduce hanc, minas quinque accipe.*

Tho' I've been herein bubbled, here's the Sum,
Five *Minae*, as the Law enjoins, and take her
As my Kinswoman ; this I'll rather do
Than sacrifice my Patience to your Talk,
Or enter once the Clutches of the Law.

J. A.

It may be observed farther, that afterwards, when Money became more plentiful, the Relations of these Virgins increased their Dowries ; for we are told by *Eustathius* (d), that the *Πύλαρχοι* gave ten *Minae*, and Men of inferior Quality without doubt rais'd their Contributions proportionably. When Virgins had no Relations to provide for them, and were descended from Men that had been serviceable to their Country, it was common for the State to take Care of them ; a remarkable Instance hereof we have in *Aristides*'s two Daughters, to each of which the City gave 300 Drachms for her Portion (e). Nor is it to be wonder'd (saith my Author) that the *Athenians* should make Provision for those that lived in their City, when hearing that the Grand-daughter of *Aristogiton* (a famous Patriot that oppos'd *Pisistratus*'s Sons) was in a low Condition in the Isle of *Lemnos*, and like to want an Husband, because without a Portion. they sent for her to *Athens*, married her to a

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Person of great Quality, and gave her a Farm belonging to the City for a Dowry. Indeed however generous the Love of the more ancient *Athenians* was, their Successors commonly made Money the chief Tie of their Affections; and the later *Spartans* were of the same Humour, even whilst the Laws of *Lycurgus* were still in being; for we find that whilst *Lysander* was in a flourishing Condition, and pass'd for a wealthy Man, several Persons engaged themselves to his Daughters, who seeing afterwards how poor and honest he died, broke off their Contract. 'Tis true the *Spartans* punished them severely for their Perfidiousness; but that seems rather done out of respect to *Lysander's* Memory (a), than to their ancient Constitution, which, as soon as Riches began to be possessed and admired at *Sparta*, seems to have been laid asleep. The *Grecians*, indeed, notwithstanding the Prohibition of some of their Laws, were generally Lovers of Money, and seem to have match'd rather for the sake of that, than other more commendable Qualifications. Nor was this a late Corruption, but entertained even in the primitive Times; for we find *Andromache* called by *Homer* (b) Πολύδωρος, i. e. according to *Eustathius*, Πολύπριον, possessed of a large Dowry; and before the use of Money was common, Virgins increased their Husbands Estates, by adding Sheep and Oxen to their Flocks and Herds, wherein the Riches of those Ages chiefly consisted; whence (as the same Author observes) they are sometimes honour'd with the Epithet of ἀλφεισίδοιαι. And from the Expençe Fathers were at on this Account, came the Proverb,

Παῖς μοι τριῖσενής εἴη, μὴ τετρίογενύεια.

Which is nothing but a Father's Wish, that his Children might rather be Boys than Girls. As to the Quantity of Dowries, nothing can be determined, the Humours of Persons, and their particular Exigences, being the Laws they were usually directed by in such Cases; only it may be observed, that in *Crete* Sisters were put off with half the Share of the Brothers (c). The Dowry was named προῖξ, sometimes μείλια, παρὰ το μελίσσειν τὸν ἄδρα, or ἔδρα, γ. ἡδανα, παρὰ τὸ ἡδαι, as designed to procure the Favour and Goodwill of the Person they were given to; sometimes φερὴν, from φέρειν, because brought by the Wife to her Husband. Some of the same Names are used for the Man's Dowry or Portion, as *Eustathius* has observed. When the Wife had a Dowry, it was commonly expected her Husband should make her a Settlement, to be a Maintenance for her in case he should happen to be parted from her by Death or Divorce; this was usually an House or Land, and was anciently call'd ἀπόλημμα (d), being a Return equivalent to the Dowry;

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was given, Husbands that divorced their Wives were obliged to return their Dowry. The same Obligation reached their Heirs, upon Refusal to maintain the Wives of those whose Estates they inherited: Hence *Telemachus*, in *Homer*, having suffered many Affronts, and sustained great Losses by his Mother *Penelope's* Gallants, yet thinks it not prudent to dismiss her to her Father *Icarius*, because that could not be done without returning her Portion (a);

———— Κακὸν δὲ με πολλ' ἀποδίνειν
 Ἰκαρίῳ, αἴκ' αὐτὸς ἐκὼν ἀπὸ μητέρα πύμψω.

I could not now repay so great a Sum
 To the old Man, should I dismiss her home
 Against her Will ———

Which Words seem to intimate farther, that if the Woman departed of her own Accord, the forementioned Obligation became void. Yet, in case the Woman departed from her Husband in the manner which was allowed by the Laws, her Dowry was restored to her. This we find to have been the Practice at *Athens*.

In the same City it was the Custom, when any Man's Estate was confiscated, that the Wife's Dowry should be assigned to her.

In the same City it was decreed, that he who did not restore to his Wife when divorced, her Dowry, should pay nine *Oboli* every Month whilst it was detained for Interest. If this was neglected, an Action termed *οἰσὶς δίκη*, was preferred against him in the *Odeum* by the Woman's (ἐπίτροπος) Guardian (b). This is to be understood of the Dowries of those of the lowest Class of Citizens, to whom, as hath been before observed, *Solon* allotted 150 *Drachmæ*; for it being the Custom for one *μνᾶ*, which is equivalent to 100 *Drachmæ*, to bring in an Interest of six *Oboli* every Month, the Interest of 150 *Drachmæ* must amount to nine *Oboli*.

Hence the Payment of the Dowry was also attested by sufficient Witnesses, and also by a written Instrument called *προικοῖα*. If these could not be produced, the Husband was not obliged to allow his Wife a separate Maintenance. If the Woman decess'd without Children, her Dowry was repaid to the Person by whom she had been endow'd (c); for the Dowry was intended as a Maintenance to the Children, and therefore when the Woman's Son came to be of Age, they enjoy'd the Mother's Dowry whilst she was living, only allowing her a competent Maintenance (d). What other things Wives brought to their Husbands above their Portions, were called *παράφερα*, *ἐπίπροικοι*, *ἐπιμείλια*, and by the latter *Greeks* *ἐξῶ προικοῖα*.

Before Men married 'twas customary to provide themselves an

Οἶκεν μὲν πρῶτιστά, γυναῖκά τε (a); ———

First see you have a *Settlement*, and Wife.

The Woman in *Thiaccritus* asks her Lover whether he was making an House for her.

Τύχεις μοι θαλάμους, τύχεις κ' δῶμα κ' αὐλὰς;

What? are you furnishing an House! Have you Provided Beds? ———

To which he replies,

Τύχω σοι θαλάμους. ———

Beds I procure, don't fear. ———

Protefilaus in *Homer* being called to the *Trojan War* soon after his Marriage, is said to have left δῶμον ἡμιτελῆ, his House half finish'd (b);

Τῷ δὲ κ' ἀμφιδρυφῆς ἄλοχ' Φυλάκη ἐλέειπτο,
Καὶ δῶμ' ἡμιτελές. ———

At *Phylacc* he left behind his Spouse,
There to lament in an half finish'd House.

Some indeed will have Οἶκος to be meant of his Family, which is called ἡμιτελής, because he left it before he had any Children (c). The same Ambiguity is found in *Valerius Flaccus*, who has thus imitated *Homer* (d);

———— *Conjux miseranda Caico*
Linguitur, & primo domus imperfecta cubili.

Nigh where *Caicus* in clear Streams doth glide,
His solitary House and Wife abide,
Unblest with th' Off-spring of the Bridal Night,

*Inceptam frustra, nondum cum sanguine sacra
Hostia cælestes pacificasset heros.*

As fair *Laodamia* once did come,
Inflam'd with Passion, to th' *unfinish'd* Home
Of her dear Lord, before the Sacrifice
Had e'er appeas'd the heav'nly Deities.

J. A.

But the former Sense seems more agreeable to the Way of speaking in those Times, it being then the constant Custom to build an House before Marriage. Hence Women, whose Husbands died soon after Marriage, are said to be left *Widows in a new built House*; as the Greek Scholiast observes upon that Verse of *Homer* (a);

Χηρώσαι δὲ γυναῖκα μυχῷ θαλάμοιο νέοιο.

The *Athenian* Virgins were presented to *Diana* before it was lawful for them to marry. This Ceremony was performed at *Brauron*, an *Athenian* Borough; it was called *ἀρχαία*, the Virgin themselves *ἀρχαῖοι*, and the Action *ἀρχαία*, the Customs being instituted to appease the Goddess, who had been incensed against some of the *Athenians* for killing a *Bear*; the Story whereof is described at large in one of the precedent Books (b). Another Custom there was for Virgins, when they became marriageable, to present certain Baskets full of little Curiosities to *Diana*, to gain leave to depart out of her Train (Virgins being looked on as that Goddess's Peculiar) and change their State of Life. To which Custom *Theocritus* has this Allusion (c);

Ἦθ' αἶ τώ Εὐχέλοιο Καναφόροσ' ἄμμι' Ἀναξῶ
'Ἄλοσ' ἐπ' Ἀρίεμδσ'.

Anaxo, *Eubul's* Daughter, full of Love,
Came to me with a Basket for *Diana's* Grove.

The Action was called *κατηφόρειν*, and the Virgins *κανηφόροι*, from the Casket they carried. The *Boeotians* and *Locrians* had a Custom, for Persons of both Sexes before their Nuptials, to offer Sacrifice to *Euclia*, who had an Image and Altar in their Market-place. This *Euclia* some will have to be the Daughter of *Menæcius*, and Sister of *Pan*; others rather think her the same with *Diana* (d); 'tis

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that were first eminent for any sort of Virtue or excellent Quality, the Actions of all that afterwards imitated them. Hence we have several *Jupiters*, *Minerva's*, *Bacchus's*, *Hercules's*, &c. the famous Exploits of many Persons distant as well in Time as Place, being ascribed to one Hero. To return, we find *Diana* concerned in the preparatory Solemnities before all Marriages; for a married Life being her Averfion, 'twas thought necessary for all that enter'd upon it, to ask her Pardon for dissenting from her. This was done by Prayers and several sorts of Sacrifices; whence *Agamemnon* in *Euripides*, pretending he was going to match *Iphigenia* with *Achilles*, speaks thus to *Clytemnestra* (a);

Ἐκπεμπε παῖδα δωμάτων παλῶς μέτα,
Ὡς χέρις παρῆσιν ὑπηρεπισμέναι,
Προχῦται τι βάλλει πῦρ καθάρειον ἐκ χειρῶν,
Μόσχοι τι, πρὸ γάμων ὡς διὰ πιστῇ χερσὶ
Ἀγρίμιδι, μέλαν αἵμαϊ φουσήματα.

Send *Iphigenia* quickly forth with me,
Hymen is now propitious; all Things wait
To grace the solemn Gladness of this Day;
The holy *Water's* ready, with the *Cakes*,
To cast upon the Fire; the *Calves* are brought,
Whose Blood in grateful Vapours must arise,
To atone the Breach of chaste *Diana's* Rites.

J. A.

These were called γαμήλιοι εὐχαι, προγάμεια, προίλαιοι εὐχαι, or προίλεια. for τέλει and γάμος are Terms of the same Signification (b), the former denoting Marriage, either as a general Name for all sorts of Rites and Ceremonies; or (as some say) because the longing Expectations of married Persons are thereby consummated, and brought to an end; or because Persons that are married become compleat and perfect Men, and renounce all the Customs and Desires of Childhood; whence γῆμαι, to marry, is termed τελειωθῆναι, to be made perfect (c). Married Persons are called τέλειοι (d), are said to be ἐν βίῳ τελείῳ. The same Epithet is commonly given to the Gods that had the Care of Marriage; whence we read of *Jupiter* τέλειος, *Juno* τελεία (e), &c. These Gods were likewise render'd propitious before the Nuptials, and the Sacrifices with other Devotions offered them, were all known by the same Names with those offered to *Diana*; *Juno's* were called (besides their general Name) Ἡρατίλεια, from her own Name: which is

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her Devotion to this Goddess's Temple in the Citadel (a). *Venus* likewise, and all the rest of the γαμήλιοι θεοί, Gods superintending Marriage, were invoc'd (b). The *Lacedemonians* had a very ancient Statue of Ἀφροδίτη Ἥρα, i. e. *Venus Juno*, to which all Mothers sacrificed when their Daughters were married (c). The most ancient *Athenians* paid the same Honour to *Heaven and Earth*, which were believ'd to have a particular Concern in Marriages, the latter of these being rendred fruitful by the benign Influence of the former, and therefore a fit Emblem of Marriage (d). The *Fates and Graces* being thought first to join, and then preserve the Tie of Love, were Partakers of the like Respect (e); and 'tis probable that several other Deities at different Places, and for different Reasons, claimed a Share therein. The Day wherein this Ceremony was performed, was usually that which immediately went before the Marriage (f); 'tis commonly called γαμηλία, κυρεῖωτις (g) from the Custom they had of shaving themselves on this Occasion (h), and presenting their Hair to some of the fore-mentioned Deities, or other Gods, to whom they had particular Obligations. *Pollux* (i) mentions some, who offered their Hair to *Diana*, and the *fatal Sisters*. At *Træzen* the Virgins were obliged to consecrate their Hair to *Hippolytus*, the Son of *Theseus*, who died for his Chastity, before they entered into Marriage-Bonds (k). The *Megarenian* Virgins offered their Hair, with Libations, at the Monument of *Iphince*, Daughter of *Alcabous*, who died a Virgin; the *Delians* to *Hecæerge* and *Opis* (l); the *Arginians* and *Athenians* (to trouble you with no more Instances) to *Minerva*. *Statius* has mentioned this Ceremony (m), speaking of that Goddess's Temple.

————— *Hic more parentum*
Iafines, thalamis ubi casta adolesceret ætas,
Virgineas libare comas, primosque solebant
Excusare toros. ———

When Maiden Blushes could make no Pretence,
 And vigorous Age had fully'd Innocence,
 As anciently the *Argives* hither came
 To vent their Passion, and their Love proclaim,
 They paid *Diana* then their Virgin Hair,
 T' excuse the first Embraces of their Dear.

J. A.

But these Names (γαμηλία and κυρεῖωτις) were at *Athens* peculiar to one Day of the Solemnity called *Abaturia*, wherein Fathers had

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to their Marriages, and commonly shaved off some of their Hair to be dedicated to some of the Deities, especially her to whose Honour that Festival was celebrated. But tho' the Time of presenting their Hair might not be constantly the same, yet the Custom itself seems to have been universally observed, not only by Women, but Men, who rarely failed of performing this Ceremony upon their Arrival to Years of Maturity. Some of their Locks were carefully preserved for this Use; and therefore when *Pentheus* in *Euripides* threatens *Bacchus* to shave his Hair, the young God tells him it would be an Impious Action, because he designed it for an Offering to some Deity (a);

Ἰεὸς δ' ὁ πλόκαμος, τῷ δῖῳ δ' αὐτὸν τρίψα.

This Lock is sacred, this I do preserve
As some choice votive Offering for the God.

The Hair was called πλόκαμος ἑρπύληος, because presented to a God, as an Acknowledgment of his Care in their Education. The Deity thus honour'd was commonly *Apollo*, as *Plutarch* reports, when he tells us, that *Theseus*, according to the Custom of the *Grecian* Youth, took a Journey to *Delphi* to offer the First-fruits of his Hair to the God of that Place (b). But this could not concern the poorer Sort, to whom such Journeys would have been too expensive. Nor were those of better Quality under any strict Obligation to pay this Honour to *Apollo*, it being not unusual to do it to other Gods, such especially as were thought to have protected their Infancy from Danger, and preserved them to Manhood. Instances are needless in a thing so well known, only it may be necessary to observe, that the Deities of Rivers were commonly thought to have Title to this Respect; which Conceit seems to have proceeded from the Opinion of some Philosophers, who thought all Things were first produced out of Water, and still nourished and rendered fruitful by it; whence the Poets took occasion to give the Epithet *νεροφόρος* to watery Deities, as well as *Apollo*, these being no less instrumental in the Growth and Increase of living Creatures than the Sun, whose Influences, without Moisture, can contribute nothing to the Production or Preservation of Life; hence both were looked on as deserving their Returns of Gratitude for the first Gift, as well as Continuance of Life (c). I shall only trouble you with the following Example of Hair presented to Rivers, whereby what I have said concerning the Reason of this Custom, will be confirmed; for *Achilles* his preserving his Hair as a Present to *Sperchius*. on Condition

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them. *Homer's* Words run thus, when he speaks of *Patroclus's* Funeral (a);

Εἰθ' αὐτ' ἀλλ' ἰθήσει ποδάρεκς δι' Ἀχιλλεύς,
 Σταῖς ἀπάνευθε πυρῆς ξανθὴν ἀσπικίρατο χαίτην,
 Τὴν ῥα Σπερχεῖω πόσιμα ῥίψει τελεδύωσαν.
 Ὀχθήσας δ' ἄρα εἴπειν, ἰδὼν ἐπὶ οἴνοπα πόντον.
 "Σπερχεῖ, ἄλλως σοι γὰρ παλῆς ἡγήσατο Πηλεὺς,
 "Σοὶ τε κόμην κερεῖν, ῥίξιν δ' ἱερὴν ἐκαλόμην,
 "Πελοποιὰ δ' ἔνορχα παρ' αὐτόθι μῆλ' ἱερύσσει
 "Ἐς πηγὰς, ὅθι τοι τέμενος, βωμός τε θυηαῖς.
 "Ὡς ἡρᾶθ' ὁ γέγων, σὺ δέ οἱ τόον ἔκ ἱταλίσσας.
 "Νῦν δ' ἐπεὶ εἰ νόμοι γὰρ φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαίαν,
 "Παλόεργον ἥρωϊ κόλῃν ὀκιάσαιμι φέρεσθαι.

Then did *Achilles*, that brave Prince, prepare
 For other Rites, he shav'd his golden Hair,
 While at a Distance from the Pile he stood,
 That Hair, he'd nourish'd, *Sperchius*, for thy Flood;
 Then, as he look'd upon the Stream, he said,
 (While Grief and Anguish did his Soul invade)
 "My loving Father made a Vow (in vain)
 "That when I see my native Soil again,
 "I should my Hair in pious Duty shave
 "To thee, and thou an *Hecatomb* should have;
 "That fifty Rams I to thy Source should bring,
 "And pay them at thy Shrine a thankful Offering:
 "Thus, thus old *Peleus* vow'd; but since I can't
 "Return, and you'll his Wish by no means grant,
 "My dear *Patroclus* I'm resolv'd shall have
 "These Locks, it is for him I do 'em shave. J. A.

And the Custom of nourishing Hair on religious Accounts seems to have prevailed in most Nations. The *Jews* had their *Nazarites*, *Osiris* the *Egyptian* consecrated his Hair to the Gods, as we learn from *Diodorus* (b). And to mention no more, we find in *Arian's* Account of *India*, that it was a Custom there κομᾶν τῷ θεῷ, to preserve their Hair for some God, which they first learnt (as that Author reports) from *Bacchus*.

To return: Before the Marriage could be solemnized, the other Gods were consulted, and their Assistance implor'd by Prayers and Sacrifices, which were usually offered to some of the Deities that

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Agamemnon and Clytemnestra concerning the Marriage of their Daughter Iphigenia ;

ΚΑΤ. Πρὸ τίλεια δ' ἦδη παιδὸς ἱσφαξας θεῶ ;

ΑΓΑ. Μίλλω γ', ἐπὶ ταύτῃ καὶ καθέσμεν τύχη,

ΚΑΤ. Κάπιλα δάσις τις γάμῳ ἰσχυρον ;

ΑΓΑ. Θύσας γι θυμὰθ', ἅπερ μ' ἔχρην θύσαι θεοῖς (α).

CLY. Well, have you kill'd the Victims for the Goddeſs,
My Daughter's Wedding to *initiate* ?

AGA. I'll ſee that done, for that is my Deſign.

CLY. And then the Wedding-dinner ? AGA. That we'll have,
When to the Gods the Victims offer'd are. J. A.

When the Victim was open'd, the Gall was taken out and thrown behind the Altar (b), as being the Seat of Anger and Malice, and therefore the Averſion of all the Deities who had the Care of Love, as well as of thoſe who became their Votaries. The Intrails were carefully inſpected by Soothſayers, and if any unlucky Omen preſented itſelf, the former Contract was diſſolved, as diſpleaſing to the Gods, and the Nuptials prevented. The ſame happened upon the appearing of any ill-boding Omen without the Victim ; thus we find in *Achilles Tatius*, that *Clitophon's* deſigned Marriage with *Calligone* was hindred by an Eagle, that ſnatch'd a Piece of the Sacrifice from the Altar (c). The moſt fortunate Omen which could appear, was a Pair of Turtles, becauſe of the inviolable Affection thoſe Birds are ſaid to have for each other. The ſame may be obſerved of *κορώναι*, which were thought to promiſe long Life or Happineſs, by reaſon of the Length of their Lives, which is proverbially remarkable, and the Perpetuity of their Love ; for when one of the Mates is dead, the other remains ſolitary ever after (d) ; for which reaſon the Appearance of thoſe Birds ſingle, boded Separation or Sorrow to the married Couple ; whence (as we are told by *Horapollo*) it was cuſtomary at Nuptials to ſing *Κόρη ἐκ κόρεα κορώνη*, whereby the Maids were put in mind to watch, that none of theſe Birds coming ſingle ſhould diſturb the Solemnity ; or perhaps it might be done to avert the pernicious Influences of that unlucky Omen, if it happened to appear. Another Remedy againſt evil Omens was this, they wrote over their Houſe-doors, ΜΗΔΕΝ ΕΙΣΙΤΩ ΚΑΚΟΝ, LET NO EVIL ENTER. To this Sentence they ſometimes joined the Maſter of the Houſe's Name, as appears

i. e. *Here dwells Hercules the victorious Son of Jupiter, let no Evil enter.*

This gave Occasion to *Diogenes's* Jest; for seeing upon the Door of a vicious Fellow the fore-mentioned Prayer, *then* (said he) *let not the Master of the House enter (a).*

The Bridegroom's Garments were all dy'd, as *Suidas (b)* has observed out of *Aristophanes*. However that be, both the married Persons and their Attendants were richly adorned, and according to their Quality.

Σοὶ δὲ γάμου σχίδον ἦν, ἵνα χρη καλὰ κ' αὐτὴν
Εἴματα ἐννύσθαι, τὰ δὲ τοῖσι ταῖσ' αἰσῶνται.

The Time was nigh compleated, when a Bride
You was to be, and *richly dress'd* in Clothes,
With your Attendants on that solemn Time.

They were likewise deck'd with Garlands of various Herbs and Flowers; whence *Clytemnestra* in *Euripides* speaks thus to *Achilles* about her Daughter *Iphigenia (c)*;

Ἀλλ' ἄμυνον, ὦ θεᾶς παῖ, τῇ τ' ἐμῇ δυσπραξίᾳ,
Τῇ τε λειχθείσῃ δάμαρτι σῇ, μάτην μὲν, ἀλλ' ὅμως
Σοὶ κατατίψας ἰσὺν νυ γῆγον ὡς γαμεμένην.

Thou darling Off-spring of a Goddess, help,
Pity, redress, avenge my woeful Loss
In my dear Child, thy Wife; but oh! in vain,
Tho' I had crown'd her to be wedded to thee.

J. A.

The Herbs were usually such as some way or other signified the Affairs of Marriage, as those sacred to *Venus*, or (which are mentioned by the Scholiast (d) upon *Aristophanes*) *σισύμβριον, μήκων, σάσαμον, &c.* Cakes made of *Sesame* were likewise given at Marriages, that Herb being *πολυγόνον*, remarkable for its *Fruitfulness* according to the same Author. The *Bæotians* used Garlands of wild *Asparagus*, which is full of Prickles, but bears excellent Fruit, and therefore was thought to resemble the Bride, who had given her Lover some Trouble in courting her and gaining her Affections, which she recompensed afterwards by the Pleasantness of her Conversation. The House where the Nuptials were celebrated was likewise deck'd with Garlands; a Pessle was tied upon the Door, and a Maid carried a Sieve (e), the Bride herself bearing *φρύγίλον, φύσλλον*, or *φρύγίλον (f)*, an earthen Vessel, wherein Barley was parched, to signify her Obligation to attend the Business of her Family.

The Bride was usually conducted in a Chariot from her Father's House to her Husband's in the Evening (a), that time being chosen to conceal her Blushes. Thus we find in *Catullus's Epithalamium*;

*Vesper adest, juvenes consurgite, vesp̄r Olympo
Expectata diu vix tandem lumina tollit :
Surgere jam tempus, jam pingues linquere mensas :
Jam veniet virgo, jam dicetur Hymenæus.*

She was placed in the Middle, her Husband sitting on one Side, and one of his most intimate Friends on the other, who for that Reason was called *πάροχος*. This Custom was so frequent, that when the Bride went to her Husband's House on foot, the Person who accompanied her retained the same Name. The same was called *νυμφευτής*, *παρανυμφίος*, and *παράνυμφος* (b), tho' this is more commonly used in the Feminine Gender, and signifies the Woman that waited upon the Bride, sometimes called *νυμφεύτρια*. When the Bridegroom had been married before, he was not permitted to fetch the Bride from her Father's House, but that Care was committed to one of his Friends, who was termed *νυμφάγωγος* (c), or *νυμφουσίλος*, which Words are likewise taken for the Persons that assisted in making up the Match, and managing the Concerns which related to the Marriage, who, if Women, were called *νυμφόμητραι*, *παραξινήτραι*, &c. One thing farther may be observed in the Bride's Passage to her Husband's House, viz. that Torches were carried before her, as appears from the Messenger in *Euripides*, who says he call'd to mind the time when he bore Torches before *Menelaus* and *Helena* (d) ;

*Νῦν ἀναμῆμαι τὸν σὸν ὑμέναιον πάλιν,
Καὶ λαμπάδων μεμνημένῃ ἄς, τετραόροισι
Ἰπποῖσι τροχάζων, παρέφερον· σὺ δ' ἐν δίφρῳ
Σὺν τῷδε νύμφῃ δῶμ' ἑλπιεις ὄλβιον.*

I call to mind as Yesterday the Pomp
Of your Procession on the Wedding-day,
How you was carried in a Coach and four,
While I with Torches blazing in the Air
Drove foremost on from your dear Parents House,
That happy Nurs'ry of your tender Years.

J. A.

These Torches were usually carried by Servants, as appears from the following Words of *Hesiod* (e) ;

*Τῆς δ' ἀπ' αἰθομένην δαΐδων σέλας εἰλόφασθε
Χερσὶν ἐνὶ δμῶων.* —————

The Servants then did flaming Torches bear,
Which darted forth a quiv'ring Light from far.

They were sometimes attended with Singers and Dancers, as *Homer* acquaints us in his Description of *Achilles's* Shield (a) ;

Ἐν δὲ δύνω παύσσει πόλις μερόπων ἀνθρώπων
Καλὰς ἐν τῇ μὲν ῥα γάμοι τ' ἴσαν, εἰλαπίναιδε,
Νύμφας δ' ἐκ θαλάμων, δαΐδων ὑπολαμπνέαντων.
Ἥγιμον ἀνὰ ὄσση, πολὺς δ' ὑμέναιος ὀρώρει.
Κῦροι γ' ὀρχησάμενοι ἰδίῃσιν ἐν δ' ἄρα τοῖσιν
Λυτοὶ, φόρμιγγές τε βοὴν ἔχον, αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες
ἰσθλόμεναι θαύμαζον ἐπὶ σφαιβομένοις ἱάκη.

With nice and curious *Touches* next appear
Two stately Cities, in one Nuptials are ;
Here polish'd Art with Nature doth agree
In framing Figures of Festivity,
Faests, Revels, Balls, the Sculpture represents,
With various Sorts of Music-Instruments,
Lamps shine with Brightness on the solemn State,
While the brisk Bridegroom leads his charming Mate ;
Measures young Men observe with active Feet
While the Pomp does advance along the Street ;
The Music plays, *Hymen, Hymen*, they cry,
While aged Matrons stand admiring by. J. A.

The Song they were entertained with in their Passage was called ἀεμάτιον μέλος, from ἄεμα, the Coach they rode in, the Axle-tree whereof they burnt when arrived at their Journey's-end, thereby signifying that the Bride was never to return to her Father's House. The *Rhodians* had a peculiar Custom of sending for the Bride by a public Cryer. When the Bridegroom entered the House with his Bride, it was customary to pour upon their Heads Figs, and divers other sorts of Fruits, as an Omen of their future Plenty (b). The Day of the Bride's Departure from her Father was celebrated in manner of a Festival, and called Προσχαιρήθρια (c). It seems to have been observed at her Father's House before she departed, being distinct from the Nuptial Solemnity, which was kept at the Bridegroom's House, and began at Evening, the usual time of the Bride's Arrival there.

The Bride being come to the Bridegroom's House. was enter-

Εἰλαπὶν' ἢ γάμον, ἢ ἐκ ἱερῶν τάδε γ' ἴσιν.

A Shot-free Banquet, or a Marriage-Feast,
Not such as is by Contribution made.

Whence δαῖσιν γάμον is to make a *Nuptial Entertainment*. Thus *Homer* (a);

———— Δαίσιον δὲ γάμον μὲν Μυρμιδόνεσσι.

To make a Marriage-Feast for th' *Myrmidons*.

The same Poet has this Expression in other Places (b);

———— Δαίνεσθαι γάμον πολλοῖσιν ἔτησιν.

Making a Nuptial-Banquet for his Friends.

What was the Design of this Entertainment we learn from *Athenæus*, who (to pass by the Joy and Mirth it was intended to promote) tells us there were two Reasons for it; the first was, the Respect due to the Gods of Marriage, who were invoc'd before the Feast, and had no small Share in it; and 'tis thought by some that most of the *Grecian* Festivals were first observed on this Ground. The second End of this Entertainment was, that the Marriage might be made public (c) for all the Relations of the married Couple were invited as Witnesses of their Marriage, and to rejoice with them; whence the young Man in *Terence* concludes, the Marriage he there speaks of could not be presently consummated, because Time was required to invite Friends, and to make necessary Preparations (d);

*Ducenda est uxor, ut ais; concedo tibi:
Spatium quidem apparandis nuptiis,
Vocandi, sacrificandi dabitur paululum.*

That he's oblig'd to marry her I grant;
But then some Time before must be allow'd
For the procuring of all Requisites;
His Friends must be invited to the Wedding,
And he address the Gods with Sacrifice.

H. H.

During the Solemnity the Company diverted themselves, and

Πολλὸς δ' ὑμῖναι ὀρέγεται.

Many *Hymens* sung.——

The Romans used the same Term (a) ;

Hymenæum, turbas, lampadas, tibicines.

Your *Hymens*, Hubbubs, Flambeaus, and Scrapers.

This Name was taken from the frequent Invocations of *Hymen*, or *Hymenæus*, the God of Marriage, always made in these Songs ; as in this Verse of *Catullus*,

Io Hymen, Hymenæe Hymen ades, O Hymenæe.

This *Hymenæus*, we are told, was an *Argian*, whom (b) they received into the Number of their Gods, and thus remembered for a generous Action, in delivering certain *Athenian* Virgins from the Lust and Cruelty of some *Pelasgians*. Others derive the Word ἀπὸ τῷ ὄμῳ τῶν αἰών from the married Couple's *inhabiting together* ; others, lastly, from ὑμῖν, which signifies the *membrana virginalis*.

About the time of their Entertainment there were several significant Ceremonies relating some way or other to the State of Marriage. One at *Athens* was this : There came in a Boy cover'd with Thorn-boughs and Acorns, carrying a Basket full of Bread, and singing Εἴρηγον κακὸν, εὖρεον ἄμεινον, i. e. *I have left the worse, and found the better*. Which Saying was used at one of their Festivals, when they commemorated their Change of Diet, from Acorns to Corn ; but seems at this time to have signified also the Happiness which the married Persons were entering upon, and that Marriage was preferable to a single Life. The *Lacedæmonians* had a Custom of carrying about a sort of Cakes made in various Figures, and called κυρτάνας, whilst they danced and commended the Bride in Songs (c).

When the Dances were ended the married Couple were conducted to the Marriage-Bed, called in *Latin*, *lectus genialis*, in *Greek*, κλῖν νυμφίδιον, or γαμικὴ, or (when the Persons were first married, and in their Youth) κυρτίδιον λέχος. It was richly adorn'd, as the Quality of the Person would bear, the Covering was usually Purple, whence the Poet (d),

Purpureumque tuum consternens veste cubile.

Spreading a Garment o'er thy Purple Bed.

Εἶδα τὸτ' ἱστῆσαι λιλῆρον μέγα, τοῖοδ' ὑπερθε
 Χρύσειον αὐγλήεν κῶας βάλλον, ὅφρα πέλαιο
 Τιμήεις τε γάμου· κ' αἰοίδιμοι· ἄνδρα δὴ σφι
 Νύμφαι ἀμειγρόμεναι λευκοῖς ἐν ποικίλῃ κόλποις
 Εσφόρειον. —————

Then richly they adorn'd the Marriage-Bed,
 A costly purple Skin they o'er it spread ;
 And that the Nuptials they might celebrate
 With more magnificent and pompous State,
 The beauteous Nymphs brought in their snowy Breasts
 Flowers of various Colours. ————— *H. H.*

In the same Room there were commonly placed a Side-bed, called κλίνη παράβουτος (a), ὑπὲρ τῇ τὴν παῖδα μὴ ἀδυμῆσαι, as *Pollux* accounts for the Custom (b). But before they went to Bed the Bride bath'd her Feet, whence *Trygæus* in *Aristophanes* (c) intending to marry *Opora*, no sooner brings her to his House, but commands his Servants to provide a Vessel of Water, then to make ready the Bed.

Ἀλλ' εἰσαγ' ὡς τάχιστα ταυτηνὶ λαβὼν,
 Καὶ τὸν πύλον κατὰκλυζε κ' δέμασι' ὕδαρ,
 Στόρυθι μοι κ' τῇδε κρητὶδον λέχῃ.

Bring home my Bride as soon as possible,
 Then wash the Vessel, and the Water warm,
 And next prepare for us the Nuptial Bed.

This Water the *Athenians* always fetch'd from the Fountain *Cal-lirhoe*, afterwards called *Ενυάκων*, from nine Cisterns supplied by it with Water ; the Person that brought it was a Boy nearly allied to one of the married Couple, whom they termed *λατρεφόρος*, from his Office (d). This being done, the Bride was lighted to Bed with several Torches, for a single Torch was not enough, as may be observed from the *Miser* in *Libanius* (e), that complains he could not light the Bride to Bed with one Torch. Round one of the Torches the married Person's Mother tied her Hair-lace, which she took from her Head for this Use. *Seneca* alludes to this Custom (f) ;

————— *Non te duxit in thalamos parens
 Comitata primos, nec sua festas manu
 Ornavit ædes, nec sua lætus faces
 Vittæ revinxit.* —————

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Your Mother did not at the Wedding wait,
Nor you into your Chamber introduce,
Nor with her Hand the Bridal House adorn'd,
Nor with her Hair-lace ty'd the joyful Torch.

H. H.

The Relations of the married Persons assisted in the Solemnity, and it was looked on as no small Misfortune to be absent; the Mothers especially were assiduous in lighting Torches when their Sons Wives entered the Houses. *Jocasta* in *Euripides* severely chides *Polynices* for marrying in a foreign Country, because she, with the rest of his Relations and Friends, were deprived of their Offices at his Nuptials (a) :

Σὺ δ' ὦ, τέκνον, καὶ γάμοισι δὴ κλύω
Ζυγύντα, παιδοποιὸν ἄδοναι·
Εἴνοισιν ἐν δόμοις ἔχειν,
Εἴνοι τι κηδὼ ἀμφίπει·
Ἀλαστα μάλ' ἢ τάδε,
Λατὼ τί σὺ παλαιγενεῖ,
Γάμων ἱπαικλῶν ἄται·
Εγὼ δ' ἄντι σοι πυρὸς ἀνῆψα φῶς
Νόμμοι ἐκ γάμοις,
Ὡς κρίπει ματρὶ μακαρία,
Ἀνυμέναϊά δ' Ἰσμηνὸς ἐκιδεύδῃ
Λαίρροφ' ὅθεν χλιδᾶς
Ἀνὰ δὲ Θηβαίαν πόλιν
Εἰσιγάδῃ σῶς εἰσοδὼ νύμφας.

But you, my Son, not without Grief, I hear,
Are join'd in Wedlock in a foreign Land,
There taste the Pleasures of a genial Bed,
And on a Stranger propagate your Kind ;
This, this is Matter of most killing Grief
To me, and your good Grandfire *Lais*,
When we reflect upon those coming Ills,
That must undoubtedly attend the Match :
For neither I, as well becomes the Care
Of happy Mothers, lighted up the Torch,
And blest the Nuptials by that pious Act ;
Nor old *Ismenus*, rich in rowling Streams,
Furnish'd out Water for your Nuptial Washings

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The Bride's Mother had no less a Right to this Office, for we find *Clytemnestra*, tho' professing all due Submission to *Agamemnon*, when desired by him to absent herself from *Iphigenia's* Marriage, steadfastly refusing it, as a thing against all Justice, notwithstanding his Promise to perform her Part of the Ceremony (a) ;

ΚΑ. Ημᾶς δὲ πῦ χρὴ τηναῦτα τυγχάνειν ;
 ΑΓ. Χώρει πρὸς Ἀργῶ, παρδίνως τι τημέλει.
 ΚΑ. Λιπῶσα παῖδα ; τίς δ' ἀναστήσει φλόγα ;
 ΑΓ. Εγὼ παρίξω φῶς, ὃ νυμφίοις πέπει.
 ΚΑ. Οὐχ ὁ νόμος, ἔτῳ, κ' σὺ δὲ φαῦλ' ἤγῃ τάδι.

CL. Whither mean time shall wretched I repair ?

AG. To *Argos*, let those Maids employ your Care.

CL. And leave my Child ? Who then the Torch will light ?

AG. That be my Care, I will perform that Rite.

CL. And is that fit ? let *Agamemnon* judge. H. H.

After a little disputing they proceed thus :

ΑΓ. Πῆδῃ. ΚΑ. Μὰ τὴν ἄνασσαι Ἀργίαν διάν'
 Ελθὼν δὲ, τάξῃ κηῶσσι, τὰ ἰ δόμοις δ' ἐγώ,
 Ἀ χρὴ παρίναι νυμφίοισι παρδίνοις.

AG. Without more Reas'nings my Demands obey.

CL. By *Juno*, that o'er *Argos* bears the Sway,
 Sooner would wretched *Clytemnestra* bleed
 Than give Consent to so unjust a Deed ;
 Affairs abroad better my Lord become,
 'Tis fit that I should manage Things at home.

H. H.

The married Couple being shut together in the Chamber, the Laws of *Athens* obliged them to eat a Quince, whereby was intimated that their first Conversation ought to be pleasing and agreeable (b). The Husband then loos'd his Wife's Girdle, whence λύνει ζώνην is to deflower, and γυνὴ λυσίζωνη, a Woman who has lost her Virginity. This Girdle was not (as some seem to fancy) worn by Maids only, but used as well after Marriage as before, being designed to secure the weaker Sex from the sudden Attempts of Men inflamed with Lust. whence *Nannus* calls it γυναικῶν and when he

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At this time the young Men and Maids stood without the Door, dancing, and singing Songs, called *ἐπιθαλάμια*, from *θάλαμος*, the *Bride-chamber*, and making a great Noise by shouting and stamping with their Feet, which was termed *κλυπία*, or *κλυπίον* (a), and design'd to drown the Maid's Cries. Left the Women should go to her Assistance, one of the Bridegroom's Friends stood Centinal at the Chamber-door, and from his Office was called *θυμωρός* (b). This Song, as likewise all the rest, was termed *ῥήματα*, and consisted of the Praises of the Bridegroom and Bride, with Wishes for their Happiness, as may appear (to pass by other Instances) from *Theocritus's Epithalamium of Helena*, which begins thus :

Εἰ σπον' ἄρα Σπάρτα, ξανθότριχί παρ Μινελάω,
Παρθενικαὶ δάλλοισι κῆμαις ὑακινθοῖν ἵχοισαι,
Πρόσθε πογγάπῳ θαλάμῳ χορὸν ἐγείσαιτο,
Δάδεκα τὰι πρῶται σόλι' ὀλίγα χρῆμα Λακωνῶν,
Αἴνῃ Τυνδάρῳ καλὴ κλέξαιτο τὰν ἀγαπαίων
Μναστήσας ἑλάναι ὁ γυνεὺς Ἀρήϊ' υἱός
Λαίδον δ' ἄρα πᾶσαι ἐς εἰ μὴ ἰγκροτίσσαι
Ποσσὶ περιπλήξουσιν, περὶ δ' ἔαχε δῶμ' ὑμναίων.

At *Sparta's* Palace twenty beauteous Maids
The *Pride of Greece*, fresh Garlands crown'd their Heads
With *Hyacinth* and twining Parsly drest,
Grac'd joyful *Menelaus's* Marriage-Feast,
When lovely *Helena*, great in conqu'ring Charms,
Resign'd her willing Beauty to his Arms :
They danc'd around, Joy flow'd from every Tongue,
And the vast Palace sounded with the Song. *Mr. Creech.*

They return'd again in the Morning, saluted the married Couple, and sung *ἐπιθαλάμια ἑγερτικά*, for that was the Name of the Morning Songs, which were design'd to awake and arise the Bridegroom and Bride ; as those sung the Night before were intended to dispose them to Sleep, and are on that account termed *ἐπιθαλάμια κοιμητικά*. This Custom appears from *Theocritus's Chorus of Virgins*, who conclude the forecited *Epithalamium* with a Promise to return early in the Morning ;

Εὐδὲν' ἐς ἀλλήλων ἔρπον φιλότῃσι σπείοντες
Καὶ σὺνδον' ἔγρεισθαι δὲ πρὸς αὐτῷ, μήτι λάθῃσθαι
Νύμμεθα πᾶμμες ἐς ὄρθρον, ἐπεὶ κα πρῶτ' αἰοῖσθαι
Ἐξ ἑνῶς κελადῆσιν ἀνασχὼν εὐτριχά διερῖν
Τμᾶν δ' ῥήματα, γάμῳ ἐπὶ τῷδε χαρείης.

But rise, betimes, forget not, we'll return
 When first the crowing Cock shall wake the Morn,
 When thro' his feather'd throat he sends his Voice :
 O Hymen, Hymen, at this Feast rejoice, *Mr. Creech:*

The Solemnity lasted several Days. The Day before the Marriage was termed *παραύλια*, as preceding that whereon the Bride did *αὐλιζοῦσαι τῶν νυμφῶν*, lodge with the Bridegroom. The Marriage-day was called *γάμος*; the Day following, according to *Pindar*, *ἑπιδέας*, which Word signifies a Day added to any Solemnity; *Hesychius* (a) calls it *παύλια*, which may perhaps be derived from *παύω*, because the former Day's Mirth was as it were repeated, whence the *Romans* called it *reposita*; unless for *παύλια* we might be allowed to read *παλαιά*, and then it would be the same with *Athenæus's* *ἑωλεῖ ἡμέρα* (b), for *ἑωλεῖ* denotes any thing that has ceased to be new, whence *Tully* calls a Book *ἑωλον*, when Mens first and eager Enquiry after it is cool'd; and *Athenæus* in another place has opposed *τὰς ἀκμαίας γάμον ἡμέρας* to the *τὸ ἑωλον τῆς συμποσίας* (c); others call the second Day *ἑκαύλια* or *ἑπαυλία*. The third Day was termed *ἀπαυλία*, or rather *ἀπαύλια*, because the Bride returning to her Father's House, did *ἀπαυλιζοῦσαι τῶν νυμφῶν*, lodge apart from the Bridegroom, tho' some place this upon the seventh Day after Marriage; others will have it so called, because the Bridegroom lodg'd apart from his Bride at his Father-in-Law's House; 'tis possible both may be in the right, and that both Bridegroom and Bride might lie at her Father's House; but in different Beds. Others make *ἀπαύλια* to be the same with *ἑκαύλια*, whence, a seeming Difficulty arises, since those two Words import Contraries, one seeming to denote the Bride's lodging apart from the Bridegroom, the other with him; but this may be easily solv'd by applying *ἑκαύλια* to her lodging with her Husband, and *ἀπαύλια* to her departure from her Father's House (d). On the Day called *ἐπαύλια*, (whenever that was) the Bride presented her Bridegroom with a Garment called *ἀπαυλητήρια*. Gifts were likewise made to the Bride and Bridegroom by the Bride's Father and Friends, called sometimes *ἀπαύλια*, sometimes *ἐπαύλια*; these consisted of golden Vessels, Beds, Couches, Plates, Ointment-boxes, Combs, Sandals, and all sorts of Necessaries for House-keeping, which were carried in great State to the House by Women, who followed a Person called *κνηφόρος*, from carrying a Basket in the manner usual at Processions, before whom went a Boy in white Apparel with a Torch in his Hand. It was also customary for the Bridegroom and his Friends to give Presents to the Bride, which they called *ἀναυλητήρια* (e); and *Hesychius* will have the third Day to be called

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veil'd. *Suidas* tells us the Gifts were so called, because she was then first shewn to her Bridegroom. For the same reason they are sometimes called *δωρίσματα*, *ἐπιθήματα*, *ἀθήματα*, and *προσφθεγίματα*, because the Bridegroom had then Leave to converse freely with her; for Virgins before Marriage were under strait Confinement, being rarely permitted to appear in Publick, or converse with Men; and when allowed that Liberty, wore a Veil over their Faces; this was termed *κάλυψον*, or *καλύπτρα*, and was not left off in the Presence of Men till this time; whence some think the Bride was called *νύμφη ὑπο τῷ νίον*, i. e. *πρώτως φαίνεσθαι*, that being the first time she appeared in a publick Company unveil'd (a): Hence the Poets speak of *Pluto's* Gifts to *Proserpina*, when she unveil'd herself, as we read in those Verses of *Euphorion* cited by the *Schooliast* upon *Euripides* (b):

Τῇ γὰρ πόλε Κρονίδης δῶρον πόρε Περσιφονίῃ
 Ἐὶνὶ γάμοις, ὅτε πρώτῃ ἐκπαύσασθαι ἔμελλε,
 Νυμφιδίῳ στήθεσσι παρεκλίνουσα καλύπτραν.

*Pluto to Proserpine a Present gave,
 When first she laid aside her Maiden Veil,
 And at the Marriage shew'd herself uncover'd,*

There is a Story of the Sophister *Hermocrates* relating to this Custom, that having a Woman not very agreeable impos'd upon him by *Severus* the Roman Emperor, and being ask'd his *ἀνακαλυπτήρια* when she took off her Veil, he replied, *ἰσχυραυπτήρια μὲν ἔν τοιαυτῇ λαμβάνειν*, *It would be more proper to make her a Present to keep her Veil on, unless her Face was more agreeable.*

The Ceremonies of the *Spartan* Marriages being different from all others, I have reserv'd them for this place, and shall set them down in *Plutarch's* own Words (c): “When the *Spartans* had a mind to marry, their Courtship was a sort of Rape upon the Persons they had a fancy for, and those they chose not tender and half Children, but in the Flower of their Age, and full ripe for an Husband. Matters being agreed between them, the *Νυμφηθήρια*, or Woman that contrived or managed the Plot, shaved off the Bride's Hair close to her Skin, dress'd her up in Man's Clothes, and left her upon a Mattress; this done, in comes the Bridegroom in his every-day Clothes, sober and composed, as having supped at his Ordinary in the Common-Hall, and steals as privately as he can into the Room where the Bride lay, unties her Virgin-Girdle, and takes her into his Embraces; thus hav-

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“ great deal of Circumspection and Fear of being discover’d. Nor
“ was she wanting (as may be supposed) on her part to use her
“ Woman’s Wit in watching the most favourable Opportunities for
“ their meeting, and making Appointments when Company was
“ out of the way. In this manner they lived a long time, inso-
“ much that they frequently had Children by their Wives before
“ they saw their Faces by Day-light. The Interview being thus
“ difficult and rare, served not only for a continual Exercise of
“ their Temperance, and furthered very much the Ends and In-
“ tentions of Marriage, but was a Means to keep their Passion
“ still alive, which flags and decays, and dies at last, by too easy
“ Access and long Continuance with the beloved Object.”

C H A P. XII.

Of their Divorces, Adulteries, Concubines, and Harlots.

THE *Grecian* Laws concerning Divorces were different ; some permitted Men to put away their Wives on slight Occasions ; the *Cretans* allow’d it any Man that was afraid of having too great a Number of Children ; the *Athenians* likewise did it upon very small Grounds, but not without giving a Bill, wherein was contained the Reason of their Divorce, to be approved (if the Party divorced made an Appeal) by the chief Magistrate (*a*). The *Spartans*, tho’ marrying without much Nicety in Choice, seldom divorced their Wives ; for we read that *Lysander* was fined by the Magistrates called *Ephori* on that Account ; and tho’ *Aristo*, one of their Kings, put away his Wife with the Approbation of the City, yet that seems to have been done rather out of an earnest Desire to have a Son to succeed in his Kingdom, which he could not expect by that Woman, than according to the Custom of his Country (*b*). But whatever Liberty the Men took, their Wives were under a greater Restraint, for it was extremely scandalous for a Woman to depart from her Husband : Hence we find *Medea* in *Euripides* complaining of the hard Fate of her Sex, who had no Remedy against the Mens Unkindness, but were first under a Necessity of buying

Πόσω σφαισσαι, δασύται τε σώματι·
 Λαβύν· κακῷ γὰρ τὸδ' ἐστ' ἄλγιστος κακόν,
 Κἀν τῷδ' ἀγῶν μάλιστα, ὃ κακὸν λαβύν,
 Ἡ' χρεόν· ὡ' γὰρ νύκλας ἀπαλλαγῇ
 Τυταίῃ, ὅδ' οἶόν τ' ἀνάσσειν πτόσω.

Of all those Creatures to whom kinder Heav'n
 Has Life and more exalted Reason giv'n,
 We Women the most wretched Fate endure ;
 First Husbands we at highest Rates procure,
 Then yield ourselves submissive to their Pow'r :
 But oh ! the Curse, the Hazard lies in this,
 If he's unkind I chuse, there's no Redress,
 But good, or bad, I am for ever his ;
 Divorces are too scandalous to name,
 And no Law suffers us to throw off them.

H. H.

The *Athenians* were somewhat more favourable to Women, allowing them to leave their Husbands upon just Occasions ; only they could not do it without making Appeal to the *Archon*, and presenting him a Bill of their Grievances with their own Hands. *Plutarch* (a) has a Story of *Hipparchus*, *Alcibiades*'s Wife, " who (he tells us) " was a virtuous Lady, and fond of her Husband, but at last growing impatient of the Injuries done to her Bed by his continual entertaining of Courtesans, as well Strangers as *Athenians*, she departed from him, and retired to her Brother *Callias*'s House. "*Alcibiades* seemed not at all concerned at it, living on still in his former lewd Course of Life ; but the Law requiring that she should deliver to the *Archon* in Person, and not by a Proxy, the Instrument whereby she sued for a Divorce, when in Obedience to it she presented herself before him, *Alcibiades* came in, took her away by Force, and carried her home thro' the *Forum*, no Man daring to oppose him, or take her from him, and she continued with him till her Death. Nor was this Violence to be thought a Crime ; for the Law, in making her who desires a Divorce, appear in Publick, seems to design her Husband should have an Opportunity of discoursing with her, and endeavouring to retain her." Persons that divorced their Wives were obliged to return their Portions, as has been observed in the foregoing Chapter ; if they failed to do that, the *Athenian* Laws obliged them to pay her nine *Oboli* a Month for Alimony, which the Woman's Guardian was empower'd to sue for at the Court kept in the *Odeum* (b). It may be observed lastly, that the Term expressing

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It was not unusual to dissolve the Marriage-Tie by Consent of both Parties, and that done, they were at Liberty to dispose of themselves how they pleased in a second Match; an Instance here-of we find in *Plutarch*, who reports, that when *Pericles* and his Wife could not agree, and became weary of one another's Company, he parted with her, willing and consenting to it, to another Man (a). There is somewhat more remarkable in the Story of *Antiochus* the Son of *Seleucus*; who falling desperately in love with *Stratonice* his Mother-in-law, marry'd her with his Father's Consent (b). The Romans had the same Custom, as appears from *Cato's* parting with his Wife *Martia* to *Hortensius*, which, as *Strabo* assures us, was a thing not unusual, but agreeable to the Practice of the old Romans (c), and some other Countries.

What may appear more strange, is, that it was frequent in some Parts of Greece to borrow one another's Wives. At *Athens*, *Socrates* lent his Wife *Xantippe* to *Alcibiades* (d), and the Laws of that City permitted Heiresses to make use of their Husband's nearest Relation, when they found him deficient. And we have the following Account of the Practice of the Spartans from *Plutarch* (e): "*Lycurgus* the Spartan Lawgiver, he tells us, thought the best Expedient against Jealousy, was to allow Men the Freedom of imparting the Use of their Wives to whom they should think fit, that so they might have Children by them; this he made a very commendable piece of Liberality, laughing at those who thought the Violation of their Bed such an insupportable Affront, as to revenge it by Murders and cruel Wars. He had a good Opinion of that Man, who being grown old, and having a young Wife, should recommend some virtuous, handsome young Man, that she might have a Child by him to inherit the good Qualities of such a Father, and should love this Child as tenderly as if begotten by himself. On the other side, an honest Man, who had love for a married Woman upon the Account of her Modesty, and the well-favouredness of her children, might with good Grace beg of her Husband his Wife's Conversation, that he might have a Cyon of so good a Tree to transplant into his own Garden; for *Lycurgus* was persuaded that Children were not so much the Property of their Parents as of the whole commonwealth, and therefore would not have them begotten by the first Comers, but by the best Men that could be found. Thus much (proceeds my Author) is certain, that so long as these Ordinances were observed, the Women were so far from that scandalous Liberty, which hath since been objected to them, that they knew not what the Name of Adultery meant." We are farther told by others, that Strangers, as well as Citizens of *Sparta*, were allowed the same freedom with their Wives, provided they were handsome Men, and likely

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were exempt from this Law, that the Royal Blood might be preserved unmix'd, and the Government remain in the same lineal Descent.

Notwithstanding this Liberty, which was founded upon mutual Consent, they accounted all other Adulteries the most heinous Crimes in the World, and whilst they kept to their ancient Laws, were wholly Strangers to them; for we were told by *Plutarch* (a) "That *Geradas*, a primitive *Spartan*, being ask'd by a Stranger, "What Punishment their Law had appointed for Adulterers? replied, There were no Adulterers in his Country: But, return'd the Stranger, suppose there were one, and the Crime were proved against him, how would you punish him? He answer'd, That the Offender must pay to the Plaintiff a Bull with a Neck so long as that he might reach over the Mountain *Taygetus*, and drink of the River *Eurotus*, that runs on the other side. The Man surprised at this, said, Why, 'tis impossible to find such a Bull... *Geradas* smilingly replied, 'Tis just as possible to find an Adulterer in Sparta."

The Punishments inflicted upon Adulterers in Greece were of divers sorts, some of which are these that follow:

To begin with the heroic Ages: If the Rapes of Women may be allowed room in this Place, we shall find they were revenged by many cruel and bloody Wars. *Herodotus* makes them to have given the first occasion to that constant Enmity that was kept up for many Ages between Greece and Asia, and never allayed till the latter was conquer'd, and become subject to the former (b). *Lycophron* agrees with *Herodotus*, and makes the Rape of *Io* by the *Phœnicians* to have incensed the *Græcians* against the Inhabitants of Asia, and after frequent Injuries committed, and Wars waged on both sides, to have reduced the Asian Empire, under the Dominion of the Europeans, under *Alexander of Macedon*; the Poet's Words run thus (c):

Ολοῖτο ταῦται πρῶτα Καρῆται κύνας,
Οἳ τει βοῶπιι ταυροπαρδόνι κρόνη
Λίρνης ἀνησίφαλο, φορήγοι λύκοι,
Πλάτῃ πορεύσας κῆρα Μαιφίτῃ πρόμω,
Ἐχθρας δὲ πύρρον ἦσαν ἡπίεροις διπλάσι.

May those *Phœnician* Sailors be accurst
That *Io* did convey from *Laerna* first,
Those savage Mariners that forc'd the Maid
To be the Partner of *Osiris'* Bed,
And the two Empires thus imbroil'd in War.

H. H.

He goes on to enumerate the continual Quarrels between the two

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tion of those amongst themselves, or against the others; yet we have a remarkable Instance (to omit several others) of a long and bloody War, occasioned by *Paris's* Rape of *Helen*. But to bring some Instances, which may seem more pertinent to our present Design; what Sentences the heroic Ages past upon Adultery may appear, as from the Revenge of *Atreus* upon his Brother *Thyestes*, who was entertained at a Banquet with the Flesh of his own Son, for defiling *Aerope*, *Atreus's* Wife; and other Examples of the Cruelty of the Men of those Times, against such as committed Adultery with their Wives, or other near Relations, appear more clearly from the Punishments inflicted by Laws or Magistrates upon such Offenders, who were usually stoned to Death; whence *Hesiod* in *Homer* tells *Paris*, his Crime in stealing another Man's Wife deserves no less a Punishment than λίθῳ χιτῶν, a Stone Coat, which, if he had received his Demerits, he should have put on, meaning that nothing but this Death could expiate so black an Action;

Λίθῳ ἴσσο χιτῶνα κακῶν ἵνακ' ὅσσα ἔργας (a).

For these your Crimes you had been ston'd to death.

The same Punishment seems to have been frequent in more eastern Countries; the *Jews* were particularly obliged to inflict it both on Men and Women, as appears from the express Words of their Law (b). Rich Adulterers were sometimes allowed to redeem themselves with Money, which was called μισγάγγια, and paid to the Adulteress's Husband; whence *Mars* being taken with *Venus*, *Homer's* Gods all agree that he must pay his Fine to *Vulcan* (c);

Οὐκ ἀρίστ' ἀκακά ἔργα, κισχάνει τοι βραδὺς ὥκιν'
Ὡς κ' ἰὼν Ἡφαίστου βραδὺς εἶλεν Ἀφροίτην,
Ὀκυτότατος περ ἰούλα Διὸς οἱ Ὀλύμπου ἔχουσι,
Χωλὺς ἰὼν, τέχνησι τὸ κ' μισγάγγρι' ὀφέλλει.

An ill Event does still on Ills depend,
Not *Mars* his Swiftneſs cou'd the God defend
From limping *Vulcan's* moſt unerring Snare,
But in it he ſurpriz'd th' adult'rous Pair.
Therefore a greater Fine *Mars* ought to pay.

H. H.

Nor wold *Vulcan* conſent to ſet his Priſoner at Liberty till *Nep-*

Then *Neptune*, who the well-fix'd Earth doth shake,
In answer to distrustful *Vulcan*, spake;

"If you're afraid that *Mars* will play the Cheat,

"That he'll abscond, and never pay the Debt,

"I'll it discharge.——

H. H.

It appears from the same place to have been customary for the Woman's Father to return all the Dowry he had received of her Husband; whence *Vulcan* is introduced threatening to secure both *Mars* and *Venus* in Chains till that was done (a);

——— Σφῶι δόλῳ ἢ δισμῶς ἱεῖξαι
Εἰσόνε μοι μάλα πάντα πατρὸς ἀποδώσει ἴδνας,
Ὅσσα οἱ ἱγυᾶλῖξαι κυνώπιδ' εἶνεκα κέρους,
Οὐκ ἔστι οἱ καλὴ θυγάτηρ, ἅταρ ἐκ ἐχίδνῃ.

I'll not release them from the binding Chain,

Till I that Dowry have receiv'd again,

Which I for *Venus* to her Father paid

'Cause she was handsome, tho' a Jilt.——

H. H.

Some think this Sum was refunded by the Adulterer, because 'twas reasonable he should bear the Woman's Father harmless, since it appears not that *Mars*'s Mule was a distinct Sum; for upon *Neptune*'s becoming Surety for it, *Vulcan* loosed him from his Bonds without farther Scruple.

Another Punishment was putting out the Eyes of Adulterers, which seem to have been no less ancient than the former, and may be thought just and reasonable, as depriving the Offender of that Member which first admits the Incentives of Lust. Fabulous Writers tell us, that *Orion* having defiled *Candiope*, or *Merope*, had his Eyes put out by *Oenopion*, whom some will have to be the Lady's Husband, others her Father (b). *Phænix*, *Achilles*'s Guardian, suffered the same Punishment for defiling *Clytia*, his Father's Concubine (c), which is thus expressed by *Lycophron* (d);

Τὸς πατρὶ παλῖτρον ἐςυνημένον βροτῶν,
Ὀμηρον ὅς νιν θῆκε τέλεινας λύχνους,
Ὅτ' εἰς νότον τέρωνι πύλασθ' ἔλθοι.

The Object of *Amyntor*'s greatest Hate,
And whom, since he his *Clytia* had defil'd,
He most inhumanly depriv'd of Sight.

Homer indeed has no mention of this Punishment, but only informs us, that his Father having discover'd him, pray'd that he might never have any Children (*a*), which *Tzetzes* (*b*) thinks is meant by losing his Eyes, because Children are dearer to Parents, and afford them greater Comfort than their most necessary Members; but this Interpretation is forced, and contrary to the Sense of *Mythologists* ancient as well as modern, who relate the Story agreeably to the literal Meaning of *Lycophron's* Words. The *Locrians* observed this Custom in later Ages, being obliged thereto by *Zaleucus* their Law-giver, whose Rigour in executing this Law is very remarkable; for having caught his Son in Adultery, he resolv'd to deprive him of Sight, and remained a long time inexorable, notwithstanding the whole City was willing to remit the Punishment, and requested him to spare the Youth; at length, unable to resist the People's Importunity, he mitigated the Sentence, and redeemed one of his Son's Eyes by another of his own (*c*), so at once becoming a memorable Example of Justice and Mercy.

At *Gortyn* in *Crete* there was another Method of punishing Adulterers; they were covered with Wool, an Emblem of the Softness and Effeminacy of their Tempers, and in that Dress carried thro' the City to the Magistrate's House, who sentenced them to *Ignominy*, whereby they were depriv'd in a manner of all their Privileges, and their share in managing publick Business (*d*).

It would be endless to enumerate all the Penalties ordered for these Offenders, I shall therefore pass to the *Athenian* Laws, when I have first acquainted you, that if Credit may be given to *Pausanias* (*e*), the first who made a Law, and constituted Punishments against Adulterers, was *Hyettus*, an Inhabitant of *Argos*, who having caught *Molurus*, the Son of *Arifbas*, too familiar with his Wife; slew him, and fled to *Orchomenus*, the Son of *Minyas*, then King of that City of *Boeotia*, which bore his Name; the King receiv'd him kindly, and gave him part of his Territories, where he call'd his Village *Hyettus*, after his own Name, and established severe Laws against Adultery.

The *Athenian* Punishments seem to have been arbitrary, and left to their supreme Magistrate's Discretion; whence we find *Hippomenes*, one of *Codrus's* Posterity, and *Archon* of *Athens*, pronouncing a very odd Sentence upon his own Daughter *Limone*, and the Man caught in Adultery with her; he yoked them to a Chariot till the Man died, and afterwards shut up his Daughter with an Horse, and so starv'd her to Death (*f*). Some time after *Draco* being invested with Power to enact Laws, left Adulterers at the Mercy of any Man that caught them in the Act, who had free Licence to dis-

and was continued afterwards by *Solon* (a). Several other Punishments were order'd by *Solon* against the same Crime, when proved by Evidence in lawful Judicature. A Man that ravished a free Woman was fined 100 Drachms, one that enticed her 20 (b), or (as some say 200, it being a greater Injury to a Woman's Husband and her Family to corrupt her Mind than her Body; but he that forced a free Virgin, was to pay 1000, and whoever deflowered one, was obliged to marry her; whence *Plautus* introduces one who had corrupted a Man's Daughter, speaking to her Father thus (c):

*Siquid ego erga te imprudens peccavi, aut gnatam tuam,
Ut mihi ignoscas, eamque uxorem des, ut leges jubent.*

If, Sir, I have injur'd you, I crave your Pardon,
And if I've wrong'd your Daughter's Chastity,
The Laws command it, and I'll marry her.

But if the Virgin, or her Mother, had accepted any Present from her Gallant, he was not obliged to make her his Wife, but she was looked on as a common Strumpet; whence *Sofstrata* in *Terence* has these Words, after her Daughter had been defiled (d):

*Pejore res loco non potis est esse, quam in hoc, quo nunc sita est;
Primum indotata est; tum præterea, quæ secunda ei dos erat,
Periit, pro virgine dari nuptum non potest: hoc reliquum est,
Si inficias ibit, testis mecum est annulus, quem amiserat:
Postremo, quando ego conscia mi sum, a me culpam esse hanc procul,
Neq; pretium, neq; rem ullam intercessisse illa, aut me indignam, Geta,
Experiar.*—————

Matters were never worse than now they are:
For first she has no Portion; and for that,
Which might have been instead of one, she's lost:
So that she can't pass for a Virgin now;
I have but this one thing now that gives me Hopes,
If he deny't, the Ring he lost will prove it:
And, *Geta*, since I know my Conscience clear,
Since I no By-ends had in this Mishap,
Nor took a Bribe, that I might blush to own,
I'd stand a Tryal with him at the Law.

H. H.

When a Man was clapt up on Suspicion of Adultery, he was allowed to prefer his Appeal to the Magistrates called *Thesmotheta*, who referred the Cause to proper Judges, and these, in case the

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only excepted, what Punishment they pleased (a). There was another remarkable Punishment for Adulterers, called *παραιλμός*, or *ῥαπαίδωσις*, the part being put for the whole; for having plucked off the Hair from their Privities, they threw hot Ashes upon the Place, and thrust up a Radish, Mullet, or some such thing, into their Fundament, whence they were ever after termed *σπινθοῖσι*. *Juvenal* mentions this Usage (b);

———*Quosdam mæchus & mugilis intrat.*

And some Adulterers a Mullet bores.

But poor Men were only thus dealt with, the Rich being allowed to bring themselves off with paying their Fine, as the *Greek Scholiast* hath observed from the following Passage of *Aristophanes*, wherein *Chremylus* upbraids *Poverty* for exposing Men to this disgraceful Punishment.

Ο ὦ ἀλῶς γὰρ μοιχὸς διὰ σὶ πε παραίλλεται (c).

Women thus offending were treated with great Severity. *Plutarch* tells us, that if any Person discover'd his Sister or Daughter, whilst unmarried, in this Crime, he was allowed by *Solon's* Laws to sell her for a Slave. Adulteresses were never after permitted to adorn themselves with fine Clothes; and in case they appeared to do so, were liable to have them torn off by any that met them, and likewise to be beaten, tho' not so as to be kill'd or disabled; the same Liberty was permitted to any that found them in the Temples, which were thought polluted by the Admission of Persons so infamous and detestable. Lastly, their Husbands, tho' willing to do it, were forbidden to cohabit any longer with them, upon pain of *Ignominy*, *ἀτιμία* (d); but Persons that prostituted Women, were adjudged to die (e).

We have seen what the *Greeks* thought of Adultery; but they appear to have had a more favourable Opinion of Concubinage, it being permitted every where, and that without Scandal, to keep as many Concubines as they pleased; these they stiled *παλλακίδες*, they were usually Women taken Captives, or bought with Money, and always inferior to lawful Wives, whose Dowry, or noble Parentage, or some other Excellency, gave them Pre-eminence. There is continual mention of them in *Homer*; *Achilles* had his *Briseis*, and in her Absence *Diomedes*, *Patroclus* his *Iphis*, *Menelaus* and *Agamemnon*, and to mention no more, the wisest, gravest, and eldest of them all, such as *Phœnix* and *Nestor*, had their Women. Nor is it to be wonder'd that Heathens should run out into such Excesses, when the

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Wives always envy'd their Husbands this Freedom, looking on it as an Encroachment upon their Privileges; whence we find in *Homer*, that *Laertes*, tho' having a great Respect for his Slave *Euryclea*, never took her to his Bed for fear of his Wife's Displeasure (a);

Ἰσα δὲ μιν κτενὴ ἀλόχῃ τινι ἐν μεγάροισιν,
Εὐνὴ δ' ἔσσιτο ἱμῖο, χόλοι δ' ἀλείπει γυναικός.

Not his own Wife he lov'd above the Maid,
Yet never her admitted to his Bed,
The better to prevent domestick Strife.

Phoenix's Mother persuaded him to defile his Father's Concubine, to free her of so troublesome a Rival, as himself relates the Story (b);

——— Δίτῳ Ἑλλάδα καλλιγύναικα,
Φύγον νίκια πατέρος Ἀμύντορος Ὀρμειίδαο,
Ὃς μοι παλλακίδος ἐπὶ χυσαίῳ καλλικόμοιο,
Τὴν αὐτὸς φιλείσκιν, αἰτιμάζεσκε δ' ἀκοίῃν,
Μηλὲς ἱμῆν ἢ δ' αἶν ἱμὶ λισσιόκλειό γένειο
Παλλακίδι προμυγῆναι, ἢ ἰχθάρῃσι γέροντα.
Τῇ σιδομένη, ἢ ἕρεξα.———

Hellas I left to shun my Father's Hate,
Who for his violated *Miss* contriv'd my Fate:
For I, mov'd with my Mother's earnest Pray'r,
(Who griev'd to see a Jilt preferr'd to her)
Debauch'd, to make him loath, his *Clytia*.

H. H.

More Instances may be collected, but it will suffice to add that of *Clytemnestra*, who having slain her Husband *Agamemnon*, wreak'd her Malice upon *Cassandra* his Concubine; whence *Seneca* has introduced her speaking these Words (c);

*At ista pœnas capite persolvat suo
Captiva conjux, regii pellex tori;
Trabite, ut sequatur conjugem ereptum mihi.*

My Rival too, his Concubine, shall share
The sad Effects of Rage for injur'd Love.

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Harlots were no less common than Concubines, being tolerated in most of the *Grecian*, and other Commonwealths. Nor was the Use of them thought repugnant to good Manners; whence the *Latin* Comedian speaking of *Athens*, saith;

Non est flagitium scortari hominem adolescentulum.

For Youth to wench and whore is not a Sin.

The wisest of the Heathen Sages were of the same Mind. — *Solon* allowed common Whores to go publickly to those that hired them (a), and encouraged the *Athenian* Youth to empty their Lust upon these, to hinder them from making Attempts upon the Wives and Daughters of his Citizens. *Philemon* has elegantly expressed that Lawgiver's Design in the following Fragment (b);

Εὖ δ' εἰς ἡλικίας εὖρος ἀνδρώεως, Σόλων·
 Σὺ γὰρ λέγῃσι τῶτ' ἰδεῖν πρῶτον βεβήκω,
 Δημοκρατὸν, δ' Ζεῦ, πρῶγμα, καὶ σωτήριον.
 (Καὶ μοι λέγειν τῶτ' ἔστι ἀρμοστόν, Σόλων)
 Μισθὸν δρῶντα τὴν πόλιν πύλινον.
 Τότῃς τ' ἔχουρας σὺν ἀνακταίῳ φέσιν.
 Ἀμαβλάνουίῃς τ' εἰς ὃ μὴ πρῶτον ἦν,
 Στῆσαι παρὰ μιν γυναικας μετὰ τόπῳ,
 Κοινὰς ἅπασιν καὶ κατεσκευασμένας
 Εἰσὶν γυναι, μὴ ἑκαταίδης, πᾶνθ' ὅραι·
 Οὐκ εἰς σιαυτὴ τυχεράς ἔχον; ἔχεις
 Πῶς ἢ δῶρα σοι ἔται ἂν ἀπωλῆν;
 Εἰς ὅσας εἰσπῶνθον, ὅκ ἔσ' ἔδαις
 Ἀκτισμός, ὅδε λήρῃ, ὅδ' ὑπερπαγῇ·
 Ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ὡς βέλει σὺ, καὶ συγχρὸν τρόπον·
 Εἰπῶντες; οἰμῶνιν λέγ'; ἀλλὰ θύρα ἴσ' σοι.

Cato, the *Roman* Cenfor, was of the same Opinion, as appears from the known Story, that meeting a young Nobleman of *Rome* coming out of the common Stew, he commended him for diverting himself in that Place, as we read in *Horace* (c);

Quidam notus homo, cum exiret fornice, maeste
Virtute esto, inquit, sententia dia Catonis,
Nam simul ac venas inflavit tetra libido,
Huc juvenes æquum est descendere.——

" When Lust and burning Love swell'd ev'ry Vein,

" 'Tis lawful to come here and quench the Flame.

H. H.

I forbear to mention other Instances, the Testimony of *Cicero* being sufficient to confirm what I have said, when he challenges all Persons to name any Time wherein Men were either reprov'd for this Practice, or not countenanced in it (a). Nor can it be wonder'd that Heathens allow'd themselves this Liberty, when the *Jews* look'd on it as lawful; they were indeed forbidden to commit Adultery, and Fornication also was prohibited under severe Penalties, but these (as *Grotius* (b) observes) were thought to concern only Women of their own Nation, their Law not extending to Foreigners; and we find accordingly that publick Stews were openly tolerated amongst them, and Women residing there taken into the Protection of the Government, as appears from the two Harlots that contended about a Child, and were heard in open Court by King *Solomon* (c). But the *Jewish* Women were not permitted to prostitute their Bodies; and therefore strange and foreign Women are sometimes taken for Harlots, as when *Solomon* advises his Son to embrace *Wisdom and Understanding, that they may keep him from the strange Woman, from the Stranger, which flattereth with her Words* (d); and to arm him against the Allurements of Harlots, he tells him, *The Lips of a strange Woman drop as a Honey-comb, and her Mouth is smoother than Oil, but her End is bitter as Wormwood, sharp as a two-edged Sword* (e). The *Athenians*, as in many other things, so here had the same Custom with the *Jews*; for tho' severe Penalties were laid on such as defiled Women that were Citizens of *Athens*, yet Foreigners had the Liberty of keeping publick Stews; and there Harlots were for that Reason, like those among the *Jews*, called *ἑταῖραι*, *strange Women*.

The Harlots of the primitive Ages were not so wholly divested of Modesty as afterwards, for they never went abroad bare-fac'd, but, as was the Custom of other Women, cover'd themselves with Veils or Masks; nor were they allow'd (as some think) to prostitute themselves within the Cities (f); which Custom seems to have been derived from the eastern Nations, for we find *Tamar* in *Genesis* (g), when she had a mind to appear like a Harlot, covering herself with a Veil, and sitting in an open Place by the Way to *Timnath*; but it may be her Design in placing herself there, was only that the might meet with *Judah*, or his Son, whom she desired to entice to her Embraces. We find however, that in After-ages, when Harlots were certainly

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after, when 'tis certain they were no more restrained from abiding in Cities than in *Solomon's Days*, they resorted to Places of general Concourse out of them, such as Highways, especially where several Ways met, and had Tents erected to wait in for Custom ; hence (to omit other Instances) these Words of *Ezekiel* : *Thou hast built thy High-place at every head of the Way, and hast made thy Beauty to be abhorred, and hast opened thy Feet to every one that passed by, and multiplied thy Whoredoms* (a). Again, *Thou buildest thine eminent Place in the Head of every Way, and makest thy High-place in every Street* (b). At *Athens* the Harlots chiefly frequented the *Ceramicus*, *Sciros*, and the old *Forum*, in which stood the Temple of *Venus Πάριος*, where *Solon* permitted them to prostitute themselves. They also very much frequented a certain *Forum* in that part of the Haven *Piræus* which was called (ῥοὰ μακρά) *the long Portico*, the Parts whereof are thus described by *Julius Pollux*, δῆγμα, ἐμπορίον· ἐμπορίον δὲ μέγα, καπηλῆα, καὶ πορνῆα. And in other Ports there were commonly great Numbers of Stews, as hath been observed in the precedent Book.

In some Places Harlots were distinguished from other Women by their Apparel, whence these Words of *Solomon* (c), *There met him a Woman with the Attire of an Harlot, and subtil of Heart*. What sort of Habit this was is not certain ; but if the *Athenian* Custom was in this, as in many other things, taken from the *Jews*, we may conclude that their Whores wore flower'd Garments ; for the *Athenian* Lawgiver thinking it necessary to distinguish Women of innocent Conversation from Harlots by some open and visible Mark, order'd that those should never appear abroad but in grave and modest Apparel, and that the rest should always wear flower'd Garments. Hence *Clemens of Alexandria* hath remark'd, that as fugitive Slaves are known by their Stigmata, ὅτω τὴν μοιχαλίδι δῖκναι τὰ ἀνδρισμάτα, so flower'd Garments are an Indication of an Harlot (d). The same Law was enacted among the *Locrians* by *Zaleucus*, as we are told by *Diodorus the Sicilian*, and was also observed at *Syracuse*, as we learn from *Phylarchus in Athenæus* (e). For tho' Harlots were tolerated in the *Grecian Commonwealth*, yet they were generally infamous, and consisted chiefly of Captives and other Slaves. Hence it was forbidden by the Laws of *Athens* to derive the Name of an Harlot from any of the sacred Games, as *Athenæus* hath observed from *Polemo's Description of the Acropolis* ; whence that Author seems to wonder how it came to pass that a certain Harlot was called *Nemea* from the *Nemean Games* (f).

Corinth is remarkable for being a Nursery of Harlots, there being in that City a Temple of *Venus*, where the readiest Method of gaining the Goddess's Favour, was to present her with beautiful Damfels, who from that time were maintained in the Temple, and

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there were no less than a thousand there at that time. Hence κορυθαίλιον, to *act the Corinthian*, is ιταρεύειν, to *commit Fornication*, according to *Hesychius*. Λισβιάζων, λισβιάδ, and φοινικίζων, are used in the same Sense, the *Lesbians* and *Phœnicians* being infamous for this Vice. Λισβιάζων also signifies an impure way of kissing, whence it is interpreted by the same Author, πρὸς ἄνδρα τομαλεύειν and λισβιάς is expounded λαιμάγρια, an Harlot. The *Corinthians* were a genteeler sort of Harlots, and admitted none to their Embraces but such as were able to deposite a considerable Sum, as we learn from *Aristophanes* (a);

Καὶ τὰς δ' ἰταίρας φασὶ τὰς Κορινθίας,
Ὅταν μὲν αὐτάς τις πίνης ὦν τύχη,
Οὐδ' ἀποσίσχιν τὸν ἰὼν ἰὰ δὲ πλῆσι·
Τὸν πρὸς αὐτάς ἐϋθὺς ὡς τῷτοι τρέπτει.

This gave Occasion to the Proverb,

Οὐ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς εἰς Κόρινθον ἴσθ' ὁ πλῆξ.

Which *Horace* has thus translated,

Non cui-vis hominum contingit adire Corinthum.

To *Corinth* ev'ry Person cannot fail.

Some rather refer it to the famous *Corinthian Strumpet Lais*, and others assign other Reasons. Their Occupation indeed was very gainful, insomuch that those whom Beauty and Parts recommended, frequently raised great Estates. A remarkable Instance hereof we have in *Phryne*, who offered the *Thebans* to rebuild the Walls of their City, when demolished by *Alexander*, on Condition they would engrave on them this Inscription;

ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΑΝΕΣΚΑΥΕΝ ΑΝΕΣΤΗΘΕ ΔΕ ΦΡΥΝΗ Η ΕΤΑΙΡΑ.

i. e. *These Walls were demolished by Alexander, but raised by Phryne the Harlot.*

To render their Conversation more agreeable to Men of Parts and Quality, they frequently employed their vacant Hours in the Study of *Mathematicks*, and other Sciences, frequenting the Schools and

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with them, as it were, to Lecture, to be instructed by her Conversation. *Pericles* himself used her Advice in the Management of publick Affairs; and after his Death, one *Lyssicles*, a silly and obscure Clown, by keeping her company, came to be a chief Man at *Athens* (a). Several other Examples of this sort occur in Authors, as of *Archainassa* the *Colophonian*, who was *Plato's* Mistress; *Hegyllis*, who conversed with *Aristotle* till his Death, and bore him a Son called *Nicomachus*; lastly (to mention no more) *Leontium*, who frequented *Epicurus's* Gardens, there prostituting herself to the Philosphers, especially to *Epicurus* (b).

C H A P. XIII.

Of the Confinement, and Employments of their Women.

THE barbarous Nations, and amongst them the *Persians* especially, faith (c) *Plutarch*, were naturally jealous, clownish, and morose towards their Women, not only their Wives, but their Slaves and Concubines, whom they kept so strictly, that never any one saw them beside their own Family; when at home, they were cloyster'd up; when they took a Journey, they were carried in Coaches or Waggon, close cover'd at the top, and on all sides: Such a Carriage, my Author tells us, was prepared for *Themistocles*, when he fled into *Persia*, to keep him secret; so that the Men who conveyed him, told all they met and discoursed with upon the Road, that they were carrying a young *Grecian* Lady out of *Ionia* to a Nobleman at Court.

By the manner of *Plutarch's* relating this Story, it may be perceived that neither he, nor his Countrymen the *Greeks*, approved of the Severity used by barbarous Nations toward their Women; yet themselves, tho' remitting something of the *Persian* Rigor, kept their Women under strict Discipline, and were no less excelled by the *Romans* in their Behaviour to them, than themselves surpassed the *Barbarians*; for whereas the *Roman* Women were allowed to be present at publick Entertainments, and to converse with the Guests, and were complimented by their Husbands with the best Rooms in their Houses; those of *Greece* rarely or never appeared

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called ἀνδρῶν or ἀνδρανίτης. The Part assigned for the Women was termed γυναικῶν, γυναικωνίτης, or γυναικονίτης, it was the farthest Part of the House, and behind the αὐλή, before which there were also other Parts, called προδομοί, and προαύλιον. The Sons of Priam in Homer were all placed by themselves, and separated from his Daughters, who lived in more remote places (α);

Αλλ' ὅτε δὴ Πριάμοιο δόμος περικαλλέ' ἴκαστο,
 Ξεπῆσ' αἰθέρασι τέτυγμένον, αὐτὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ
 Πυλῶντο' ἦσαν θάλαμοι ξεγοῖο λίθοιο,
 Πλησίον ἀλλήλων διδμημίνοι· ἔθρι δι' παῖδες.
 Καμύλο Πριάμοιο παρὰ μνηστῆσ' ἀλόχοισι
 Κωρῶν δ' ἰτέμευεν ἱκαντῶι ἔδδοιεν αἰλῆς,
 Δώδεκ' ἦσαν τέγχοι θάλαμοι ξεγοῖο λίθοιο
 Πλησίον ἀλλήλων διδμημίνοι. —————

At Priam's Royal Palace he arriv'd,
 In which were fifty beauteous Rooms contriv'd
 Of polish'd Stones, by one another join'd,
 And these were for his marry'd Sons design'd;
 Twelve gaudy Rooms were built with equal Art
 O'th' other side, but these were set apart
 For Priam's Daughters————

H. H.

Where it may be observed that the Womens Chambers are called τέγχοι. θάλαμοι, as being placed at the top of the House; for the Womens Lodgings were usually in the uppermost Rooms, as *Eufratbius* remarks upon this Passage (b), which was another Means to keep them from Company. Hence *Helen* is said to have had her Chamber in the loftiest part of the House (c);

Η δ' εἰς ὑψόροφον θάλαμον κίε διὰ γυναικῶν.

Into the upper Chamber *Helen* went.

Penelope appears to have lodged in such another place, to which she ascended by a κλίμαξ; whence the same Poet,

Κλίμακα δ' ὑψηλὴν κατεβῆσθαι οἶο θόμοιο.

By a long Ladder came down from her Room.

This Word signifies a Stair-case, but in this place may as well de-

Ορεγεῖν, ὄρεγε γεραιάν
 Νία χεῖρ' ἀπὸ κλιμάκων,
 Ποδὸς ἔχ' ἐπανήλλων.

Reach out your Hand, and help me up the Ladder.

These upper Rooms were sometimes, especially at *Lacedæmon*, call'd ὄρε, ὄρια, or οὐρεῖα, which Words being distinguish'd only by the Accent, (the Use whereof seems not to have been known by the ancient *Grecians*.) from ὠὰ, Eggs, are thought by some to have ministred Occasion to the Inventors of Fables to feign that *Cæstor*, *Pellux*, *Hélēna* and *Clytemnestra*, were hatched out of Eggs, when they were born in one of these Lofts, or upper Chambers.

The Women were straitly confin'd within their Lodgings, such especially as had no Husbands, whether Virgins or Widows (a), whereof the former were most severely look'd to, as having less Experience in the World. Their Apartment, which was call'd παρδινών, was usually well guarded with Locks and Bolts, whence *Agamemnon* in *Euripides* desiring *Clytemnestra* to go home, and look after the Virgins, which, he tells her, were by no means to be left in the House alone, receives this Answer (b);

Οχυροῖσι παρδινῶσι φερωῖται καλῶς.

They're close kept up in their well-guarded Lodgings.

Sometimes they were so straitly confin'd, that they could not pass from one part of the House to another without Leave; whence *Antigone* in *Euripides* obtains her Mother's Leave to go to the top of the House to view the *Argian* Army that besieged *Thebes*; notwithstanding which her Guardian searches the Passage, for fear any Person should have a Sight of her, which, he says, would be a Reflection upon her Honour, and his own Fidelity. The old Man's Words are thus addressed to the young Prince's (c);

Ω κλειρὸν οἴκοις, Ἀνιγόνη, δάλο· παῖρ,
 Ἐπεί σε μήτηρ παρδινῶνας ἐμπιπεί
 Μιδῆκε, μελάθρων, δ' ἐς διῆρες ἴσχατος
 Σπράτνυμ' ἰδίῳ Ἀργεῖον, ἰκισίασι σαῖς.
 Ἐπίσχε, ὡς ἂν περξευνηθῶ γέρον,
 Μή τις πολυτῶν ἐν τρίβῳ φαίνεται,
 Κάμαι μὲν ἔλθοι φαῦλο· ὡς δὲ λω ψόγο·
 Σοὶ δ' ὡς ἀνάσση.

Some time from your Apartment to withdraw,
And to ascend the House's lofty top,
From thence the *Argian* Forces to survey;
But stay till first I see the Way be clear,
That by a Citizen you be not seen,
For that would much reflect upon my Care,
And from your Royal Honour derogate.

New married Women were almost under as strict a Confinement as Virgins. *Hermione* is severely reprov'd by the old Woman that waits on her for appearing out of Doors, which was a Freedom, she tells her, like to endanger her Reputation (a);

ΑΛΛ' εἰσιθ' ἴσω, μὴδὲ φανιάζω δόμων
Πάροιθι τῶνδε, μή τι ν' αἰσχύνῃ λαῶς
Πρόσθ' ἢ μελάδων τῶν δ' ὀρυμίνῃ, τέκνον,

Go in, nor stand thus gazing at the Doors,
Lest you lament the Scandal you'll procure,
Should you be seen before the Hall t' appear.

Menander, as cited by *Stobæus* (b), says expressly, that the Door of the αὐλή was the farthest a marry'd Woman ought to go, and reproves one for exceeding those Limits;

Τὰς τῶν γαμετῶν ὅρας ὑπερβαίνεις, γύναι,
Διὰ τὴν αὐλάν' ὥρας γὰρ αὐλῆς. Δύρα
Ἐλευθέρᾳ γυναικὶ νόμιμ' οἰκίας.

You go beyond the marry'd Womens Bounds,
And stand before the Hall, which is unfit;
The Laws do not permit a free-born Bride
Farther than to the Doors o'th' House to go.

But when they had once brought a Child into the World, they were no longer under so strict a Confinement, whence μήτηρ, a Mother, is by some derived τοῦ ἀπὸ μὴ τηρεῖσθαι, for her being no longer under Keepers (c); yet what Freedom they then enjoy'd was owing wholly to the Kindness of their Husbands, for such as were jealous kept their Wives in perpetual Imprisonment; whence a Woman in *Aristophanes* makes this Complaint of the severe Treatment the *Athenian* Wives met with (d);

Ταῖς γυναικωνίτισιν
Σφραγίδας ἐπιβάλλουσιν ἥδη, καὶ μοχλῶς,
Τηρεῖν ἡμᾶς καὶ προσέτι Μολοτικῶς.

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But strictly us poor Women they confine
Within our Chambers, under Lock and Key,
Make use of Mafiffs, Goblins, any thing,
That may Adulterers affright. ———

H. H.

However Husbands might be of a better Temper, yet it was look'd on as very indecent for Women to gad abroad; whence we find several proverbial Speeches and Allusions, intimating the Duty of Wives to stay at home. Such is that cited by *Euripides* (a);

Εὐδὸν γυναικῶν κ' παρ' οἰκίταις λόγῳ.

Women should keep within Doors, and there talk.

To the same Purpose was *Phidias's* Emblem, representing *Venus* treading upon a Tortoise (b), which carries its House upon its Back.

When they went abroad, or appeared in publick, they covered their Faces with Veils; as we find of *Pandora*, when she descended from her Apartment to converse with the young Gentleman that courted her (c);

Ἡ δ' ὅτε δὴ μιν ἤϊεσθε ἀφ' οἴκου διὰ γυναικῶν,
Στῇ ῥα παρὰ γαμῶν τίγῃ σῖκα ποικίλοιο,
Λύλα παρειῶν σχισμένη λιπαρὰ κρήδεμνον.

Then from her Lodgings went the beauteous Dame,
And to her much expecting Courtiers came,
These veil'd before the Door she stood.

The Veil was so thin, as that they might see thro' it, which appears from those Words of *Iphigenia* (d);

Εγὼ δὲ λεπτὸν ὄμμα διὰ καλομμίστατον
ἔχουσ', ἀδελφὸν τέτοιον εἰδόμεν χερσὶν,
Ὅς νῦν ἔλαθον. ———

Seeing my Brother through my thinnest Veil,
I took him by the Hand, who now is dead.

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should not travel in the Night without a lighted Torch before her Chariot. Afterwards it was decreed, at the Instance of *Phillippides*, that no Woman should appear in Publick undress'd, under the Penalty of paying 1000 Drachms. This Law was carefully put in Execution by the Officers called *γυναικονόμοι*, and *γυναικοκρόμοι*, and a Tablet, containing an Account of the Mults thus incurr'd, was publickly expos'd in the *Ceramicus* (a), upon a *Plane-tree* (πλατάνη) which stood there.

It was likewise customary for Women to have Attendants. *Penelope* has two Maids with her (b) in *Homer* ;

Ὡς φασίν, καλέσας ὑπερώϊα στεγάζοντα,
 Δύε' οἷν' ἄμα τῇ γε καὶ ἀμφίπολοι δ' ἔπειτο.

She said, and from her Chamber strait descends,
 Two Maids upon her Person wait.——

These seem to have been Women of Age and Gravity ; whence *Homer* presently subjoins,

Ἀμφίπομοι δ' ἄρα σὶ κατὰ ἐκείτῃδε παρίσιν.

A Maid, whose Years a riper Judgment shew'd,
 On either side t'attend the Lady stood.

Nor did these Women attend their Ladies when they went abroad only, but kept them company at home, and had the Care of their Education when young, and are therefore called *τροφαί*. Nor were Women only appointed to this Charge, for *Antigone*, in the forecited Tragedy of *Euripides*, has an old Man for her Governor. It was likewise frequent to commit Women to *Eunuchs*, who performed all the Offices of Maids, and were usually entertain'd by Persons of Quality ; whence *Phædras* speaks thus to his Mistress (c) :

——*Eunuchum porro dixi velle te,
 Quia sola utuntur his reginae.*

An *Eunuch* Boy was your peculiar Choice,
 Since one great Ladies they do chiefly wait.

The first that made Eunuchs was *Semiramis* (d). The barbarous Nations were ordinarily much fonder of them than *Greeks* (e), who look'd upon it as an inhuman Piece of Cruelty to use Men after that

Μηδ' αὖ παιδογόνοισι πώλιν τέμναις ἄρσενά κῦρον.

Nor ever castrate a brisk vig'rous Youth.

The primitive Ages used their Women agreeably to the Simplicity of their Manners, they accustomed them to draw Water, to keep Sheép, and feed Cows, or Horses. The Rich and Noble were taken up with such Employments as well as those of inferior Quality. *Rebecca*, the Daughter of *Bethuel*, *Abraham's* Brother, carried a Pitcher, and drew Water (a). *Rachel*, the Daughter of *Laban*, kept her Father's Sheep (b). *Zipporah*, with her six Sisters, had the Care of their Father *Jethro's* Flock, who was a Prince, or, which in those Times was an Honour scarce inferior, Priest of *Midian* (c). The like may be observed of *Andromache*, *Hector's* Lady, in *Homer* (d), where that Hero thus bespeaks his Horses ;

Ζάθε τε κ' σὺ Πόδαργε, κ' Αἴθον, Λάμπε τε δῖε,
 Νῦν μοι τὴν κομιδὴν ἀποτίνελον, ἣν μάλα πολλὴν
 Ἀνδρομάχη, θυγάτηρ μεσσηνίου, Ἡλίου,·
 Τῶν πᾶσι προσέροισι μελίσφρονά περδὼν ἴδμεν,
 Οἶνον τ' ἐγκιρᾶσασα πωλῖν ὅτε θυμὸς ἀνέργος (e).

My mettled Steeds, *Xanthus*, with yellow Main,
Podargus, you, who fleetly beat the plain,
Aethon, who furiously sustain'd the Fight,
 And *Eampus* thou, whose Flanks are sleek and bright,
 Now see my Corn you carefully repay,
 With Courage bear the Labour of the Day,
 Since my dear Wife, when you inclin'd to eat,
 Hath mingled strength'ning Liquor with your Meat.

J. A.

The most common Employments of Women were spinning, weaving, and making all sorts of Embroidery or Needlework ; Instances of this Nature are too numerous to be recited in this place, for so constantly were they taken up in these Businesses, that most Houses, where there was any Number of Women, had Rooms set apart for this End, which seem to have been near the Womens Apartments, if not the same ; for *Pollux* enumerating the different Rooms in Houses, after he has mentioned *γυναικίον*, presently adds, ἰγῶν θαλάμῳ, ταλασιργαῶν οἶκῳ, &c.

Women had likewise several other Employments, the Provision

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their Husbands or Guardians, the Value of their Fortune, and the Humour of the Place or Age they lived in.

The *Lacedæmonian* Women observed Fashions quite different from all their Neighbours, their Virgins went abroad barefac'd, the married Women were cover'd with Veils, the former designing (as *Charilus* replied to one that requir'd the reason of that Custom) to get themselves Husbands, whereas the latter aimed at nothing more than keeping those they already had (a). We have a large Account of the *Spartan* Womens Behaviour in the following Words of *Plutarch* (b). " In order to the good Education of their Youth, " which is the most important Work of a Lawgiver, *Lycurgus* went " so far back as to take into Consideration their very Conception " and Birth, by regulating their Marriages; for *Aristotle* wrongs " the Memory of this excellent Person, by bearing us in hand, that " after he had tried all manner of ways to reduce the Women to " more Modesty, and Subjection to their Husbands, he was at last " forced to leave them as they were, because that, in the Absence " of their Husbands, who spent a great part of their Lives in the " Wars, their Wives made themselves absolute Mistresses at home, " and would be treated with as much Respect as if they had been " so many Queens; but by his good Leave it is a Mistake, for " *Lycurgus* took for that Sex all the Care that was possible; for an " Instance of it, he order'd the Maidens to exercise themselves with " running, wrestling, throwing Quoits, and casting Darts, to the " end that the Fruit they conceived might take deeper root, grow " strong, and spread itself into healthy and vigorous Bodies, and " withal that they might be more able to undergo the Pains of " Child-bearing; and to the end he might take away their over " great Tendernefs and Nicety, he order'd they should appear naked as well as the Men, and dance too in that Condition at their " solemn Feasts and Sacrifices, singing certain Songs, whilst the " young Men stood in a Ring about them, seeing and hearing them; " in these Songs they now and then gave a satirical Glance upon " those who had misbehaved themselves in the Wars, sometimes " sung Encomiums upon those who had done any gallant Action, " and by these Means inflamed young Men with an Emulation of " their Glory; for those that were thus commended, went away " brave and well satisfied with themselves, and those that were " rallied, were as sensibly touch'd with it as if they had been formally and severely reprimanded, and so much the more, because " the Kings and whole Senate saw and heard all that passed. Now, " tho' it may seem strange that Women should appear thus naked " in publick, yet was true Modesty observed, and Wantonness excluded, and it tended to render their Conversation free and unre-

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“ Hence came that Sense of Honour and Nobleness of Spirit, of which we have an Instance in *Gorgo*, the Wife of King *Leonidas*, who being told in Discourse with some foreign Ladies, that the Women of *Lacedæmon* were the only in the World who had an Empire over the Men, briskly reparted, that there was good Reason, *for they were the only Women that brought forth Men*. Lastly, these publick Processions of the Maidens, and their appearing naked in their Exercises and Dancings, were Provocations and Baits to stir up and allure the young Men to Marriage, and that not upon geometrical Reasons, as *Plato* calls them (such are Interest and Equality of Fortune) but from the Engagements of true Love and Affection.”

Afterwards, when *Lycurgus's* Laws were neglected, and the *Spartans* had degenerated from the strict Virtue of their Forefathers, their Women also were ill spoken of, and made use of the Freedom, which their Lawgiver allowed them, to no good Purposes; insomuch that they are censured of unlawful Pleasures, and branded by *Euripides*, as cited by *Plutarch* (*α*), with the Epithet of *ἀνδραγαυαῖς*, i. e. possessed with furious Love of, and, as it were, running mad after Men.

C H A P. XIV.

Of their Customs in Child-bearing and managing I N F A N T S.

THOSE who desired to have Children were usually very liberal in making Presents and Offerings to the Gods, especially to such as were thought to have the Care of Generation. I shall not trouble the Reader with a particular Account of the Names of these Deities, and the Manner they were worshipped in; but it may be requisite to observe, that the *Athenians* invoc'd on this Account certain Gods called *Τεφλωάτορες*, or *Τεφλωάραι*. Who these were, or what the Origination of their Name, is not easy to determine; *Orpheus*, as cited by *Phanodemus* in *Suidas*, makes their proper Names to be *Amacrides*, *Protocles*, and *Proteoleon*, and will have them to preside over the Winds; *Demo* makes them to be Winds themselves; but what Business the Winds or their Governors have in Generation is difficult to imagine. Another Author

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for being immediately descended from two immortal Gods, themselves (saith he) were thought *πρῶτοι πατέρες*, the third Fathers, and therefore might be well esteemed the common Parents of Mankind, and from that Opinion derive those Honours, which the *Athenians* paid them as the Authors and Presidents of human Generation (a).

The Goddess who had the Care of Women in Childbed was called *Εἰλαΐθυια*, or *Εἰλήθυια*, sometimes *Ελευθώ*, as in the Epigram;

—————Μόχθον Ελευθώ
Ευφρυνε—————

You're past the Pangs, o'er which *Eleutho* reigns.

She is called in *Latin Lucina*. Both had the same Respects paid by Women, and the same Titles and Epithets. *Elithyia* is called by *Nonnus* (b),

—————Αἰγύων Σοδισπάρων.

The succouring Deity in Childbirth.

Ovid speaks in the same manner of the *Latin Goddess* (c);

—————*Gravides facilis Lucina puellis.*

Lucina kind to treeming Ladies.

The Woman in *Theocritus* invokes *Elithyia* (d);

Εἰδὼ γὰρ Εἰλαΐθῳιαν ἱκέσασθαι λυσίχρονον.

For there thy Mother t' *Elithyia* prays
To ease her Throws.—————

The *Roman Women* called for *Lucina's* Assistance; whence *Ovid*,

—————*Tu voto parturientis audes.*

You kindly Women in their Travail hear.

Several other things are common to both. As *Elithyia* was stiled *ὠκυμένη* *ἱταρογάς*, *θῆλειαν σάτυρα*, &c. so likewise *Lucina* was grac'd with various Appellations denoting her Care of Women. Their Names indeed appear to have distinct Originals, yet both have relation

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Labour, or rather from her being invoked to help the Infant *ἔχουσαι εἰς τὸ φῶς*, to come into the Light, or the World. *Lucina* is taken from *lux*, Light; for the same Reason, according to *Ovid*,

———*Tu nobis lucem, Lucina, dedisti.*

Lucina, you first brought us into Light.

The Greek Name *φωσφόρος*, sometimes attributed to this Goddess, is of the same Import with the Latin, *Lucina*, being derived ἀπὸ τοῦ φῶς φέρειν, from bringing Light, because 'twas by her Assistance that Infants were safely delivered out of their dark Mansions to enjoy the Light of this World. In Allusion to this, the Greek and Latin Goddesses were both represented with lighted Torches in their Hands; which Reason seems far more natural than that which some assign, viz. ὅτι γυναιξὶν ἡ ἰσχυρὴ καὶ αὐτὴ σὺν αἰσίναι ὥδυνος, that the Pain of bearing Children is no less exquisite than that of burning (a).

Who this *Elithyia* is, Authors are not well agreed: Some will have her to be an *Hyperborean*, who came from her own Country to *Delos*, and there assisted *Latona* in her Labour; they add, that this Name was first used at *Delos*, and thence derived to other Parts of the World (b). *Olen*, the first Writer of divine Hymns in Greece, makes her the Mother of *Cupid*, whence it might be inferred she was the same with *Venus*, were not *Pausanias*, who cites this Passage of *Olen*, against it, when he brings this as a different Account of *Cupid's* Descent from that received one of his being *Venus's* Son (c). The same Poet, cited by the same Author (d), will have her to be more ancient than *Saturn*, and the self same with *ἑμπεριμνία*; which is the Grecian Name for Fate. Others make her the same with *Juno*, *Diana*, the *Moon*, &c. What appears most probable, is, that all the θεοὶ γυναικῶν, i. e. those Deities who were thought to have any Concern with Women in Childbed, were called *Elithyia*, and *Lucina*, for these are general Names, and sometimes given to one Deity, sometimes to another.

Juno was one of these Goddesses, whence the Women thus invoke her;

Juno Lucina, ser opem.———

Juno Lucina, help, assist the Labour.

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stained that he who should be first born should rule over
 then alter'd the Course of Nature, caus'd *Eurystheus* to
Sthenelus's Wife, and afterwards *Hercules* of *Alcmena*,
cles was always subject to *Eurystheus*, and undertook
 labours in Obedience to his Commands.

ughters of this Goddess were employ'd in the same Of-
 fices with the same Title, as we find in *Homer* (a) ;

ὅταν ὠδίνουσιν ἔχῃ βέλῃ οἷον γυναῖκα,
 τὸ τε προῖσι μογοσάκοι Εἰλείθυιαι,
 θυγατέρες Πικράς ὠδίνας ἔχουσαι
 ἰδύναι δύνον μένῃ Αἰρεΐδαο.

icking Smart *Atrides* felt, with Pain,
 gnant Wives in labour do sustain,
Juno's Daughters th' *Elithyia* give,
 to Child and Mother a Relief.

s another of these Deities, in so much that *Cicero*
 the Moon's Name in *Latin*, to be the same with
 it without reason that the Moon was thought one
 it had the Care of Child-bearing, since, as seve-
 re of Opinion, her Influences were very effica-
 cious on the Work of Generation (b).

commonly reputed the same with the Moon, was
 to bear the same Office, as we find in *Horace*,
 ed celestial *Diana*, proceeds thus (c) ;

aperire partus
 ia, tuere matres,
 cina probas vocari,
 Genitalis :
 cas sobolem, patrumque
 reta super jugandis
 lisque novæ feraci
 marita.

hyia, thou, whose Care
 Child-birth, lend a pitying Ear,
 Wombs defend and bless,
 ceive, and in their Issue have Success ;
 and Statutes of the Wise
 join, encourage Marriage-ties,
 our Senators agree
 wholesome Rules for Bridal Sympathy :
 ve thee *Lucina* name,

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W^h invoke, we humbly crave thy Influence and Aid,
With blooming Joys to crown the Rites of th' nuptial Bed.
J. A.

The same Poet, in another Place, has attributed the same Care to this Goddess, not in her celestial Capacity, and as bearing the same Character with the *Moon*, but as frequenting these lower Regions, and traversing the Woods (a) ;

*Montium custos, memorumque virgo,
Quæ laborantes utero puellas
Ter vocata audis, adimisque letho,
Diva triformis.*

Goddeſs, to whom belongs this Hill, this Brake
Where frighted Deer their Covert make,
Triple *Diana*, who doſt hear,
And help Child-bearing Women after the third Pray'r.

Hence ſhe is called in *Theocritus*, *μογοτόκος*, the common Epithet of *Elithyia*,

Ἀλλὰ τὴν βασιλίσσιν μογοτόκος Ἀρτεμὶς ἐστίν.

Orpheus gives her divers other Titles relating to this Affair (b) ;

Παισιφαής, δαδῶχε, διὰ δίκλωνα, λοχεία,
Ὀδῶν ἱπαρυγί, καὶ ὠδῶν ἀμνησί,
Λυσιζώνε, &c.

The Epithets *παισιφόρος*, *φειδέλιος*, &c. which denote the giving of Life and Light, being likewise attributed to *Proserpina*, make it seem that she was also thought to be concerned for Women in Labour ; which cannot appear strange, if we consider her as the same Goddess with *Diana*, who being in three different Capacities, as conversant in Heaven, Earth, and Hell, has three distinct Names ; in Heaven she is *Σελήνη*, the *Moon* ; upon the Earth *Ἀρτεμῖς*, *Diana* ; in Hell, *Προσιφόρη*, *Proserpina* ; whence are those Epithets, whereby the Poets denote her threefold Character, as *τρίμορφος*, *triformis*, *tergemina*, with several others.

One End of invoking these Goddesses was, that the Women might be delivered without Pain, which was thought an infallible Token of the Divine Favour ; whence *Theocritus*, in his *Encomium*

Καὶ σὲ Κόως ἀτίταλλε βρέφος νεογνὸν ἰούσα
 Διξαμένα παρὰ μᾶτρὸς, ὅτε πρῶταν ἴδες αἶψ'
 Ἐνθα γὰρ Εἰλείθυιαν ἰδούσα το λυσίζωνος
 Αἰηγίας θυγάτηρ βεβαρημένα ὠδινέσσει,
 Ἡ δὲ οἱ εὐμνήσιον παρίτατο, καδδ' ἄρα σάβηλον
 Νωδυνίαν κατέχευε μελῶν.—

But *Berenice* hath these Births outdone,
 She brought great *Ptolemy* as great a Son ;
 First *Coos* danc'd thee, thee, Mankind's Delight,
 She took thee at thy first Approach to Light :
 For there thy Mother to *Lucina* pray'd
 To ease her Throws, and found a speedy Aid ;
 She came, stood by, and gently loos'd her Pain,
 Thy very Birth was easy as thy Reign. Mr. Creech.

Nay, so great an Opinion had they of this Favour, that the Gods were believed to vouchsafe it to none but the Chaste and Virtuous, whence it came to be looked on as a convincing Proof of a Woman's Honesty. Thus we find in *Plautus* (a), that when *Amphitryon* expresses his jealous Thoughts concerning *Alcmena*, this Argument is offered to allay his Passion ;

BR.—*Uxorem tuam*

*Neque gementem, neque plorantem nostrum quisquam audivimus,
 Ita profecto sine dolore peperit.*

Your Wife is brought to bed with ease, since none
 Hath heard so much as Groan or Sigh come from her.

Another Token of Divine Favour was thought to be conferred when they brought forth Twins, which happening to *Alcmena*, was urged as another Proof of her Innocence (b) ;

BR.—*Ego faciam, tu idem ut aliter prædices,
 Amphitruo, piam & pudicam esse tuam uxorem ut scias ;*

De ea re signa atque argumenta paucis verbis eloquar :

Omnium primum, Alcmena geminos peperit filios.

AM. Ain'tuoz gemings? BR. Geminos. AM. Dii me servent !

[BR. Sine me dicere,

Ut scias tibi, tuæque uxori Deos esse omnes propitios.

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AM. Bless me! BR. I'll this protest to shew that you
And my good Mistress are the Care of Heav'n.

J. A.

They had likewise other Means to procure an easy Delivery, one of which was, to hold in their Hands Palm-Branches, Tokens of Joy and Conquest, and used as Emblems of Persons raised from great Afflictions to Prosperity, it being observed of that Tree, that the hanging of heavy Weights upon it is a Means to cause it to branch out to a great Height. *Latona*, when brought to bed with *Apollo*, made use of this Expedient to ease her Pain; whence *Thibognis* thus bespeaks that God (a);

——— Σὲ διὰ τέκε πότνια Ἀηΐά,
Φοῖνιξ· ῥαδινῆς χερσὶν ἰφάλαμνεν.

When handling Palm *Latona* brought you forth.

Homer likewise mentions *Latona's* travelling near a Palm-Tree^(b);

Χαῖρε, μάκαιρ' ὦ Ἀηλοῖ, ἐπεὶ τέκεσ' ἀγλαὰ τέκνα,
Ἀπόλλωνάτ' Ἀνακλᾶ καὶ Ἀρτέμιιν ἰοχέαιραν·
Τὴν μὲν ἐν Ὀρτυγίᾳ, τὸν δὲ κραναῇ ἐνὶ Δήλῳ,
Κεκλιμένη πρὸς μακρὸν ἔρ· καὶ Κυνῶδιον ὄχθον
Ἀλχολάτω φοῖνικ·, ὑπ' Ἰνωποῖο ῥέεθροις.

What Tides of Bless do sport about thy Throne;
What Joys do in eternal Circles run,
Lutona, who hast such a Daughter, such a Son?
Diana, Queen of Woods, she there bears Sway,
Apollo's Reign great Empires do obey;
Her Birth *Ortygia* boasts, the God was born
Under a Palm-Tree, *Delos* to adorn;
Inopus nigh, peep'd up with swelling Tide,
And in curl'd Surges smilingly did glide.

J. A.

It is observable that the ancient *Athenians* used none but Man-Midwives, it being forbidden by one of their Laws that Women or Slaves should have any Concern in the Study or Practice of Physick. This proving very fatal to many Women, whose Modesty suffered them not to entrust themselves in the Hands of Men, one *Agnodice* disguised herself in Mans Clothes, and studied Physick under a certain Professor called *Herophilus*, where having attained to a competent Skill in that Art she revealed herself to her own Sex.

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Mens Wives. To obviate this Accusation she discovered what Sex she was of; upon this the Physicians prosecuted her with great Eagerness, as violating the Laws, and encroaching upon the Mens Prerogative; when, to prevent her Ruin, the principal Matrons of the City came into Court, and addressed themselves to the Judges, telling them, " That they were not Husbands, but Enemies, who " were going to condemn the Person to whom they ow'd their " Lives." Upon this the *Athenians* repealed the old Law, and permitted three Women to undertake this Employment (a).

No sooner was the Child brought into the World, but they washed it with Water; whence *Callimachus*, speaking of *Jupiter's* Nativity, has these Words (b);

Εἰδα σ' ἐπὶ μήτρῃ μεγάλων ἀπειθήκατο κόλπων,
 Αἰλίκῃ διζήλο ῥόον ὑδατοῦ, ὥ κε τό κοιο
 Λύματα χυλῶσαιτο, τὸν δ' ἐν χερῶτα λείσσαι.

As soon as you was born, and saw the Light,
 Your Mother's grateful Burthen and Delight,
 She sought for some clear Brook to purify
 The Body of so dear a Progeny.

Lycophron also designing to express the murder of *Cilla* and her Son *Munitus*, which was effected as soon as the Child was born, says they died before the Boy was washed or suckled (c);

Ἰν' ἄλμα πάππῳ, καὶ χαμεῦνάδ' μοροῖ
 Τῆς λαθρονύμφῃ πόντῳ, μεμιγμένοι
 Ἐκῦμν' κέχυνται, πρὶν λαφύξασθαι γάιν',
 Πρὶν ἐκ λοχείας γυναι χυλῶσαι δρόσω.

A stol'n Embrace sent *Cilla* to the Fates
 With her *Munitus*, the young Bastard-brat,
 Who both were kill'd nigh unto *Ilus's* Tomb,
 Her Grandfather, before the Child had been
 Cleans'd from the Issue of the spurious Birth.

The *Lacedemonians* bathed their new-born Infants, not in Water, as was the Custom of all other Countries, (saith *Plutarch* in his Life of *Lycurgus*) but Wine, to prove the Temper and Complexion of their Bodies; for they had a Conceit that weakly Children would fall into Convulsions, or immediately faint upon their being thus bathed; on the contrary, those who were of a strong and vigorous

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the proverbial Saying *ὀμφαλὸς σου ἐστὶ περιτμήθη*, i. e. *thy Navel is not cut*; which is as much as if we say, you are an Infant, and scarce separated from your Mother. There was a Place in *Crete* called *Omphalum*, from *ὀμφαλός*, a Navel, because *Jupiter's* Navel-string was cut there, whence *Callimachus* speaks to him thus(a).

Τηλάκι τοι πῖσι, δαῖμον, ἀπ' ὀμφαλός ἐνδὲ ἐνέητο
Ομφάλιον μιλίπειλα πίδαοι καλῆσαι Κύδωρος.

Then the Nurse wrapped the Child in Swaddling-bands, lest its Limbs being then tender and flexible, should happen to be distorted; only the *Spartan* Nurses were so careful and experienced, that without using Swaddling-bands, their Children were streight and well proportioned. Their Management of Children differed likewise from all the rest of the *Grecians* in several other Instances, for “they used them to any sort of Meat, and sometimes to bear the want of it, not to be afraid in the Dark, or to be alone, nor to be froward, peevish, and crying, as they are generally in other Countries, thro’ the impertinent Care and Fondness of those who look to them. Upon this Account *Spartan* Nurses were frequently hired by People of other Countries; and it is reported that she who suckled *Alcibiades* was a *Spartan* (b).”

To return, new-born Infants were at *Athens* commonly wrapped in a Cloth, wherein was represented the *Gorgon's* Head, because that was described in the Shield of *Minerva*, the Protectress of that City, whereby, it may be, Infants were committed to the Goddess's Care. Another End of it might be, to put them in mind, when arrived at Mens Estate, that they were to imitate such noble and generous Examples as were there represented; or to be an happy Omen of their future Valour; for which Reasons it was likewise customary to lay them upon Bucklers; thus *Hercules* and his Brother *Iphiclus* were placed by *Alcmena* (c);

Ἡρακλῆα δικάμηρον ἰόντα ποχ' ἅ Μιδιάτις
Αλκμήνα, καὶ νυκτὶ νεώτερον Ἰφικλῆα,
Αμφόρως ἔδεσσα, καὶ ἐμπλήσσα γάλακτι,
Χαλκίαν καλῆδ' ἔθηκεν ἐπ' ἀσπίδα, τὰ Πιερίαν
Αμφίρυνον καλὸν ὄπλον ἀποκύλευσε πιστόν.

Arcides ten Months old a vigorous Child,
Alcmena fed, and laid him on a Shield,
(The Shield from *Pierchus Amphitryo* won,
A great auspicious Cradle for his Son)
With younger *Iphiclus* of human Race.

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The *Lacedæmonians* religiously observed this Ceremony, whence *Nonnus* (a);

————— Δακωνίδες οἶα γυναῖκες
Υλίας ὠδίνουσιν ἐπ' ἐνκλοιο βουίας.

On a round Buckler the *Laconian Dames*
Lay down their Burthen of Child-birth—————

In other Places they placed their Infants on a thing bearing some Resemblance to whatever sort of Life they designed them for. Nothing was more common than to put them in Vans, or Conveniencies to winnow Corn, in *Creek* λίανα, which were designed as Omens of their future Riches and Affluence (b). This was not always a real Van, but commonly an Instrument bearing the Figure of it, composed of Gold, or other Minerals. Thus, *Callimachus* tells us, *Nemesis* placed young *Jupiter* in a golden Van (c);

————— Σὶ δὲ κοίμωσιν Ἀδρήστεια
Λίανῳ ἐν χρυσῷ.

In a Gold Van *Nemesis* laid you to sleep.

One Thing more is to be observed concerning the *Athenians* before we dismiss this Head, viz. that it was a common Practice among them, especially in Families of Quality, to place their Infants on Dragons of Gold; which Custom was instituted by *Minerva*, in memory of *Erichthonius*, one of their Kings, who had Feet like those of Serpents, and being exposed to the wide World when an Infant, was committed by that Goddess to the Custody of two vigilant Dragons. *Euripides* has largely accounted for this Ceremony, when he speaks of *Cerusa's* Son, whom she bore to *Apollo* (d);

————— Ως δ' ἦλθε χρόνον,
Τεκνὸν ἐν οἴκοις παῖδ', ἀπήνεγκο βεῖφον.
Εἰς ταῦτόν ἄντρον, ἔπειρ πύλασθαι δεινὰ
Κρέεσσαν· κακλίδησιν ὡς δανέμενον
Κοίλῃς ἐν ἀνίστη· ἐνὶρόχῳ κύκλῳ,
Προγόνων νόμον σώλμας, τὰ τε γηγενῆς
Εὐριχθονίῃ· κείνω γὰρ ἡ Διὸς κόρη
Φερῶν παραΐευσσας φύλκας σωμαλῶν.
Δισσὴν δράκοντι, παρθένοισι Ἀγλαυρίσι
Δίδωσι· σώλειδ' ὅδ' ἐν Εὐρεχθεΐδαις ἐκεῖ
Νόμῳ τίς ἐστιν ὄφειν ἐν χρυσηλάτοις
Τρέφειν τέκνα.

The Time she reckon'd being out, a Boy
 She was deliver'd of, the which she expos'd
 In the same close, convenient Recefs,
 Where the brisk God her Maiden-fruits had cropt;
 In a round Box she there the Infant left
 To perish, as the ancient Custom was,
 Experienc'd by old *Erichthonius*.
 Since him, *Minerva* to *Aglaurus* gave,
 That she might with her Sisters bring him up,
 Two Dragons being Guards; the Custom hence
 Is by *Erectheus's* Daughters thus observ'd,
 To nurse up carefully and Children tend
 Entwin'd within the Folds of golden Serpents.

J. A.

The Poet has likewise given us the same Account of this Custom towards the latter End of this Tragedy (a)

On the fifth Day after the Birth, the Midwives having first purified themselves by washing their Hands, ran round the Fire-Hearth with the Infant in their Arms, thereby, as it were, entering into the Family, and putting it under the Protection of the Household Gods, to whom the Hearth served instead of an Altar; hence the Day was called *Δρομιάφι ἡμερ*, or (which was the more usual Name) *Αμφιδρόμια*; it was celebrated as a Festival, with great Expressions of Joy; they received Gifts from their Friends. If the Child was a Male, their Doors were deck'd with an Olive Garland; if a Female, with Wool, in Token of what the Workwomen were to be employ'd about. The Cheer consisted of divers sorts of Things, among which *κράμβη*, *Colewort*, was always one, which the *Athenian* Midwives used to administer to Women in Child-bed, as conducing to create Milk. The whole Ceremony is described in the following Verses of *Ephippus*, cited by *Athenæus* (b), most of which, some Varieties in the reading excepted, the same Author cites in another Place out of *Eubulus* (c);

— *Επιθα πῶς*

Οὐ γέφανθ' ἔδ' εἰς εἰς πρόσθε τῶν θυρῶν,
 Οὐ κίσσα κρεῖν εἰνὸς ὑπεροχᾶς ἄκρας
 Αμφιδρομίων ὄλην, ἐν οἷς νομίζεται
 Οπλᾶν τε τύρῃ Χερρόνησόν τε τόμους,
 Εψέειν τ' ἱλαίῃ ῥάφανον ἡγλαῖσμήν,
 Πύργειν τε παχίῃν ἀρειῶν στήθηα.
 Τίλλειν τε φατίλας καὶ κίχλας ὁμῶς σπίνους,
 Κοινῇ τε χαύειν τευδίσιον σπηθίδια,
 Πιλεῖν τε πολλὰς κλειλάνας ἐπιστροφάς.

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But what's the Reason that no Crown is plac'd
Before the Doors, nor grateful Victim slain,
Whose frying Fat delights the smelling Sense,
When th' joyful *Amphidromia* are kept,
In which is toasted *Chersonesian* Cheese,
And Colewort ty'd in Bundles seeth'd in Oil,
And Linnets, Doves, Thrushes, and Cuttle-fish,
And Calamary drefs'd, and eat in common,
And *Polypus's* Claws with Care procur'd
To drink 'em down amidst their less-mix'd Cups.

The seventh Day was likewise honour'd with Festival Solemnities, that being the time the Child was commonly nam'd; to celebrate this Day was called *ἑβδομευεσθαι*. The reason why the Child's Name was impos'd on this Day, was, ὅτι ἐπίτευον τῇ σωτηρίᾳ, because by this time they began to conceive Hopes that it would live; for weakly Infants, τὰ πλεῖστα ἀναίρειται πρὸ τῆς ἑβδομῆς, commonly die before the seventh, as we are informed by *Aristotle* in *Harpocratio* (a).

Some kept the eighth Day after the Infant's Birth, calling that the γενέθλιος ἡμέρα, *natalis*, Birth-day, because solemnized in memory of the Child's Nativity. The same Day was kept every Year after during the Child's Life. The same was also observed by the *Jews* for their Circumcision, as hath been remarked by the ancient Interpreter upon the following Passage of *Terence* (b):

—porro autem Geta
Ferietur alio munere, ubi vera pepererit:
Porro alio autem, ubi erit puero natalis dies.

Others nam'd their Children upon the tenth Day after their Birth, on which also they invited their Friends to an Entertainment, and offered Sacrifices to the Gods. *Euripides* mentions this Custom (c)

Τίς σε μήτηρ ἐν δεκάτῃ τόκον ὠνόμασεν;

What Mother on the tenth Day nam'd you?

The same is also mentioned by *Aristophanes* (d):

—Θύω τὸν δεκάτην ταύτης ἡμέραν,
Καὶ τῶνομα ὥσπερ παιδίῳ νῦν δὲ δέμην.

On the tenth Day I offer'd Sacrifice,
And, as a Child, her Name impos'd.

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Some will have the tenth to be the same with *Αμφιδρόμια*, but (however some Persons might join the two Solemnities) they were commonly distinct; to celebrate this Day was called *δικάτην θύειν*, *δικάτην ἀποθύειν*, *δικάτην ἱγιάσαι* (a).

It may be observed, that when the Child received its Name, whether upon the tenth, or any other Day, a considerable Number of Friends were present. This Custom was not only observed by the *Grecians*, but at *Rome*, and in most other Parts of the World; the chief End whereof seems to have been to prevent Controversies that might afterwards arise, when the Child came into Business, and was under several Civil Relations, if his Name was not certainly known.

The Child's Father usually imposed the Name. There was a Law at *Athens* whereby Fathers were authorized to give Names to their Children, and to alter them as often as they pleased (b). In imposing Names they observed no constant Rule, yet it was common to chuse some of their most eminent Ancestors, whose Name they desired should be continued to Posterity, as an Honour to themselves and their Family, and a perpetual Remembrance to stir up their Children to the Imitation of great Examples. Thus we find the Names of *Pyrrhus*, *Philip*, *Ptolemy*, &c. preserved in several of their Successors. *Ulpian* speaks of *Proxenus* descended from one *Harmodius*, and the Father of another (c). *Plutarch* says *Thucydides* was the Son of *Olorus*, who derived his Name from one of his Ancestors (d). *Aristophanes* makes *Callias* both the Father and Son of *Hipponicus* (e).

Ἰππόνικος· Καλλίω, παῖς Ἰπποκίμου Καλλίας.

Lastly, (to trouble you with no more Instances) we are assured by *Eusebnius*, that this was a Custom of very great Antiquity (f). The same seems to have been frequent in most other Nations. Few of the *Roman* Families but what afford continual Instances of this nature. *Hannibal* the *Carthaginian* bore his Grandfather's Name; And we find *Zachary*'s Friends in *St. Luke*'s Gospel strangely surprized when his Son the *Baptist* was called *John*, because none of his Relations were known by that Name.

The Actions of Parents were frequently perpetuated by the Names of their Children, as *Eusebnius* observes (g). So *Cleopatra*, or rather *Marpissa* (for *Eusebnius* and the old *Scholiast* are of different Opinions herein) was called *Halcyone*, because when she was ravished by *Apollo*, her Mother was no less afflicted than the *Halcyon* is wont to be for the Loss of her Young (h).

Τὴν δὲ τὸτ' ἐν μεγάροισι παῖδ' ἢ πότνια μήτηρ
 Αἰκλύνῃ καλίσκοι ἐπώνυμον, οἷα' ἄρ' αὐτῆς
 Μήτηρ, Αἰκλύνῃ πολυπενδύς· οἶτον ἔχουσα,
 Κλαί', ὅτε μιν ἐκέρχῃ ἀνέσπασε Φοῖβ' Ἀπόλλων·

Halcyone the Maid her Parents call'd,
 'Cause, *Halcyon* like, her Mother much bewail'd
 Her wretched Fate, when by *Apollo* ravish'd.

Hector's Son *Scamandrius* was named by the *Trojans Asyanax*, because his Father was τῷ ἄρει ἄναξ, the Defender of the City *Troy*; for the Original Signification of ἄναξ is no more than a Saviour or Defender, whence the Gods are commonly call'd ἄνακτες. The Story is in *Homer* (a);

——— Ἀμα δ' ἀμφίπολ' κίεν αὐτῇ
 Παῖδ' ἐπὶ κόλποι' ἔχουσ' ἀταλόφρονα, νήπιον αὐτῆς,
 Ἐκτορίδην ἀγαπητὸν, ἀλγικὸν ἄγέρι καλῷ,
 Τόν ῥ' Ἐκλῶρ καλίσκει Σκαμάνδριον, αὐτὰρ οἱ ἄλλοι
 Ἀσσανακτὶ, οἷ' ἄρ' ἐρέειο Ἴλιον Ἐκλῶρ.

The Royal Babe upon her Breast was laid,
 Who, like the Morning Star, his Beams display'd;
Scamandrius was his Name, which *Hector* gave
 From that fair Flood which *Ilion's* Wall did lave;
 But him *Asyanax* the *Trojans* call,
 From his great Father, who defends the Wall.

Mr. Dryden.

Ulysses was called Οδασεύς, διὰ τὸ ὀδυσασθῆναι τὸν Αὐτόλυκον, from the Anger of his Grandfather *Autolycus*, as *Homer* reports, when he introduces *Autolycus* thus speaking to *Ulysses's* Parents (b);

Γαμβρὸς ἰμὲς, θυγάτηρ τε, τίθεισ' ὄνομ' ὅτις κεν εἴπω·
 Πολλοῖσιν γὰρ ἔγωγε ὀδυσαμένῳ τὸδ' ἰκάσσω
 Ἀνδράσιν ἠδὲ γυναιξὶν ἀπὸ χόδονα παλυβότειραν,
 Τῷ Ὀδυσσεὺς ὄνομ' ἔγω' ἐκάλυμνον.———

Son, 'tis my Pleasure that my Grandchild be
 (And, Daughter, you observe too what I say)
Ulysses call'd, 'tis that I'd have his Name,
 Because when much enrag'd I hither came.

*Forata ferro gesserat vestigia,
Tumore natus nomen ac vitio pedum.*

Your Feet were bor'd with Iron, from which fore
And swelling Tumor you receiv'd your Name.

Achilles's Son was first called Πυρρὸς, from his ruddy Complexion, or the Colour of his Hair, afterwards Νειοπύλεμος, from undertaking the Management of the *Trojan War* when very young. To mention other Instances is needless, wherefore I shall conclude this Head with *Plutarch's* Words, wherein we have an Account of the *Roman* as well as the *Grecian* Method in imposing Names (a). “Hence “(i. e. from the taking of *Corioli*, the chief City of the *Volscians*) “*Caius Marcius* had his third Name of *Coriolanus*, whence it is “manifest that *Caius* was a personal proper Name; that the second, or Surname of *Marcius*, was a Name in common to his Family; and that the third *Roman* Appellative was a peculiar Note of Distinction drawn afterwards, and imposed for some particular Action, Fortune, Shape, Feature, or Virtue of him that bore it. For thus also the *Grecians* in old Time were wont to fix an additional Character on their Great Men for any famous Atchievement, such as Σωτήρ, i. e. Saviour; and Καλλίνικος, renown'd for Victory; or to express something remarkable in their Shape or Features, as Φύσκων, Gorge-belly, and Γεωπύς, Eagle-nos'd; as likewise upon account of their Virtue and Kindness, as Εὐεργέτης, a Benefactor, and Φιλάδελφος, a Lover of his Brethren; or from their unusual Felicity and good Fortune, as Εὐδαίμων, Happy, a Name given to the second Prince of *Battus's* Family. Several Kings had Names appropriated to them in Reproach and Mockery, as *Antigonus* that of Δώσω, i. e. one liberal only in the future, since he was always promising, but never came to Performance; and *Ptolomy*, who was stiled Λάμυς, for the fond Opinion he had of his own Wit and Pleasantness. This latter kind of Denomination by way of Raillery the *Romans* did very much delight in; for one of the *Metelli* was surnamed by them Διαδημαίος, because he had for a long time together walked about with his Head bound up, by reason of an Ulcer in his Forehead. There are some who even at this Day derive Names from certain casual Incidents at their Nativity; one, for Instance, who happens to be born when his Father is abroad in a foreign Country, they term *Proculus*; another born after his Father's Decease, they stile *Posthumous*; and when Twins come into the World, whereof one dies at the Birth, the Survivor is called *Vopiscus*. Nay, they use to denominate not only their *Syllas* and *Nigers*, i. e. Men of a pimpled Visage, or swarthy Complexion,

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“ should answer to such Names without Shame or Confusion, no
“ otherwise than to the most familiar Compellations.”

Sometimes they took a more compendious way to dispose of their Children, either killing them outright, or exposing them in some desert place, or elsewhere, to the Mercy of Fortune. To do the latter of these they termed ἐκλίσσθαι or ἀπολίσσθαι; nor was it accounted a criminal or blame-worthy Action, but permitted by some Lawgivers, and expressly encouraged and commanded by others. The *Lacedæmonians* are remarkable for their Behaviour in this Matter, for they allowed not Fathers to nourish their Children when inclined to do it, but obliged them to carry all their new-born Infants to certain *Triers*, who were some of the gravest Men in their whole Tribe, and kept their Court in a Place called Δίσκη, where they carefully view'd such as were brought to them; if they found them lusty and well-favour'd, they gave Orders for their Education, and allotted a certain Proportion of Land for their Maintenance; but if weakly or deform'd, they order'd them to be cast into a deep Cavern in the Earth near the Mountain *Taygetus*, as thinking it neither for the Good of the Children themselves, nor for the publick Interest, that they should be brought up, since Nature had both denied them the Means of Happiness in their own Particular, and of being serviceable to the Publick, by not enduing them with a sufficient Measure of Health and Strength. On this Account it was that new-born Infants were bathed with Wine (a), as has been already observed. The Place into which the *Lacedæmonians* cast their Infants was called Αποδίται, whence ἐπολίσσθαι is usually taken for exposing with a Design to destroy; whereas ἐκλίσσθαι commonly bears a milder Sense, for many Persons exposed their Children, when they were not willing they should perish, only because they were unable to maintain them; Daughters especially were thus treated, as requiring more Charges to educate and settle them in the World than Sons; whence the Saying cited out of *Possidippus*,

Υἱὸν τρέφει τις καὶ πένης, τις ὦν τύχη,
Θυγατέρα δὲ ἐκλίσσῃ καὶ ἢ πλούσιῳ.

A Man, tho' poor, will not expose his Son,
But if he's rich, will scarce preierve his Daughter;

The *Thebans* disliked this barbarous Custom, having a Law whereby the Practice of it was made capital; such as were not of Ability to provide for their Children, were ordered to carry them as soon as born to the Magistrates, who were obliged to take care for their

————— Ἀπὸ τοῦ βρέφους.

Εἰς ταῦτόν τ' ἄντρον, ὃ παρὲς ἡνιάσθη θεῶν
Κρίσσει, καὶ βιβλίσθῃ ὡς θανόμενον
Κοίλῃς ἐν ἀνίστηντι· ἐν δὲ ῥόχῳ κέκλω.

The Infant first she in a Vessel put,
Then in that Den, where with the God before
Herself had lain, she is expos'd to die.

Aristophanes calls it ὄγρακον, speaking of *Oedipus* (a) ;

————— Αὐτὸν γινόμενον

Χαιμῶν· ἐν δὲ ἐξέδισσαι ἐν ὄγρακῳ.

'Tis sometime termed χότρα, whence χολρίζειν is the same with βιβλίσθαι, and χολισμός with βιβλίσθαι (b).

The Parents frequently tied Jewels and Rings to the Children they expos'd, or any other thing, whereby they might afterwards discover them, if Providence took care for their Safety. Another Design in thus adorning these Infants was, either to encourage such as found them to nourish and educate them if alive, or to give them human Burial if dead. The last of these Reasons is assigned by *Euripides*, speaking of *Creusa* (c) ;

————— Ἦν εἶχε περὶ τὸν χλιδῆν

Τίχην προσάψας· ἔλπειν, ὡς θανόμενον.

Her costly Robe she o'er the Infant cast,
And left it to expire. —————

Terence introduces *Sostrata* assigning another Reason for this Practice, when she relates how she had caused her Daughter to be expos'd, to save her from her Husband *Chremes*, who had strictly commanded that she should be put to Death (d) ;

————— *Ut stultæ & miserræ omnes sumus*

Religiosæ ; cum exponendam do illi, de digito annulum,
Detraho, & cum dico ut una cum puella exponeret,
Si moreretur, ne expers partis esset de nostris bonis.

We are all tender superstitious Fools :
So when I first deliver'd up my Child
To be expos'd, I strait pull'd off my Ring.

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Before the Conclusion of this Chapter, it will be necessary to add something concerning the Purification of Women coming out of Childbed, for during their lying there they were looked on as polluted; whence the *Athenians* enacted a Law that no Woman should bring forth in *Delos*, an Island consecrated to *Apollo*, because the Gods were believed to have an Aversion to all sorts of Pollution. *Iphigenia* in *Euripides* tells us, that no Person who was guilty of Murder, or had touch'd a Woman in Childbed, or a dead Corpse, could be admitted to *Diana's* Altar (a);

———Βροτῶν μὲν ἐν τῇ ἄψηται φόνε,
Ἡ καὶ λοχείας, ἢ νεκρῷ δίγῃ χερσὶν,
Βωμὸς ἀπειργεῖ, μυσσάρον ὡς ἡγεμίτη.

They who by these Pollutions are defil'd,
By Murder, Childbed, or but touch'd the Dead,
Let them, as Things unhallowed, be deny'd
T' approach *Diana's* Altar.———

When the fortieth Day came, the Danger of Child-birth being then over, they kept a Festival, called from the Number of the Day *τεσσαρακοσός*; at this time the Woman, having been before purified by washing, enter'd into some of the Temples, most commonly *Diana's*, which from her Labour till that Time she was not allowed to do (b); here she return'd Thanks for her safe Delivery, and offered Sacrifices. It was likewise the Custom to present her Garments to *Diana*, who acquired hence the Surname of *Χλιδώ* (c); and Women after their first Child did farther offer their *Zone* to the same Goddess, who was on that account called *Λουχίω*, and had a Temple at *Athens* dedicated to her under that Title (d).

C H A P. XV.

Of their different sorts of Children, Wills, Inheritances;
the Duties of Children to their Parents, &c.

THE Scholiast on *Homer* makes four different sorts of Children.

1. Οἱ γνηστοί, or ἰθαγενεῖς, Children born in lawful Marriage. 2. Οἱ νόθοι, those born of Concubines, or Harlots. 3. Οἱ ὄρφανοι, whose Fathers were not known, wherein they were distinguished from the former. 4. Οἱ παρθεναῖοι, such as were born of Women who tho' initiated before Marriage were still taken

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for Virgins. This and other Divisions of Children I shall pass by, only taking notice of three sorts.

1. *Γνήσιοι*, lawfully begotten.

2. *Νέδοι*, born of Harlots, which Word in a large Sense may comprehend the three latter sorts of Children before mentioned.

3. *Θύλοι*, adopted.

It will be necessary to add something more concerning every one of these. First, those were reputed lawfully begotten, who were begotten in lawful Marriage, which was measured by different Rules, as the Affairs of every State required. In some Places whoever had a Citizen for his Father, tho' his Mother was a Foreigner; in others, those also who were born of free Women, when their Fathers were Foreigners, passed for legitimate, and inherited the Freedom of the City they were born in, and all Privileges consequent thereto. Most Commonwealths at their first Constitution, and after great Losses of Inhabitants by War, Plagues, or other ways, seem to have taken this Course to replenish and strengthen their Country with People; but when that Exigence ceased, and it became necessary to restrain the too great Increase of free Citizens, they commonly enacted that none should be esteemed legitimate but such as were descended from Parents both Citizens (*a*), which Order was dispensed with or abrogated as oft as fresh Occasions required. This may be observed at *Athens* in *Pericles's* Time; for when *Pericles* was in a flourishing Condition, and had Sons lawfully begotten, he proposed that *Solon's* old Law should be revived, whereby it was order'd that they only should be reputed true Citizens of *Athens* whose Parents were both *Athenians*, whereupon almost 5000 lost their Freedom, and were sold for Slaves. But *Pericles* himself afterwards having lost all his legitimate Sons, so far prevailed with the *Athenians*, that they cancell'd the Law, and yielded that he might enroll his natural Son in the Register of his own Ward by his Paternal Name, which was a Thing the *Νέδοι*, natural Children, were incapable of, as having nothing to do with the Name, Family (*b*), or Estate of their Father, as neither were they allowed to intermeddle in Sacred or Civil Affairs. For fear any Person should insinuate such Children into the City-Register, wherein all the Citizens Names were kept, they made severe Scrutinies in every Borough, which was termed *διακρίσεις* (*c*), whereby all Persons not duly qualified were ejected from the City. There was also a Court of Justice in the *Cynosarges*, a Place in the Suburbs of *Athens*, where Examination was made concerning such Persons. Nor were such as had only one Parent an *Athenian*, tho' allowed the Freedom of *Athens*, reputed equal to such as were *Athenians* of the whole Blood: for we find in *Plutarch* (*d*) that when

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who himself was illegitimate, as not being descended from two immortal Gods, but having a mortal Woman for his Mother. *Themistocles*, my Author tells us, offended at his Reproach, persuaded divers of the young Noblemen to accompany him to anoint and exercise themselves at *Cynosarges*, whereby he seemed (saith he) with some Ingenuity to take away the distinction between the truly Noble and the Stranger, and between those of the whole and those of the half Blood of *Athens*. But of this Practice I have treated more largely in one of the precedent Books (a).

There was never any time that I know of (whatever some may pretend to the contrary) when Illegitimacy was not reputed a Disgrace, unless in those Ages wherein Men lived without Laws and Government, allowing promiscuous Mixtures, and all other sorts of Uncleannefs. *Eustathius* will have Concubines and their Sons to have been as honourable as their Wives and Sons begotten in lawful Marriage about the Time of the *Trojan War* (b); but the whole Course of Antiquity seems to be clearly against him, for I do not find one single Instance in any ancient Author which can countenance this opinion. 'Tis possible indeed, that Concubines might sometimes have greater Respect than lawful Wives, Bastards than legitimate Children, but that was owing to the partial Affections of Husbands, which Women by their superior Beauty and Arts of Insinuation might gain, but can by no means be attributed to the Practice of those Times. The chief Reason *Eustathius* alledges is, that *Agamemnon* calls *Teucer* Νόθος, when encouraging him to fight, at which time it would have been very improper to have given him opprobrious Language. The Hero's Words run (c):

Τευχερ, φίλη κεφαλῇ, Τελαμῶνι κοίρανε λαῶν,
 Βάλλ' ἔτις αἶ κεν τι φόως Δαναοῖσι γενῆαι
 Παῖρι τε σὼ Τελαμῶνι ὃ σ' ἔτρεφε τυτθὸν ἰόντα,
 Καὶ σε νόθον περ ἰόντα κομίσσαιο ὧ ἐνὶ εἰκῷ.

Teucer, you much lov'd *Grecian* Chief, advance,
 If you'd your Sire's or Country's Fame enhance;
 Without delay let some Exploit be done
 Worthy your Country, worthy *Telamon*,
 Who in your Nonage shew'd his gen'rous Care;
 For tho' of spurious Birth, he held you dear,
 At his own Table brought you up, —————

H. H.

In which Words *Agamemnon* excites *Teucer*, the natural Son of *Telamon*. to behave himself with Courage. by two Reasons. first. that

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ought to have a more tender Concern for, since he had received such extraordinary Benefits from him, as having, notwithstanding his Illegitimacy, been carefully educated, and that not in any remote Place, where he might have been neglected, but under *Telamon's* own Eye, and in his own House. This is so far from establishing an Equality between legitimate Children and Bastards, that it evidently shews the contrary, the Particle *μετ* after *Νοδον* plainly implying that such Care of Bastards was something more than common in those Days. Nor can the Poet be blam'd for making *Agamemnon* call him by such a Name, since the thing was no Secret, but known to all the *Grecians*, and which, no doubt, appeared every Day from *Teucer's* submissive Behaviour to *Ajax*, his Half-Brother, and the lawful Son of *Telamon*. As a Confirmation of what I have said, I shall add the Words of *Agamemnon* in *Sophocles*, spoken likewise to *Teucer*, whence it will appear what Difference there was between the Sons of lawful Wives and those of Concubines, and in particular concerning *Teucer*, how great a Disgrace it was to him to be the Son of a Captive and Concubine, tho' his Mother was of the Race of Kings (a);

Σὲ δὴ τὰ δεινὰ ῥήματ' ἀγγέλλουσ' μοι
 Τῆναι καδ' ἡμῶν ὧδ' ἀσιμῶκλει χανεῖν,
 Σὲ τοι τὸν ἐκ τῆς αἰχμαλωτίδος λίσσω
 Ἡ σὺ τραφεῖς ἂν μητρὸς ἐυγενῆς ἀπο
 Ὑψηλ' ἐκόμπεις, κατ' ἄκρων ὠδοπόρους,
 Οὐτ' ἔδην, ὦν, τῷ μηδὲν ἀνίστης ὑπὲρ,
 Κῆτι στρατηγὸς ἔτε ναυάρχης μολεῖν
 Ἡμᾶς Ἀχαιῶν, ἔτι σὺ διωμόσω;
 Ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἄρχων, ὡς σὺ φῆς, Αἴας ἔπλει·
 Ταῦτ' ἐκ ἀκκυῖν μεγάλα πρὸς δέλων κακὰ;

I am inform'd that with opprobrious Speech
 You, Vassal, you born of a Slave of War,
 Have dar'd bespatter *Agamemnon's* Fame,
 And yet thy heinous Crime is unreveng'd:
 How hadst thou swell'd if come of nobler Birth,
 Who arrogantly now defend'st the Cause
 Of one that is no more; a lifeless Corpse;
 Darest to deny our dread Authority,
 Whilst *Ajax* truly must be own'd a Chief?
 Gods! do such Words become a servile Mouth?

is manifest from the fore-mentioned Example of *Tenecer*, both whose Parents were Princes. The same might be proved by other Instances, whereof I shall only mention one; 'tis that of *Ion*, who had *Apollo* for his Father, and *Creusa*, the Wife of an *Athenian* King, for his Mother, and yet is introduced by *Euripides* complaining of his hard Fortune, in being illegitimate (a);

——— Εἶταί φασι τὰς αὐτόχθονας
Κλεινὰς Ἀθήνας, ἐκ ἐπίστατον γένος,
Ἰν' εἰσπισῶμαι δύο νόσω κεκλημένον·
Παῖρές τ' ἱπακτῆ, καὶ τὸς ὃν νοθογενής;
Καὶ τὸτ' ἔχων τέκνιδ' ἀσθενὲς μὲν ὢν,
Μηδὶν κ' ὡδὶν ἐνθάδ' ὢν κεκλήσομαι.

'Tis rumour'd that the famous *Athen's* Sons
Were thus produc'd, and there have ever liv'd:
Then where shall wretched I intrude myself,
Who am on two Accounts most desperate,
A Bastard Son, and of a Stranger too?
And to compleat my most opprobrious Fate,
Am most infirm; on these Accounts shall I
Be there despis'd, and made a publick Scorn. *H. H.*

It may indeed be objected, that (as *Servius* observes) natural Children sometimes succeeded in their Father's Kingdoms; but that only happened, as the same Author tells us, for want of legitimate Issue; nor was it always allowed in such Cases. In some Places the Bastards of private Persons likewise inherited the Estates of their Fathers, having no lawful Children or Relations, as appears from an *Athenian* Law cited by *Demosthenes* (b). But where there were Relations, Bastards had no Share, as is plain from a Dialogue between *Pisithærus* and *Hercules* in *Aristophanes*, where *Hercules* having been persuaded by *Neptune* that he was Heir-apparent to *Jupiter*, is undeceived by *Pisithærus*, who tells him, that being illegitimate he had no Right of Inheritance; and to confirm what he said, repeats *Solon's* Law concerning this Affair. The Passage is long, but being pertinent to this Place, and containing a true Account of the *Athenian* Practice, must not be omitted (c);

- ΠΕ. Οἱμοι τάλας γ' οἷόν σε περισοφίζεται;
Διὺρ ὡς ἰμ' ἀποχώρησον ἵνα τί τοι φράσω·
Διαβάλλεται σ' ὁ θεῖος ὃ σῶντηρ σὺ,
Τῶν γὰρ πατέρων ὃδ' ἀκέραι' μέτεσί σοι
Καὶ τὰ τοὺς νόμους νόθος γὰρ εἰ καὶ γνήσιος.
HP. Εγὼ νόθος; τί λέγεις; ΠΕ. Σὺ μὲν τοι νῆ Δία,

Οὐσαν θυγατρί', ὅτιον ἀδελφῶν γησίων;

- HP. Τί δ' ἦν ὁ πατήρ ἰμοὶ διδῶ τὰ χρήματα
 Τὰ νοθεῖ' ἀποδύσκων; ΠΕ. Ο νόμος αὐτὸν ἐκ εἶ,
 Οὐτὸς ὁ Ποσειδῶν παρῶν, ὃς ἱκαίρει σὶ νῦν.
 Αἰδιξίαι' σὺ τῶν πατρῶων χρημάτων,
 Φάσκω ἀδελφὸς αὐτὸς εἶναι γήσιον.
 Ερῶ δὲ δὴ καὶ τὸν Σόλωνός σοι νόμον,
 "Νόθῳ δὲ καὶ μὴ εἶναι ἀγγε-
 "γείαν, παιδῶν ἄντων γη-
 "σίων· ἰὰν δὲ παῖδες
 "Μὴ ᾧσι γήσιοι, τοῖς
 "Εγγυτάτῳ τοῦ γένους
 "Μεῖναι τιν χρημάτων."

PI. Alas! how strangely he comes over you?
 But hark you in your Ear; thus much I'll say,
 Your Uncle, tho' you know it not, would trick you;
 And truly, if the Tenour of the Laws
 Were now consulted, you'd not have an Ace
 Of that Estate your Father leaves behind;
 For you're a Bastard, not legitimate.

HER. How's this you say? Am I a Bastard then?

PI. *Jove* of a Stranger by a stol'n Embrace
 Begot you; but why do you suspect it,
 Since if but any of his Sons were born
 Of lawful Birth, *Pallas* were not an Heiress?

HER. What if he leave all to his bastard Son?

PI. The Law won't suffer that; but *Neptune* first,
 Who now so much extols you, all will cease,
 Being his lawful Brother. But the Law
 Which *Salon* made I'd willingly recite;
 "Bastards shall not be number'd in the Roll
 "Of Kindred, whilst the lawful Children live,
 "And for defect of such, the next a-kin
 "Shall then enjoy the Goods of the Deceas'd." H. H.

Where tho' *Pisisthetæus* tells *Hercules* that the Law would not permit him to him νοθεῖα χρήματα, yet that must be interpreted of an equal Portion of the Inheritance, which he could not have whilst his Father had Relations, who were Heirs by Law; for even Bastards were allow'd some Share in their Father's Estate. *Athenion* is said to have given Portions to the Sons of his Concu-

Pleasure, who had Liberty to take them into their own Family, and make them equal Sharers with their legitimate Children, the Privilege of dividing the Estate only reserved to the latter. An Example hereof we have in two Sons, one of which being begotten in lawful Marriage, the other of a Slave, the Division of their common Inheritance belonged to the former, who placed on one side the whole Estate, on the other his half Brother's Mother, so reducing him to a Necessity of letting his Mother continue in Slavery, or depriving himself of his whole Portion (a).

Those who had no legitimate Sons, were obliged by the *Athenian* Laws to leave their Estates to their Daughters, who were confin'd to marry their nearest Relations, otherwise to forfeit their Inheritance, as we find to have been practis'd likewise by the *Jews*, many of whose Laws seem to have been transcribed by *Solon*: These Virgins, whether sole Heiresses, or only Co-heiresses, were called by *Solon* himself περικληρίτιδες, by others, παύροι, or (which is the most common Name of all) ἐπίκληροι, and sometimes, as *Eustathius* reports (b), μάνδαι. These and their nearest Relations were impowered to claim Marriage from one another, which if either Party refused, the other preferred an Action, which was termed ἐπιδικάζειν, which Word was applied to all sorts of Law-suits; whence Inheritances, about which they went to Law, were termed κληρονομία ἐπιδικαι; those which they had a quiet Possession of, ἀνεπιδικαι. Others report, that whether there was any Dispute or not, the nearest Relation was obliged to claim his Wife with her Inheritance in the *Archon's* Court, if he was a Citizen; in the *Palearchus's*, if only a Sojourner, and that this was termed ἐπιδικάζειν, and might be done any Month in the Year, except *Scirrophorion*, the Magistrates being then busy in making up and returning their Accounts (c). The forementioned Law concerning the Marriages of Heiresses, gave Occasion to one of *Apollodorus's* Comedies, entitled *Ἐπιδικάζουσα*, or *Ἐπιδικάζουσα*, as *Donatus* reads, understanding it of the Virgin's suing for an Husband. This was translated into *Latin* by *Terence*, and called *Phormio*, wherein we have these Verses, mentioning the Law I have been speaking of;

*Lex est, ut orbæ, qui sint genere proximi,
his nubant, & illos ducere eadem hæc lex jubet,*

The Law commands that Orphans marry those
That nearest are ally'd, and that the Men
Consent to join with these. —————

Farther we find it ordered, that when Men had given a Daughter

take the Woman from her Husband, which *Iſæus* (*a*) reports to have been a common Practice.

Persons who had no lawful Issue, were allowed to adopt whom they pleased, whether their own natural Sons, or (by Consent of their Parents) the Sons of other Men. But such as were not *κύριοι ἑαυτῶν*, *their own Masters*, were excepted; such were Slaves, Women, Mad-men, Infants, that is, all such as were under 21 Years of Age; for these not being capable of making Wills, or managing their own Estates, were not allowed to adopt Heirs to them. Foreigners being excluded from the Inheritance of Estates at *Athens*, if any such was adopted, he was made free of the City. The Adoption being made, the adopted Person had his Name enroll'd in the Tribe and Ward of his new Father; this was not done at the same time in which the Children begotten of themselves were registred, but on the Festival called *Θαργήλια*, in the Month *Thargelion*. The *Lacedæmonians* were very cautious and wary in this Affair, and for the Prevention of rash and inconsiderate Adoptions, had a Law that they should be confirmed in the Presence of their Kings. Adopted Children were called *παῖδες θεοί*, or *σιωποῦντοί* and were invested in all the Privileges and Rights of, and obliged to perform all the Duties belonging to, such as were begotten by their Fathers. And being thus provided for in another Family, they ceased to have any Claim of Inheritance or Kindred in the Family which they had left (*b*), unless they first renounced their Adoption, which the Laws of *Solon* allowed them not to do, except they had first begotten Children to bear the Name of the Person who had adopted them; thus providing against the Ruin of Families, which would have been extinguished by the Desertion of those who were adopted to preserve them (*c*). If the adopted Persons died without Children, the Inheritance could not be alienated from the Family into which they were adopted, but returned to the Relations of the Person who had adopted them. The *Athenians* are by some thought to have forbidden any Man to marry after he had adopted a Son, without Leave from the Magistrate. And there is an Instance in *Tzetzes* (*d*) *Cbiliads* of one *Leogoras*, who being ill used by *Andocides* the Orator, who was his adopted Son, desired Leave to marry. However, it is certain, that some Men married after they had adopted Sons, and if they begot legitimate Children, their Estates were equally shar'd between those begotten and adopted. It may be observed in this place, that it was an ancient Custom for legitimate Sons to divide their Father's Estates by Lots, all having equal Shares, without respect to Priority of Birth, but allowing a small Pittance to such as were unlawfully begotten. Thus *Ulysses* in *Homer* tells *Eumæus*, that the Sons of *Castor* the *Cretan*, of whom he feigns himself one, divided what he left (*e*);

Εκ μὲν Κρητῶν γένε' εὐχομαι εὐρεῖαν
 Ἀνέρο' ἀφνειοῦ πατρὸς πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι
 Υἱεὶς ἐν μεγάροις ἡμῖν τράφειν ἡδ' ἐγχοῖντο
 Γησιοὶ ἐξ ἀλόχου, ἐμὲ δ' ὤνησεν τέκε μήτηρ
 Παλλακίς, ἀλλὰ μεῖζον ἰθαγενέσσιν ἐτίμα
 Κάστωρ Ὑλακίδης, τοῦ ἐγὼ γυνε' εὐχομαι εἶναι.
 Ὅς ποτ' ἐνὶ Κρήτεσσι θεὸς ὥς τίσις δέμας
 Ὀλέω τε, πλάτω τε, καὶ ὑπασὶ κυδαλίμοισιν,
 Ἀλλ' ἦτοι τὸν κῆρυξ ἔβαν θανάτοιο φέρουσαι
 Εἰς Αἶδαο δόμους, τοὶ δὲ ζῶντες ἰθάσσαντο
 Παιδὲς ὑπέρθυμοι, καὶ ἐπὶ κλήρυς ἰθαλόστοι,
 Αὐτὰρ ἐμοὶ μάλα παῦρα δόσαν, καὶ οἰκί' ἐνείμαν.

Crete claims my Birth is readily confest,
 My wealthy Father vast Estates possest ;
 Many his Sons, and they legitimate,
 But I his Bastard far'd ne'er worse for that ;
 Castor Hylacides was his worthy Name,
 And for his Children by his lawful Dame,
 And Wealth in Crete, he had obtain'd great Fame :
 But when impartial Fate dispatch'd his Doom,
 And sent him down to his eternal home,
 The Lots were by my haughty Brothers thrown,
 All they divide, supposing all their own,
 And some small Legacy to me bequeath.

H. H.

Such as had neither legitimate nor adopted Children, were succeeded by their nearest Relations, as appears from the forecited Dialogue between *Hercules* and *Pisibetærus*. This Custom was as ancient as the *Trojan War*, being mentioned in *Homer*, when he relates how *Diomedes* slew the two only Sons of *Phænopos* (a) ;

Εἰδ' ὃ γὰρ τοὺς ἐνέριξε, φίλον δ' ἐξαίνετο θυμὸν
 Ἀμφότεροι, πατέρι δὲ γόον καὶ κήδεια λυγρὰ
 Διπ', ἵππαι δ' ἐζώοντο μάχης ἰκνομένης
 Διέτατο, κηρυγασὶ καὶ διὰ κλήσιν δαίμονιο.

Then both he slew, then both depriv'd of Life,
 And thus increas'd their ancient Father's Grief,
 Since he not safe receiv'd them from the War,
 Thus childless, his next Friends his Goods did share.

H. H.

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the Estates of Persons without Children were called *χρησταί*, is plain from ancient *Grammarians* (a). *Hesiod* has used the same Word, but in which of these Senses is equally ambiguous (b) ;

Ὅς καὶ γάμον φεύγων καὶ μέγαρα ἔργα γυναικῶν
Μὴ γῆμαι ἐθέλη, ὁλοὺν δ' ἐπὶ γῆρας ἵκηται,
Χήτει γηροκόμοιο, ὃ δ' ἐ βίβδον ἐπιδευής
Ζῶει, ἀποφθιμένοι δὲ διὰ κτῆσιν δαίονται
Χρησταί—————

Averse to all the Troubles of a Wife,
Wedlock he loath'd, and led a single Life.
But now, when bowing Age his Limbs had seiz'd,
Justly he wants, whom he before despis'd ;
He dies at length, and his remoter Friends
Share his Possessions.—————

H. H.

'Tis not worth disputing whether Significations is more pertinent in these Passages, since 'tis certain that both are agreeable enough to the Practice of Antiquity ; for as Persons having Relations were usually succeeded in their Estates by them, so when any died without lawful Heirs, their Possessions belonged to the Prince, the Commonwealth, or the supreme Magistrates, as the Laws of every State directed.

The *Grecian* Practice concerning Wills was not the same in all Places ; some States permitted Men to dispose of their Estates, others wholly deprived them of that Privilege. We are told by *Plutarch* (c), that *Solon* is much commended for his Law concerning Wills, for before his Time no Man was allowed to make any, but all the Wealth of deceased Persons belonged to their Families ; but he permitted them to bestow it on whom they pleased, esteeming Friendship a stronger Tie than Kindred, and Affection than Necessity, and thus put every Man's Estate in the Disposal of the Possessor ; yet he allowed not all sorts of Wills, but required the following Conditions in all Persons that made them :

1. That they must be Citizens of *Athens*, not Slaves, or Foreigners ; for then their Estates were confiscated for the Public Use.
2. That they must be Men who have arrived to 20 Years of Age ; for Women and Men under that Age were not permitted to dispose by Will of more than one *Medimn* of Barley (d).
3. That they must not be adopted ; for when adopted Persons died without Issue, the Estates they received by Adoption, return'd to the Relations of the Man who adopted them.
4. That they should have no male Children of their own ; for then their Estates belonged to these. If they had only Daughters

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to marry them (a). Yet Men were allowed to appoint Heirs to succeed their Children, in case these happened to die under 20 Years of Age (b).

5. That they should be in their right Minds ; because Testaments extorted thro' the Phrenzy of a Disease, or Dotage of old Age, were not in reality the Wills of the Person that made them.

6. That they should not be under Imprisonment, or other Constraint, their Consent being then only forced, nor in Justice to be reputed voluntary.

7. That they should not be induced to it by the Charms and Insinuations of a Wife ; for (says *Plutarch*) the wise Lawgiver with good Reason thought that no Difference was to be put between Deceit and Necessity, Flattery and Compulsion, since both are equally powerful to persuade a Man from Reason.

Wills were usually signed before several Witnesses, who put Seals to them for Confirmation, then placed in the Hands of Trustees, called *ἐπιμηλῆαι*, who were obliged to see them performed. At *Athens* some of the Magistrates, particularly the *Ἀστυνομι*, were very often present at the making of Wills (c). Sometimes the *Archons* were also present ; hence we are told by *Harpocration* and *Suidas*, that when any thing was given in the Presence of the *Archons*, it was termed *δοσις* (d) ; for this Word, tho' commonly taken for any sort of Gift or Present, yet was by the *Athenian* Orators peculiarly applied to Legacies and Things disposed of by Will. Hence *δοῦναι* is equivalent to *διαδοῖσθαι*. *Iſæus* (e) frequently puts them together, *διαδοῖσθαι καὶ δοῦναι* ; and to succeed, *κατὰ δόσιν καὶ κατὰ διάδοσιν*, by Gift and Will, is opposed to Succession, *κατὰ γένος*, by natural Right. Sometimes the Testator declared his Will before sufficient Witnesses, without committing it to Writing. Thus *Callias* fearing to be cut off by a wicked Conspiracy, is said to have made an open Declaration of his Will before the popular Assembly at *Athens* (f). The same was done in the nuncupative Wills at *Rome*.

There were several Copies of Wills in *Diogenes Laertius*, as those of *Aristotle*, *Lycon*, and *Theophrastus* ; whence it appears they had a common Form, beginning with a Wish for Life and Health ; afterwards adding, that in case it happened otherwise, their Will was as followed, in this manner ; *Ἐγώ μιν εὖ, ἰάν δέ τι συμβῇ, ταῦτα διατίθεμεν*.

We have seen how Children enjoy'd the Estates of their Parents, let us now pass to their virtuous and noble Actions, the Rewards of which we find frequently inherited by their Posterity ; these consisted not only in fruitless Commendations and empty Titles of Honour, or Expressions of Respect, which yet were liberally bestowed upon the whole Families of Persons eminent for serving

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due to the Memory and Relations of such Men. Their Children were in many places provided for, and educated suitably to their Birth at the Publick Expence, when left destitute of Estates. What Regard the *Athenians* had of those Mens Children who lost their Lives in fighting for their Country, has been shewed in a former Book; how they treated the Posterity of others, who had deserved well of their Commonwealth, shall now appear from one or two Instances; the first is that of *Aristides*, who dying poor, the *Athenian* People bestowed upon his Son *Lyfimachus* 100 *Attick* Pounds of Silver, with a Plantation of as many Acres of Ground; and upon the Motion of *Alcibiades*, ordered farther, that four Drachms a Day should be paid him; furthermore, *Lyfimachus* leaving a Daughter named *Policrite*, the People voted her the same Provision of Corn with those who obtain Victory in the *Olympian* Games; the same *Aristides*'s two Daughters had each of them 300 Drachms out of the publick Treasury for their Portions. Nor is it to be wonder'd (proceeds my Author) that the People of *Athens* should take care of those who resided in their City, since hearing the Grand-daughter of *Aristogiton* was in so low a Condition in the Isle of *Lemnos*, that she was like to want a Husband, they sent for her to *Athens*, married her to a Person of great Quality, and gave her a Farm for her Dowry; of which Bounty and Humanity the City of *Athens* (saith he) in this our Age has given divers Demonstrations, for which she is deservedly celebrated and had in Admiration (a).

Mens Vices and dishonourable Actions were likewise participated by their Children; for it was thought no more than reasonable, that those who share in the Prosperity and good Fortune of their Parents, should partake likewise of their Losses and Miscarriages. *Agamemnon* in *Homer* could be prevailed on by no Arguments to spare *Antimachus*'s Sons, their Father having endeavour'd to procure *Menelaus* and *Ulysses* to be murder'd when they were sent on an Embassy to *Troy* (b);

Εἰ μὲν δ' Ἀντιμάχοιο δαΐφρονος υἱέας ἴδον,
Ὅς ποτ' ἐν Τρώων ἀγορῇ Μενέλαον ἄνωγει
Ἀγγελίην ἐλθόντα σὺν ἀντιθέῳ Ὀδυσσῇ
Αὐτὸς κατακλιῖναι, μὴδ' ἐξέμειν ἄψ' εἰς Ἀχαιῆς,
Νῦν μὲν δὴ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀεικία τίσις ἐσσι λῶσει.

If from the Loins of stout *Antimachus*
Ye are descended, I'll bespeak you thus:
Since, when the *Trojans* did in Council sit,
He gravely gave Advice, he thought it fit,
That my dear Brother, as an Enemy,
With sage *Ulysses* sacrific'd should be

I'll on the Sons avenge the Father's Hate,
These Hands shall you dispatch, and Justice vindicate.

J. A.

There are many other Instances to the same Purpose, whence it appears this Practice was not owing to the Passion and Prejudices of particular Persons, but thought agreeable to Justice and Reason. It may be sufficient in this place to mention the famous *Macedonian* Law, whereby it was order'd, that Men guilty of conspiring against their King, should not only suffer Death, with their Children, but all those who were nearly allied to them should share in the same Punishment; whence we find in *Curtius* (a), that when *Philotas* was found guilty of Treason against *Alexander*, of the Noblemen and others related to him, some stabb'd themselves, others fled into Wildernesses and Desarts, till the King issued out his Pardon for them.

It remains that I add something concerning the Returns of Gratitude due from Children to their Parents, which appear from their assiduous Attendance on them in the lowest Offices; whence one in *Aristophanes* relates how his Daughter washed and anointed his Feet:

———Καὶ πρῶτα μὲν ἡ θυγάτηρ
Ἀποίχῃ καὶ τῷ πόδ' ἀλείφῃ καὶ προκύψασα φιλήσῃ.

First my dear Child did wash her Father's Feet,
Then she anointed 'em, and bending down
Gave them a sweet endearing Kifs.—

They were zealous in vindicating the Honour, and revenging the Injuries of their Parents; whence *Telemachus* in *Homer* says, *Orestes* had gained the Applause of all Greece, and recommended his Name to succeeding Ages, by taking Revenge on his Father's Murderers (b);

Καὶ λῆν καὶ μὲν ἐτίσας, καὶ οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ
Οἰσσομένησι βύρην, καὶ ἰσσομένοισιν αἰοδῆν.

He a brave noble Soul did then put forth,
A Soul of Prowess and heroick Worth,
When he his Father's bold Assassins kill'd,
And both his Duty and the Law fulfill'd.
This Act for ever shall in Records live,
And to his sacred Name Eternity shall give.

J. A.

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to do which was termed *γηροδοσκίῃ*, and performing their Funeral Rites when dead. *Medea* in *Euripides* expresses her earnest Desire of (a) enjoying this Happiness :

Ἡ μὲν ποδ' ἡ δύστηνος εἶχον ἰλπίδας
Πολλὰς ἐν ὑμῖν, γηροδοσκήσειν τ' ἐμὲ,
Καὶ καθανύσαν χερσὶν εὖ περιτελεῖν.

Ah ! wretched me, ah, my unhappy Fate ?
What blooming Comforts did I once presage
In your young tender Years ? I thought, alas !
What blest'd Support I should receive when old
From you, the Prop of my declining Age,
How you would give me decent Obsequies
When I should leave the World, and be no more.

J. A.

Admetus, introduced by the same Poet, tells his Father, that he being delivered over to Death by him, there would be no Man to take Care of him whilst alive, or pay him due Respect after Death (b) :

Τοὶ γὰρ φυτεύων παῖδας ἔκ' ἔτ' εἰ φθάνοις,
Οἱ γηροδοσκήσοις, καὶ θανάσιον σε
Πηριτελεῖσι, καὶ προδιδόνται νεκρὸν,
Οὗ γάρ σ' ἔγωγε τῆδ' ἐμῇ θάψω χερὶ,
Τέθνηκα γὰρ δὴ τέπ' ὅτι σ'.

You with more Offspring never will be blest,
To give Refreshment to your aged Limbs,
To keep you when disabled, and when dead
To mourn your Loss, and give you decent Burial ;
For I, alas ! am doom'd to lose my Life
As much as in you lies ; I ne'er will see
Your Body carry'd to the Grave, or be
A sad Attendant at the Funeral,

J. A.

They were so concerned about these things, that when they undertook any hazardous Enterprize, it was customary to engage some of their Friends to maintain and protect their aged Parents. Thus when the *Thebans*, living in Exile at *Athens* ; conspired to free their native Country from the Tyrants which the *Lacedæmonians* had im-

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when going to expose his Life to Danger, passionately intreats *Ascanius* in an elegant Oration to comfort and make Provision for his Mother (a);

———*Sed te super omnia dona*

Unum oro: Genitrix Priami de gente vetusta

Est mihi, quam miseram tenuit non Ilia tellus

Mecum excedentem, non mœnia regis Acestæ;

Hanc ego nunc ignaram hujus quodcunque periculi est,

Inque salutatam linquo; nox & tua testis

Dextera, quod nequeam lacrymas perferre parentis;

At tu, oro, solare inopem, & succurre relictæ;

Hanc sine me spem ferre tui; audentior ibo

In casus omnes.———

This chiefly from your Goodness let me gain,
(For this ungranted, all Rewards are vain)
Of Priam's Royal Race my Mother came,
And sure the best that ever bore the Name;
Whom neither *Troy* nor *Sicily* could hold
From me departing, but o'erspent and old,
My Fate she follow'd; ignorant of this
Whatever Danger, neither parting Kiss,
Nor pious Blessing taken, her I leave,
And in this only Act of all my Life deceive;
By this Right-hand and conscious Night I swear,
My Soul so sad a Farewell could not bear:
Be you her Comfort, fill my vacant Place,
(Permit me to presume so great a Grace)
Support her Age, forsaken and distressed,
That Hope alone will fortify my Breast
Against the worst of Fortune and of Fears.

Mr. Dryden.

The Provision made by Children for their Parents was termed *τροφισία*, by the Poets *δρεπτήρια*, or *δρεπτήρα*, and sometimes *δρεπτήλα*, as we find in *Homer* (b). To be negligent in this Matter was accounted one of the greatest Impieties, and most worthy of Divine Vengeance; whence *Hesiod*, enumerating the Evils of the last and Iron Age, mentions the Disobedience and disrespectful Behaviour of Children to their Parents, as one of the greatest, and which call'd to Heaven for Vengeance (c);

When drooping Parents in a painful State
 Have toil'd, oppress'd with Miseries and Fate,
 Then their young Debauchees shall them despise,
 Taunt at their Years, and give them base Replies,
 Call them the Dregs of Life, and not allow,
 Nor one poor Crois to keep them will bestow. *J. A.*

No Crime was thought to be followed with more certain and inevitable Judgments than this; for the *Furies* and other infernal Deities were believ'd always ready to execute the Curses of Parents injur'd by their Children. Hence *Telemachus* in *Homer* refuses to force his Mother *Penelope* from his House, for fear of being haunted by the *Furies*, and reproached by Men (a);

——— Ἀλλὰ δὲ δαίμων
 Δώσει, ἐπὶ μήτῃ συγγεῖρος ἀρήσεται Ἐρινύς
 Οἶκον ἀπερχομένη, νόμισις δὲ μοι ἐξ ἀνδράπων
 ἔσσεται. ———

The Gods this Act with Vengeance will repay,
 Furies will haunt this House, and I no Day
 Shall live at ease, but scouted and forlorn,
 To all my Neighbours a By-word and Scorn.

Phœnix was remarkably punished when his Father invoked the Furies Assistance against him (b);

——— Πατὴρ δ' ἰμὸς αὐτίκ' οἷοδεῖς,
 Πολλὰ καίησ'το συγγεῖρος δ' ἐπικέκλειτ' Ἐρινύς,
 Μήποτε γύναισιν οἷσιν ἰφίσσισθαι φίλον υἱὸν
 Εἴ' ἰμέδην γεγαῶτα· θεοὶ δ' ἐτίλειον ἱπαραῖς,
 Ζεὺς τε καταχθόνιος, καὶ ἱπαιὴ Περσεφόνη.

My Father having me discover'd, pray'd
 To all th' infernal Furies for their Aid;
 He wish'd I never might beget a Boy,
 To dandle on my Knee, and give me Joy;
 My Fathers Pray'rs are heard, mine are deny'd,
 Both *Pluto* and his Queen are in the Curse ally'd:

J. A.

Many other Instances occur in Authors, as those of *Oedipus*, *Theseus*, and others produced by *Plato* (c), where he endeavours to make out that the Gods were always prepared to hear the Prayers, and revenge the Injuries of Parents. Nor was the Punishment of this

by human Appointment. *Solon* ordered all Persons who refused to make due Provision for their Parents, to be punished with (*ἀλμύλα*) Ignominy (*a*). The same Penalty was incurred by those who beat their Parents. Neither was this confined to their immediate Parents, but equally understood of their Grandfathers, Grandmothers, and other Progenitors.

When Persons, admitted to appear for the Office of *Archon*, were examin'd concerning their Life and Behaviour, one of the first Questions examin'd was, whether they had honour'd their Parents? Herein if they were found faulty, their Suit was rejected.

Yet their were some Cases wherein the Lawgiver excused Children from maintaining their Parents, as when they had been bred up to no Calling or Profession, whereby they might be enabled to subsist in the World; for the Care and Trouble of Parents in educating their Children being the main Foundation of those Duties they were to expect from them, their Default herein was thought to absolve their Children from their Allegiance. In like manner, such as were prostituted by their Parents, were not compell'd to maintain them (*b*). The Sons of Harlots were also declar'd to lie under no Obligation of relieving their Fathers, because they who keep Company with Harlots are not supposed to design the Procreation of Children, but their own Pleasures, and therefore have no Pretence to upbraid them with Ingratitude, whose very Birth they made a Scandal and Reproach to them (*c*).

As the Unkindness of Parents was made a sufficient Excuse for Children to deny them Relief in their old Age, so the Disobedience or Extravagance of Children, whether natural or adopted (*d*), frequently deprived them of the Care and Estate of their Parents; yet the *Athenian* Lawgiver allowed not Fathers to disinherit their Children out of Passion, or slight Prejudices, but required their Appearance before certain Judges appointed to have Cognizance of such Matters, where, if the Children were found to deserve so severe a Sentence, the publick Crier was order'd to proclaim, that such a Person rejected the Criminal, whose Name was then repeated, from being his Son; whence to disinherit a Son is called: ἀποκηρύξαι τὸν υἱόν, and the Person so disinherited ἀποκηρυκτός (*e*). To be disinherited was likewise called ἐκπίπτειν τῷ γένει; to be received again, ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι εἰς τὸ γένος. It may be farther observed, that Parents were allowed to be reconciled to their Children, but after that could never abdicate them again, lest ἀπείραστοι τῶν παιδῶν αἱ τιμωρίαι, κ' ὅτε αἰδῶ, the Punishments of Children should become endless, and their Fears perpetual, according to *Lucian* (*f*).

When any Man either thro' Dotage, or other Infirmities, became unfit to manage his Estate, his Son was allowed to impeach

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to invest him with the present Possession of his Inheritance. There is an Allusion to this Law in *Aristophanes*, who has introduced the Son of *Strepsiades* thus speaking. (a) :

Οἱ μοι· τί δράσω παραφρονῶντι τῷ πατρὶς
Πότερον παρανοίας αὐτὸν εἰσαγαγόν, ἢ λω.

And there is a remarkable Story concerning *Sophocles*, who being accused by *Jophon*, and his other Sons, of neglecting his Affairs thro' Dotage, read to the Judges his Tragedy called *Oedipus Coloneus*, which he had then lately composed ; whereupon he was acquitted (b).

C H A P. XVI.

Of their Times of Eating.

THE following Account of the *Grecian* Entertainments may not unfitly be divided into five Parts, wherein shall be described,

First, The Times of Eating.

Secondly, The several Sorts and Occasions of Entertainments.

Thirdly, The Materials whereof those Entertainments consisted.

Fourthly, The Ceremonies before Entertainments.

Fifthly, The Ceremonies at Entertainments.

As for the Times of Eating, they, according to *Athenæus* (c), were four every Day. 1. *Ακράτισμα*, the Morning Meal, so termed because it was customary at this Time to eat Pieces of Bread dipt in Wine unmix'd with Water, which in *Greek* is called *ἄκρατον*. This Meal, is by *Homer* called *ἄρισον*, which Name was either derived ἀπὸ τῷ ἀείρειν, from its being first taken away ; or rather ἀπὸ τῷ ἀρίσῃν, because the Heroes immediately went to the War from this Meal, and there valiantly behaved themselves, as we are informed by the Scholiast on that Author (d) ; who likewise tells us, that the Time of this Meal was about the rising of the Sun. Sometimes it was termed *διατησιμὸς*, *Jentaculum*, Breakfast. 2. *Δείπνον*, so named, as the same Scholiast was of Opinion, because after this Meal δειπῶντες, it was usual to return to the War, or other Labours, whence τῷ ἀρίσῳ συνωνυμῆι, it sometimes is synonymous to

Οἱ δ' ἄρα δεῖπνον ἔλονται, ἀπὸ δ' αὐτῷ θνήσκουσιν.

3. Διλιπνόν, sometimes also termed ἱσπέρισμα, the Afternoon Meal.
 4. Δείπνον, the Supper, τὸ καθ' ἡμᾶς λεγόμενον δεῖπνον, which afterwards among the latter *Grecians* was termed δεῖπνον according to the forementioned Scholiast, who will have δείπνον to be so named from ἰαύειρον, that Meal being eaten ὅταν εἰς τὸ ἰαύειν πορευώμεθα, the last before we go to sleep. *Philemon*, as he is cited by *Athenæus*, thus enumerates the Times of Eating. 1. Ἀράτιμα. 2. Ἀριστον. 3. Ἐσπέρισμα. 4. Δείπνον. But the forementioned Scholiast, with whom most other Authors agree as to this Particular, reports, τρισὶ τροφαῖς τὰς παλαιὰς χρῆσθαι, that the ancient *Greeks* had only three Meals a Day, and leaves out the third Meal, called διλιπνόν. And they who have made διλιπνόν, or ἱσπέρισμα, to be a distinct Meal from the δείπνον, seem to have had no better Foundation for that Distinction than that Verse of *Homer*,

—οὐ δ' ἔρχο διελήσας.

Where the Word διελήσας, by a mistaken Interpretation, was understood of taking Meat, whereas it was only meant of abiding or remaining in a certain place in the Afternoon. And this Sense of that Passage was, in the Opinion of *Athenæus*, so certain, that in another place (a) he pronounces those Men to be γυλόες, οἱ φασκοῦντες ὅτι τέσσαρας ἡμέρας ἐλάμβανον τροφάς, ridiculous, who say that the ancient *Greeks* used to eat four Meals a Day.

Others are of Opinion that the primitive *Greeks* had only two Meals a Day, viz. ἄριστον and δείπνον, and that the rest are only different Names of these. And *Athenæus* (b) himself affirms, that no Man can be produced παρὰ τῷ ποιητῇ τρεῖς λαμβάνει τροφάς, eating thrice a Day in *Homer*. Neither is it to be doubted but that in those early Ages the way of Living was very frugal and temperate, and it was thought sufficient if they had a moderate Breakfast, and after the Business and Labour of the Day was over, refreshed themselves with a plentiful Meal; whence *Plato* wonder'd that the *Sicilians* and *Italians* should eat two plentiful Meals every Day; and among the *Grecians* it was accounted Extravagance to breakfast or dine to the full; neither was it thought convenient by *Cicero* the Roman (c) bis in die saturday fieri, twice a Day to eat to the full; and so temperate were the ancient Romans, that viles & rusticos cibos ante ipsos focos sumserunt, eosque ipsos capere nisi ad vesperam non licuit (d), they lived upon very mean Food, and used not to allow themselves that till the Evening; whence *Isidorus* (e) explaining the Words ante and post, whereby the Supper or

C H A P. XVII.

Of the several sorts of Entertainments.

IN the primitive Ages, if we may believe *Athenæus* (a), *οἷσα συμποσία συναγωγή τὴν αἰτίαν εἰς θεὸν ἀνέφερε*, all Meetings at Entertainments were occasioned by their Devotion to the Gods; neither was it usual either to indulge themselves with the free Use of Wine or Dainties, *εἰ μὴ διῶν ἵνα τοῦτο δρῶμαι*, unless they did it on a religious Account, as the same Author affirms (b); for on festival Days they used to rest from their Labours, and to live more plentifully than at other times, believing, in the Words of *Ovid*, that the Gods were present at their Tables on such Occasions;

——— *mensæ credere adesse Deos* (c).

And out of this Opinion, *τὰς ἐοδαὺς σωφρόνως καὶ κοσμίως διῆγον*, they behaved themselves with Sobriety and Decency at their festival Entertainments; neither did they drink to Excess, but having moderately refreshed themselves, offered a Libation to the Gods, and then returned home, as we are informed by *Athenæus* (d).

Afterwards, when a more free way of Living was in use, we find mention of three sorts of Entertainments, *viz.* *εἰλαπίνη*, *γάμος*, and *ἔρανος*, which are together enumerated in that Verse of *Homer*,

Εἰλαπίνη, ἢ γάμος, ἢ ἐρανος ἐκ τῶν τὰ δὲ γ' ἐστὶν

Whence there are commonly said to have been three distinct sorts of Entertainments among the ancient *Grecians*; but these may be reduced to two, *εἰλαπίνη* and *ἔρανος*, under one of which, *γάμος*, the Marriage Entertainment, may be comprehended. The first of these (*εἰλαπίνη*) is sometimes termed *ὑποχία*, and *ἀστέροιοι δῖνοι*, and was an Entertainment provided at the Expence of one Man. On the contrary, *ἔρανος*, was an Entertainment made at the common Charge of all present, being so named *ἀπὸ τῆ συνεισφοράς καὶ συμφέρεως ἑκάστου*, because every Man contributed his Proportion, as we learn from *Athenæus* (e), who likewise reports that this Entertainment was sometimes termed *ἀγῶν*: hence the Guests

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Contribution by a particular Name, *χωῖν*. The Persons who collected the Contributions were called by the same Name with the Guests, *ἱρανταί*.

Hither may be referred *δῶπον συναγώγιμοι*, mentioned in the Fragments of *Alexis*, which is by *Menander* termed *συναγώγιον*. Both Names are derived from *συναγίσι*, which by a peculiar Use signified *μετ' ἀλλήλων πίνειν*, to drink together. But whether this Entertainment was the same with *ἱρανταί*, *Athenæus* has professed himself to be uncertain (a).

Here must also be mentioned *δῶπα ἐπιδοσίμα*, or *ἐξ ἐπιδομάτων*, Entertainments, wherein some of the Guests contributed more than their exact Proportion; to do which is termed *ἐπιδοῦναι*.

To this place also must be reduced *τὸ ἀπὸ σκυριδοῦ*, in *Latin* called *e sportula cæna*: *ὅταν τις αὐτὸς αὐτῷ σκυρῖδας δῶπον, ἢ συνδῆς εἰς σκυριδί, παρὰ τινα διωπῇσιν ἢ*, when any Man having provided his own Supper, puts it into a Basket, and goes to eat it at another's House, as we learn from *Athenæus* (b). Different from this was the *Roman Sportula*, which was an Alms received by Clients from their rich Patrons, in a Basket of that Name, whereof we have frequent mention in *Juvenal*, *Martial*, and the Histories of the *Roman Emperors*. This Custom is also mentioned by *Hesychius*, who tells us, that *ἀπὸ σκυριδοῦ δῶπον* signifies *τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ δῶπου ἀργύριον ἐν σκυριδί λαβεῖν*, to receive in a Basket a Piece of Silver, or Fragments of Meat instead of a Supper. Which Explication of that Expression, tho' rather taken from the Writers of the *Roman* than *Grecian* Affairs, gave Occasion to the Mistake of *Meursius*, who in his learned Commentary upon *Lycophron*, confounds the *Grecian σκυρίς* with the *Sportula* of *Rome*.

The *ἱρανοί* being provided at less Expence than other Entertainments, wherein one Person sustained the whole Charge, were generally most frequented, and are recommended by the wise Men of those Times, as most apt to promote Friendship and good Neighbourhood; whence *Hesiod* has left this Advice (c);

Μηδὲ πολυξίνοι δαιτὸς δνοπέμφιλον εἶναι·

Εκ κοινῆ πλείων τε χάρις δαπάνη τ' ὀλιγίστη.

They were also for the most part managed with more Order and Decency, *φειδωλῶς ἥσθιον ὡς τὰ πολλὰ οἱ ἱρανταί ὡς ἂν ἴδιον ἐσθίουσιν ἱρανταί*, because the Guests, who only eat of their own Collation, were usually more sparing than when they were feasted at another Man's Expence, as we are informed by *Eustathius* (d); who

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that *Minerva* in *Homer*, having seen the Intemperance and unseemly Actions of *Penelope's* Courtiers, concludes their Entertainment was not *ἔρανος*, provided at the common Charge, but *εἰλαπίν*, or *γάμος*, and furnished at the Expences of a single Person (a) ;

Εἰλαπίν, ἢ γάμος, ἱππεὶς ἐκ ἔρανος τὰ δὲ γ' ἔστιν,
Ὡς μοι ὑβρίζοντες ὑπερφιάλως δοκίμωσι
Δύνουσθαι κατὰ δῶμα· νειμυσσῆσαις κεν ἀνὴρ
Αἴσχια πολλὰ ὀρώων, ὅστις πινυλὸς γε μέλλεται.

They who were present without contributing towards the Entertainment were termed *ἀστυβόλοι*, in which Condition were Poets and Singers, and others who made Diversion for the Company ; whence that Saying of *Antiphanes* in *Athenæus* (b) ;

Ἀκαπνα γὰρ αἰὲ ἀοιδὸι δύμεν.

We Singers always feast without Smoke.

For *ἀκαπνα δύειν*, to feast or kill without Smoke, is a proverbial Phrase for such as partake of Entertainments without the Charge and Trouble of providing them ; whence in *Leonides's* Epigram to *Cæsar*, there was this Expression ;

Καλλιόπης γὰρ ἀκαπτοι αἰὲ δύει.

Calliope always kills without Smoke.

Whereby is meant, that the *Muses*, and their Favourites, are always entertained at other Mens Expence ; hence *ἀστυβόλος* is sometimes taken for an useless Person, who is maintained by other Men, and contributes nothing towards the Charge. An Example whereof we find in *Plutarch* (c), where he relates the celebrated Fable of *Menenius Agrippa*, in which the rest of the Members are said to accuse the Belly, ὡς μόνος ἀργῷ ἢ ἀστυβόλου καθιζομένῳ, that when they all had some Use or Employment, the alone remained idle, and contributed nothing to the common Service.

Lastly, It must not be omitted, that there were in many Places publick Entertainments, at which a whole City, or a Tribe, or any other Body or Fraternity of Men were present ; these were termed by the general Names of *συσσίτια*, *πανδαισίαι*, &c. or sometimes from the Body of Men who were admitted, *δημοδοῖναι* *διπνια* *δημόσια*, and *δεμόλιον*, *φρατρικὰ*, *φυλετικὰ*, &c. according as those of the same Borough (*δήμος*) Fraternity (*φρατρία*) or Tribe (*φυλή*) met together. And the Provision was sometimes furnished by Contribution, sometimes by the Librality of some of the richer

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these Entertainments, which were in some Places appointed by the Laws, was to accustom Men to Parsimony and Frugality, and to promote Peace and good Neighbourhood. They were first instituted in *Italy* by King *Italus*, from whom that Country received its Name, as we are informed by *Aristotle* (a). The next to these in order of Time were those appointed by King *Minos* in *Crete*, after whose Example *Lycurgus* instituted the publick Entertainments at *Sparta*, tho' the Name was varied; for, as *Plutarch* reports in his Life of the *Spartan* Lawgiver, τὰ συσσίτια Κρήτες μὲν ἀνδρεία, οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ φειδίτια προσαγορεύουσιν, the *Cretans* term their *Syssitia*, or publick Entertainments, ἀνδρεία, and the *Lacedæmonians* φειδίτια; yet this Difference was not primitive, if we may believe *Aristotle*, who affirms, that τὸ γὰρ ἀρχαῖον ἐκάλεον οἱ Λάκωνες ἢ φειδίτια, ἀλλὰ ἀνδρεία, καθάπερ οἱ Κρήτες, anciently the *Lacedæmonians* did not use the Name of φειδίτια, but that of ἀνδρεία, which was the *Cretan* Word. These Entertainments were managed with the utmost Frugality, and Persons of all Ages were admitted, the younger sort being obliged by the Lawgiver to repair hither, as to διδασκαλεῖα σοφροσύνης, Schools of Temperance and Sobriety, where by the Examples and Discourse of the elder Men, which was generally instructive, they were trained to good Manners and useful Knowledge. The *Athenians* had likewise their *Syssitia*, as particularly that wherein the Senate of 500, together with such Men who, for the publick Services, or eminent Merit of themselves or their Ancestors, were thought worthy of this Honour, were entertain'd at the publick Expence; and many others both at *Athens* and in other Places, are mentioned by the *Greek* Authors, to enumerate which would require a larger Compass than our present Design will admit.

C H A P. XVIII.

Of the Materials whereof the Entertainments consisted.

IN the primitive Times Men lived upon such Fruits as sprung out of the Earth without Art or Cultivation, and desired no sort of Drink besides that which the Fountains and Rivers afforded; thus *Lucretius* has described the Food then used (b);

*Quæ sol atque imbres dederant, quod terra crearet
Sponte sua, satis id placabat peñora donum.*

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Arcadia upon Acorns (*a*); and so celebrated were the *Arcadians* for living upon that sort of Diet, that they are distinguished in *Lycophron* (*b*) by the Name of *βελωνφάγοι*, Acorn-eaters. Most other Nations in *Greece* made use also of Acorns. Hence it was customary at *Athens*, when they kept their Marriage Festivals, for a Boy to bring in a Bough full of Acorns, and a Plate covered with Bread, proclaiming *Εφυγον κικλόν, εὔρον ἄμεινον*, *I have escaped the worse, and found the better*; which was done in memory of their leaving the use of *Acorns* for that of Bread, and hath been elsewhere related. At *Rome* also the *corona civica* was composed *fronde quernæ*, *quoniam cibus vitæque antiquissimus quernus capi solitus sit* (*c*), of Oak Leaves, because that Tree afforded the most ancient Food; for the same Reason some of the Trees which bear Acorns were termed in Greek *φάγοι*, from *φάγειν*, to eat, and in *Latin* *Esculi*, from *Esca*, which signifies Food (*d*); and as *Macrobius* (*e*) hath observed, *Meminit vel fabulatur antiquitas glande prius Et baccit alitos, sero de sulcis sperasse alimoniam*. Ancient Authors have either delivered upon their Knowledge, or feigned, that in the first Ages Men lived upon Acorns and Berries, and were for a long time unacquainted with the Art of ploughing the Earth for Corn; nevertheless they believed that in the Golden Age, when Men enjoy'd all sorts of Plenty and Prosperity, the Earth produced Corn without Cultivation. Thus *Hesiod* reports in his Description of those happy Times (*f*);

——— *ἰσθλὰ δὲ πάντα*
Τοῖσιν ἔην καρπὸν δ' ἔφερε ζείδωρος ἄρεα
Αὐτομάτῃ πολλὸν τε καὶ ἀφθοιον.—————

But this Age being expired, the Earth (as they imagined) became unfruitful, and Men falling into extreme Ignorance and Barbarity, lived, in *Macrobius's* Language, *non multum a ferarum asperitate dissimiles* (*g*), not unlike to brute Beasts, till *Ceres* taught them the Art of Sowing, and several other useful Inventions, the Memory whereof was many Ages after celebrated on their festival Days, as hath been elsewhere observed. The first whom *Ceres* taught to sow and to till the Ground was *Triptolemus*, by whom that Knowledge was communicated to his Countrymen the *Athenians*. Afterwards she imparted the same Art to *Eumelus*, a Citizen of *Patra* in *Acbaia*, by whom it was first introduced into that Country; as it was also by *Arcas* into *Arcadia* (*h*). Some farther report, that the Invention of making and baking Bread is owing to *Pan*. And we

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imported to Mankind, as *Artemidorus* (a) hath observed ; and that it was *antiquissimum in cibis*, the most ancient sort of Victual, *Atbeniense ritu*, *Menandro auctore apparet*, & *gladiatorum cognomine*, *qui herdearii vocantur*, appears both from the Custom of the *Atbenians* mentioned by *Menander*, which is elsewhere described, and from the Name of those Gladiators, who are called *herdearii* from the Latin Name of Barley, as *Pliny* (b) hath related. But in more civil Ages, to use the same Author's Words, *Panem ex herdeo antiquis usitatum vita damnavit, quadrupedum tradidit refectibus*, Barley Bread came to be the Food of Beasts only ; nevertheless it was still used by the poorer sort, who were not able to furnish their Tables with better provision ; and in the Roman Camp, as *Vegetius* (c) hath informed us, Soldiers, who hath been guilty of any Offence, *herdeum pro frumentis cohebantur accipere*, were fed with Barley instead of Bread-Corn. An Example whereof we find in the second *Punic* War, wherein the Cohorts, which lost their Standards, had an Allowance of Barley assign'd by *Marcellus* (d). And *Augustus Cæsar*, *Cohortes, si quæ cessissent loco, decimatas herdeo pavit*, commonly punished the Cohorts which gave ground to the Enemy, by a Decimation, and allowing them no Provision but Barley, as *Suetonius* reports in the Life of that Emperor (e).

The first Ages of Men, as *Plato* (f) reports, *σαρκὴν ἀνιχόλο, ὡς ἐκ θύου ἢ ἰσθίου, ἐδὶ τοὺς τῶν θεῶν βωμούς ἀμάλαι μάλιστα*, wholly abstained from Flesh, out of an Opinion that it was unlawful to eat, or to pollute the Altars of the Gods with the Blood of living Creatures. The same is affirmed by *Dicæarchus* in *Porphyry*, who hath left us a Tract concerning Abstinence from Animals, and by many others. Swine were used for Food first of all Animals, they being wholly unserviceable to all other Purposes, and having, in the Language of *Cicero* (g), *animam pro sale ne putrescant*, their Souls only instead of Salt to keep them from putrifying. As on the contrary, for several Ages after Flesh came to be eaten, it was thought unlawful to kill Oxen, because they are very serviceable to Mankind and Partners of their Labour in cultivating the Ground, as hath been elsewhere observed (h). It was also unusual to kill young Animals ; whence, as *Athenæus* is of opinion, *Priamus* is introduced by *Homer* reproving his Sons for feasting upon young Lambs ; the reason whereof was, either that it favoured of Cruelty to deprive those of Life which had scarce tasted the Joys of it, or that it tended to the Destruction of the Species ; whence, at a time when Sheep were scarce at *Athens*, there was a Law enacted, to forbid *ἀνὴρ ἀγρὸς γίνεσθαι*, the eating of Lambs which had never been shorn, as hath been observed from *Philochronus*. Neither did the Ancients seek for Dainties or Rarities, but were content

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with Sheep, Goats, Swine, Oxen, when it was become lawful to kill them, what they caught in Hunting, what was most easy to be provided, and afforded the most healthful Nourishment. Hence all the *Grecians* in *Homer* live upon a simple Diet; Young and Old, Kings and private Men, are contented with the same Provision. *Agamemnon* entertains *Ajax* after his Combat with *Hector*, with the Chine of an Ox, as a Reward of his Valour. *Alcinous*, King of *Phæacia*, who affected a more splendid and delicate Way of Living, feeds upon Beef. *Menelaus* sets before *Telemachus* a Chine of Beef at the Marriage Feast of his Son. And the Courtiers of *Penelope*, tho' given to all Sorts of Pleasure, are never entertained either with Fish or Fowl, or any Delicacies. This, with several other things to the same Purpose, hath been observed by *Athenæus* (a); who has likewise remarked, that *Homer's* Heroes neither boil their Meat, nor dress it with Sauces, but only roast it. This was in most Places the ancient Way of dressing Meat; whence *Servius* (b) also reports, that *heroicis temporibus non vestebantur carne elixa*, in the heroical Ages they did not eat boiled Flesh, and observes farther out of *Varro*, that among the *Romans* the primitive Diet was Roast, then Boil'd, and last of all Broths came into use. Nevertheless, as *Athenæus* hath elsewhere taken notice, even in *Homer's* Time, boil'd Meat was sometimes provided; which appears both from that Entertainment in the *Odyssey*, where an Ox's Foot is thrown at *Ulysses*, it being well known, that (in that Author's Words) ποδα βόειον ἕδαις ὀπίσσω, no Man ever roasts an Ox's Foot; and also from the express Words of the 21st *Iliad* (c):

Ως δὲ λίβης ζεῖ ἔνδοι ἐπιγύμνος πυρὶ πολλῷ,
κρίσση μελδόμενος ἀπαλοφθές σιάλοιο.

This was the Way of Living among the ancient *Greeks*; neither were the *Lacedæmonians* of later Ages less temperate than their Ancestors, so long as they observed the Laws of *Lycurgus*. They had their constant Diet at the *Συσσίτια*, publick Entertainments, wherein the Food was extremely simple, whereof each Person had a certain Proportion allotted. The chief part of the Provision was μέλας ζωμός, the black Broth peculiar to that Nation, which was so unpleasant, that a Citizen of *Sybaris* happening once to be entertain'd at *Sparta*, cried out, "that he no longer wonder'd why the *Lacedæmonians* were the valiantest Soldiers in the World, when any Man "in his right Wits would rather chuse to die a thousand times than "to live upon such vile Food (d)." And 'tis reported that *Age-*

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of *Lacedæmon* were ἐθροποιὶ κείως μόνι, ὁ δὲ παρὰ τὸτο ἰωσιγάμαν, ἰξηλαύνειο Σπάρτης, ὡς τὰ τῶν γαστήρων καθαρεία, only Dressers of Flesh, and they who understood any thing farther in the Art of Cookery were cast out from *Sparta*, as the Filth of Men infected with the Plague (a). Hence *Mithæcus*, a very eminent Cook, designing to follow his Profession in that City, was immediately commanded by the Magistrates to depart (b). This Custom was not unlike that of the ancient Heroes, who kept no Cooks, but sometimes dressed their own Provision, as we find done by *Achilles* in *Homer* (c);

τάμνει δ' ἄρα δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς,
καὶ τὰ μετὰ εὖ μυστρεῖ, καὶ ἄμφ' ὀδύλοισιν ἵπποις.

And sometimes the κέρυκες, Heralds, those Servants ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε, of Gods and Men, as they are called by the Poet, who were not only employed in Civil and Military Affairs, but also perform'd many of the holy Rites at Sacrifices, served as Cooks; whence the ancient Cooks are by some Authors reported to have been *Διλικῆς ἔμπειροι*, skilled in the Art of divining by Sacrifices, and *προΐσαντο γάμων καὶ θυσιῶν*, had the Management of Marriage-Fests and Sacrifices (d).

But in other Cities of Greece, and in later Ages, the Art of Cookry was in better Esteem, tho' even *Heraclides*, and *Glaucus* the *Locrensiæ*, who wrote Books concerning it, affirm, ἔχ' ἀρεμότητι τοῖς τυχεῖσιν ἰλευθέρων, that it was unworthy of the meanest Person who was free-born, as we are informed by *Athenæus* (e). The *Sicilian* Cooks were prized above any others, as the same Author (f) has proved by Examples out of *Cratinus* and *Antiphanes*. *Mithæcus* before-mentioned was of that Nation; and the *Sicilians* were so remarkable for their luxurious way of living, that *Σικελικὴ τραπέζα*, a *Sicilian Table*, was a proverbial Phrase, as we are informed by *Suidas*, ἐπὶ τῶν πάντων πολυτελεῶν καὶ τευφελῶν, for one furnish'd very profusely and luxuriously.

Next to the *Lacedæmonian* Tables, those of *Athens* are said to have been furnished most frugally, the *Athenian* Soil being unfruitful, and such as could supply no more Provision than was just necessary for the Support of its Inhabitants. Hence *Lynceus* the *Samian* is cited by *Athenæus* (g) for contemning the *Athenian* Entertainment;

Μάγειρ', ὁ θύων ὁ διηπίζων τ' ἐμὲ,
Ρόδιος· ἐγὼ δ' ὁ κεκλημένος, Περὶ ρόδιος.
Οὐδέτερος ἡμῶν ἤδεται τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς
Διπλοῖς· ἀνδρία γὰρ ἐστὶν Ἀτλική.

And the same Author goes on in his Description of the Meanness of the Provisions at *Athens*. which were so exceedingly parsimoni-

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Suppers at *Athens* or those at *Chalcis* were more magnificent? replied, that the (*πρῶτος*) first Course at *Chalcis* was preferable to the whole Entertainment at *Athens*. Hence to live *Ἀθηναῖος*, like an *Athenian*, is to live penuriously. An Example of which Proverb we find cited by *Athenæus* out of *Alexis*, who has there also left us a large Description of an *Athenian* Entertainment (*a*).

From the *Grecian* Meat let us, in the next place, proceed to their Drink. And in the primitive Times, as hath been already observed, Water was the general Drink, which they were supplied with from the nearest Fountain. Afterwards hot Fountains came into request by the Example of *Hercules*, who being very much fatigu'd with Labour, refreshed himself at a hot Fountain, which (as Fables-tell us) was discovered to him by *Minerva*, or *Vulcan*; and this sort of Water was thought extremely beneficial on the like Occasions; whence *Plato* (*b*) commends his *Atlantick* Island, which he describes to be the most delightful Country in the World, on account of its hot as well as cold Fountains; and *Homer*, by whom we are furnished with Examples of all sorts of poetical Topicks, relates, that one of the Fountains of the River *Scamander* was exquisitely cold, and the other hot (*c*); yet, to use the Words of *Julius Pollux* (*d*), *παρ' Οὐρανὸν ὕψι οἷόν τ' ἐστὶν θερμὸν ὕδωρ ἐκ πηλῆς*, it will be difficult to infer from *Homer*, that hot Waters were drank in the Heroick Ages, but they seem only to be used for bathing, unless prescribed by the Physicians, as was usually done to old Men, and others who had weak Stomachs, as appears from the Example of *Hippocrates* produced by the same Author, who by several other Instances, yet all later than the Age of *Homer*, has here proved, that this sort of Drink was used by the ancient *Grecians*; however, 'tis certain that, at least in later Ages, hot Waters were in request amongst the *Grecians*, and from them came to be used at *Rome*; whence the *Roman* Authors mention the use of them as a *Grecian* Custom. Thus *Plautus* (*e*) speaking of the *Grecians*,

Ubi, quid surripuere, aperto capitulo caldum bibunt.

And *Horace* (*f*),

Quo Chium pretio cadum

Merchemur? quis aquam temperet ignibus?

Where *Acron* explains *temperet* by *tepesaciat*, *nam tepesactis aquis solebant Græci vinum temperare*. For the *Greeks* (saith he) used to temper their Wine with warm Water (*g*).

But there is more frequent mention of cold Water than of hot,

had several Methods to preserve thro' all the Heat of Summer ; there is one mentioned by *Plutarch* (a), who relates that it was usual to wrap it in Clothes and Straw ; to which Custom *St. Augustin* alludes in the following Words : *Quis dedit paleæ tam frigidam vim, ut obrutas nives servet ; vel tam fervidam, ut poma immatura maturaret ?* Who has endued the Straw with such a degree of Cold as to preserve Ice ; or with so much heat as to bring up-ripe Fruit to Maturity ? *Chares* the *Mitylenæan*, as he is cited by *Athenæus* (b), reports, that when *Alexander* the Great besieged *Petra*, a City of *India*, he filled 30 Ditches with Ice, which being covered with oaken Boughs, remained a long time entire. And in the same place there are described several other Arts of making their Drink cool. The Custom of preserving Ice was so common amongst the *Romans*, that they had Shops wherein it was publicly exposed to Sale ; whence *Seneca* thus inveighs against the *Roman* Luxury and Extravagance (c) : *Unguentarios Lacedæmontii expulere, & propterea cedere sinibus suis jusserunt, quia oleum disperderent : quid illi si vidissent nivis reponendæ officinas ?* The *Lacedæmonians* banished the Sellers of Ointment, and commanded them to be gone with the utmost Speed out of their Coutry ; what would have been done had they seen Shops to reposit and preserve Ice ?

The Invention of Wine was by the *Egyptians* ascribed to *Osiris*, by the *Latins* to *Saturn*, and by the *Greeks* to *Bacchus*, to whom divine Honours were paid on that Account. 'Tis reported by *Hecataeus* the *Milesian*, that the Use of Wines was first discovered in *Ætolia* by *Orestheus* the Son of *Deucalion*, whose Grandson *Oeneus*, the Father of *Ætolus*, from whom that part of *Greece* received its Name, was so called from οἶναι, which is the old Name of *Vines*. Others derive οἶνος, the Name of Wine, from this *Oeneus*, who (as they report) was the first who discovered the Art of pressing Wine from Grapes. Thus *Nicander* :

Οἶνός δ' ἐν κοίλοισιν ἀποθήκας διατίσσει
οἶνον ἔλλοισι.—

And to the same purpose *Melanippides* the *Milesian* in *Athenæus* (d),

Ἐπώνυμόν, ὃ δέσποτ', οἶνος Οἰνέως.

Others will have the Vine to have been first discover'd in *Olympia*, near the River *Alpheus* ; of which Opinion was *Theopompus* of *Chios*. And *Hellanicus* reports that it was first known at *Plinthion*, a Town of *Ægypt* : hence the *Ægyptians* are thought to derive their

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In *Greece* the Matrons and Virgins drank Wine, as appears from the Examples of *Nausicaæ* and her Companions in *Homer* (a). And because the same Freedom was rarely allowed that Sex in other Countries, the *Grecian* Women were ill thought of on that account (b). It was likewise customary to give it to Children, unless the Management of *Achilles* was different from that of other Infants; for thus *Homer* has introduced *Phœnix* speaking to him (c);

Πρὶν γ' ὅτε δὴ σ' ἐκ' ἐμοῖσιν ἐγὼ γύναισσι καδίσας,
 Ὁψα τ' ἄσαιμι προλαμῶν, καὶ οἶνον ἐπισχών.
 Παλλάϊ μοι καλίδεντας ἐπὶ γήδεσσι χιθῶνα
 Οἶνε ἀποδύζων ἐν νηπίη ἀλκιμῇ.

The Wine was generally mixed with Water, whence Drinking-cups were called *κρατήρες*, παρὰ τὸ κραάσασθαι, from the Mixture made in them; which Derivation is mentioned both by the *Grammarians* and *Athenæus*, and there are some Allusions to it in *Homer*; for the Custom of drinking Wine temper'd with Water obtained in the time of the *Trojan War*, and the most primitive Ages; hence the following Verse (d),

Οἱ μὲν ἄρ' οἶνον ἔμισγον ἐνὶ κρατήρεσσι καὶ ὕδαρ.

Some ascribe the first Use of it to *Melampus* (e), others to *Staphylus* the Son of *Silenus*. *Philochorus* is said to report (f), that *Amphiclyon*, King of *Athens*, learned to mix Wine with Water from *Bacchus* himself, on which account he dedicated an Altar to that God under the Name of *Οἰδίας*, because from that Time Men began to return from Entertainments sober, and ὄρθοι, upright. The same King enacted a Law, that only Wine temper'd with Water should be drank at Entertainments, which being afterwards disused, was revived by *Solon* (g). There was no certain Proportion observed in this Mixture; some to one Vessel of Wine poured in two of Water; others to two of Wine mixed five of Water; and others more, or less, as they pleased (h.) The *Lacedæmonians* εἰς τὸ πῦρ ἔωσι τὸν οἶνον, ἰσ. ἅ τὸ πῆμασι μετὰ ἀφελήδῃ, καὶ μετὰ τέσσαρά ἐτι χρεῶνται, used to boil their Wine upon the Fire till the fifth part was consumed, and then after four Years were expired, began to drink it, as we are informed by *Democritus* (i); and the same Custom is also mentioned by *Palladius*.

Nevertheless most of the *Grecians*, and particularly the *Lacedæmonians*, sometimes did ἀκραγίστοιον πίνειν, drink Wine with little or no Water, which they termed *ἐπισκυδίσαι*, to act like a *Scythian*;

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ed σκυθικὴ πωτὴν, or σκυδοπιεῖν and ἀκρασιοποίησις is called σκυθικὴ πόσις; which Expressions came into vogue at Sparta, from the Time that Cleomenes the Spartan, by living and conversing with the Scythians, learned to drink to Excess and Madnefs (a). The Thracians also drank their Wine unmix'd with Water, and both they and the Scythians were generally such Lovers of it, that γυναῖκες τε καὶ πόσις αὐτοὶ κατὰ τῶν ἱμαλίων (ἄκρατον) καταχρόμενοι, καλὸν καὶ εὐδαιμόνιον ἐπισηδεύμα ἐπισηδεύειν νομομάσσι, the Women and all the Men thought it a most happy Life to fill themselves with unmix'd Wine, and to pour it upon their Garments (b). Hence also by Θρακία πόσις, the Thracians way of drinking, was meant ἀκρασιοποίησις, drinking Wine not mix'd with Water (c).

Some used to perfume their Wines, and Wine so used was termed οἶνον μυρρίνης according to *Ælian* (d), and sometimes μυρρίνης, for that Word, according to *Hesychius's* Explication, signifies πόσις, ἢ ἐπιχειτο μύρεν, a Potion mixed with Odours. Different from this was the Murrhina of the Romans, as also the ἰσμενισμὸς οἶνον, Wine mingled with Myrrh, mentioned in St. Mark's Gospel, wherewith the Malefactors were commonly intoxicated before they suffered. Several other Ingredients were mix'd with Wine, sometimes ἄλφις, Meal, whence οἶνον ἀπηλφισμένον, Wine thicken'd with Meal, which was very much used by the Persians (e). They had also many sorts of made Wines, as οἶνον κρέθινον, Cerevisia, Wine made of Barley, and οἶνον ἐψηλός, Palm-Wine, sometimes termed ὄξος ἐψηλόν, for ὄξος was a general Name for all made Wines.

C H A P. XIX.

Of the Customs before Entertainments.

THE Person by whom the Entertainment was provided was commonly named ὁ ἐξιάτωρ, ἐξιών, ξενίχων, τῆς συνείας ἡγεμῶν, συμποσίς ἀρχων, συμποσίαρχος, by the Tragedians οἰκοδερῶν, &c.

The Persons entertained by him were termed δαειμῶντες, δαειλεῖς, συμπόται, σύνδαιπνοι, &c. also very often κλητοί, σύγκλητοι, ἐπικλητοί, in which Names is expressed the immediate Cause of their meeting, which was κλήσις, in *Latin*, *vocatio*, an Invitation or Calling by the Entertainer.

The Persons employed to invite the Guests were by the Romans termed *Vocatores*, and by the Greeks κλήτορες, or δειπνοκλήτορες.

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and ἐπιαιτοί, from ἐπίς, which is the Name of the Table, on which the Provision was placed in the Kitchen. Thus ἐπιαιτοί, according to *Pamphilus* in *Athenæus* (a), are οἱ ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλικὴν καλῶντες τράπεζαν, they who invite to the King's Table. Sometimes to invite was termed καταγράφειν, to write down, from the Custom of inscribing the Names of the Persons to be invited upon a Tablet. The Hour was signified at the Invitation, and because they then numbered the Hours by the Motion of the Sun, there is frequent mention of σκιά, the Shade of the Sun, and φοιχιῶν, the Letter of the Dial, on these Occasions. Thus in the following Passage of *Aristophanes* (b),

——— σοὶ δὲ μολύσαι,

Ὅταν ἡ δικέκων φοιχιῶν λιπαρῶς χωρεῖν ἐπὶ δεῖπνον.

Relations often went without Invitation, as hath been observed by *Athenæus* (c) and *Eusebius* from that Verse of *Homer*, where he describes an Entertainment at *Agamemnon's* Tent (d);

Αὐτόμαλ'· δὲ οἱ ἔλθῃς βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Μενέλαος.

Valiant *Menelaus* came to him αὐτόμαλ', that is, αὐτὸ τῷ κληθῆναι, without being invited, as the Scholiast explains that Word. Such as without Invitation, ἐπὶ τῶν κλημῶν ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἀγόμενοι, were brought to the Entertainment by some of those who had been invited (e), were termed σκιαί, Shades, from their following the principal Guests, as Shades do Bodies. The same Persons were by the *Romans* called *umbræ*. Thus in *Horace* (f),

——— quos *Mæcenas* adduxerat umbras.

And in another place (g),

——— locus est & pluribus umbris.

They who forced themselves into other Mens Entertainments were in *Greek* called μυνίαι, in *Latin*, *Mysicæ*, Flies, which was a general Name of Reproach for such as insinuated themselves into any Company where they were not welcome. Thus the Parasite is described by *Antiphanes*,

Θύρας μοχλεύειν, σισμὸς· εἰσπηδᾷ ἀκρί·
Δειπνῶν ἀκλήϊ', μυνία· μὴ ἐξελθῶν, φρέϊας·

In *Plautus* (b) an Entertainment free from unwelcome Guests is

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in another place of the same Author (a), an inquisitive and busy Man, who prys and insinuates himself into the Secrets of others, is termed *Musca*. We are likewise informed by *Horus Apollo* (b), that in *Egypt* a Fly was the Hieroglyphick of an impudent Man, because that Insect being beaten away, still returns again; on which account it is by *Homer* made an Emblem of Courage (c),

Καὶ οἱ μύϊς θάρσος ἐνὶ γένεσσι ἐνῆκεν,
 Ἡ τε καὶ εἰργομένη μάλα περ χροὸς ἀνδρομίοιο,
 Ἰσχανάα δακνέειν, λαρόν τε οἱ αἶμ' ἀνδρώπυα.

The same Persons whom they termed *Musca* at Entertainments, were also called *Μυκόνιοι*, *Myconians*, from the Poverty of that Nation, which put them upon frequenting other Mens Tables oftner than was consistent with good Manners; whence *Pericles* was reflected upon by *Archilochus*, ὡς ἄκλῆον ἐπισπαλόντα εἰς τὰ συμπόσια Μυκόνιον δίκην, as one who intruded into other Mens Entertainments, after the Manner of the *Myconians* (d). But the most common Appellation of such Men, was that of *παράσιτοι*, *Parasites*; which Word, as *Lucian* hath observed, in its primitive Sense, signified only the Companion of Princes and Men of Quality; such were *Patroclus* to *Achilles*, and *Memnon* to *Idomeneus*, or those who had their Diet at the Tables of the Gods, of whom mention has been made in another place (e); but afterwards came to be a Name of Reproach for those who by Flattery, and other mean Arts, used to insinuate themselves to the Tables of other Men; in which Sense it was first used by *Epycharmus*, and afterwards by *Alexis* (f); nevertheless it was common for Friends and Men of Credit to visit one another's Houses at the Times of Entertainment, without expecting a formal Invitation, as appears from that Saying cited by *Eustathius* (g),

Ἀλλήλοις κομίζουσιν εἰς φίλους φίλοι.

And that other in *Plato* (h),

εἰς ἕνα καὶ ἀγαθὸν ἐπὶ δαίτας ἔασιν
 αὐτόμαλοι ἀγαθοί

Which is sometimes thus cited in one hexameter Verse,

αὐτόμαλοι δ' ἀγαθοὶ ἀγαθὸν ἐπὶ δαίτας ἔασιν.

The Number of Guests was unlimited; some chose to invite three, or four, or five at the most; thus *Archestratus* in *Athenæus* (i),

Πρὸς δὲ μιᾷ πάλιν διπνῶν ἑξοδάσις τραπέζῃ
 ἔσθαι δ' ἢ τρεῖς ἢ τέσσαρες οἱ ξυνάπαλαι;
 Ἡ τῶν πάλιν γε μὴ πλείους· ἥδη γὰρ ἂν εἴη
 Μισοφθόρῳ ἀρπαξέων γαστήρων.

And *Athenæus* in another place (a) reports, that among the Ancients μὴ συνδιπνῶν τῶν πάλιν γε πλείους, ὅτι δὲ γε ἡμεῖς ψαμμάκοισι ισμὲν ὄηλον, is was not usual for more than five to sup together, but that in his Time the Numbers were plainly infinite. *Eusebius* hath observed out of *Jamblichus*, that in the *συσσίτια*, common Meals, not above ten were admitted; which in his Opinion was the ordinary Number of Guests at Entertainments in the primitive Times; and hence he thinks it is, that when *Agamemnon* in *Homer* (b) speaks of distributing the Grecian Army at an Entertainment, he mentions only *δεκάδες*, Tens;

Ἡμεῖς δ' εἰς δεκάδας διακοσμηθεῖμεν Ἀχαιοί;
 Τρώων δ' ἄνδρα ἕκατον ἰλοίμεθα οἰνοχοεῖν;
 Πολλὰί κεν δεκάδες δεινοῖαλο οἰνοχόοιο.

But this must only be understood of the Entertainments of private Men, Princes often invited greater Numbers; *Agamemnon* in *Homer* entertains all the Grecian Princes together; and *Alexander the Macedonian* is reported, before his Expedition against *Persia*, σκητὴ καλίστινιάσασθαι ἑκατοστάκλινον πρὸς εὐχίαν, to have furnished a Tent with 100 Beds for an Entertainment (c). And the same Vanity by degrees crept in amongst private Men, insomuch that in *Athenæus's* Time, as hath been before observed, ψαμμάκοισι, infinite Numbers, were invited. Hence it came to pass, that partly to prevent Tumults and Sedition, and partly to restrain the Expensiveness and Prodigality of their Citizens, some Lawgivers thought it necessary to limit the Number of Guests; in particular, no Person at *Athens* was allowed to entertain above thirty at once. In order to put this Statute in Execution, certain Magistrates, called *τυσανονόμοι*, were obliged to go to Entertainments, and to expel thence such as exceeded that Number; and the Cooks who were commonly employ'd to dress the Viſuals at Entertainments, were obliged to give in their Names every time they were hired (d).

This must farther be observed concerning the Guests, that Men and Women were never invited together, as we are informed by *Cicero* (e), wherein the Greeks differed from the Romans, amongst

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“ of a Family can be shewn, who does not inhabit the chief and
 “ most frequented part of the House? Whereas in Greece she ne-
 “ ver appears at any Entertainments, besides those to which none
 “ but Relations are invited, and constantly lives in the innermost
 “ part of the House, which is called γυναικωνίτις, the Womens
 “ Apartment, into which no Man, except near Relations, had
 “ Admission (a).”

Before they went to an Entertainment they washed and anointed themselves ἀπριπείς γὰρ ἦν ἥκειν εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον σὺν ἰδρώτι πολλῷ καὶ κοιορῷ, for it was thought very indecent to go thither defiled with Sweat and Dust, as *Athenæus* (b) hath observed from *Aristotle*. They who came off a Journey, were washed and clothed with Apparel suitable to the Occasion in the House of the Entertainer, before they were admitted to the Feast. Thus we find in *Homer*, where he describes the Reception of *Telemachus* and *Pisistratus* by *Menelaus* (c);

Ες ῥ' ἀσπιδόεντες βάλλεις ἰϋξίτους λῦσαντο·
 Τὸς δ' ἐπεὶ ἔν δμῳαὶ λῦσαν, καὶ χρίσαν ἰλαίῃ,
 Ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρα χλαίνας ἕλας βάλλον ἠδὲ χιλιῶνας,
 Ες ῥὰ θρόνους ἔχοντο παρ' Ἀλκίονη Μενέλαον.

The same Persons also washed their Hands before they sat down to Meat, as appears from the Verses which follow in the same Author (d);

Χίρην δ' ἀμφίπολ' προχόω ἐπίχυνε φέρυσσά
 Κεκληῇ, χρυσίῃ, ὑπὲρ ἀργυρείου λεβητοῦ,
 Νίψασθαι· παρὰ δὲ ξίτην ἱτάνυσσε τράπεζαν·
 Σίτον δ' αἰδοῖσιν τάμιν παρίθηκε φέρυσσά.

And, to mention the Times of washing altogether, it was also customary to wash between every Course, and after Supper; thus *Homer* introduces his Heroes διπνύσας ὀμιλῶσας, εἴτα ἀπονίψαμένους ποιεῖ πάλιν διπνύσας, supping, conversing, then washing, and after that again supping. And *Aristophanes* (e) speaks of bringing ὕδωρ κατὰ χεῖρας μίαν τράπεζαν, Water to wash the Hands after Courses. By them who spoke accurately, to wash the Hands before Supper was termed νίψασθαι; to wash after Supper ἀπονίψασθαι. Hither are to be referred the Words ἀπομάξασθαι, ἱναπομάξασθαι, ἀπονήσαι, and the like, which signify to wipe the Hands. The Towel was termed ἑμαγεῖον, χιρόμακτρον, &c. instead whereof the ancient Greeks used ἀπομαγδαλῖαι, which were τὸ ἐν τῷ ἄρτῳ μαλακὸν καὶ σαλῶδες, the soft and fine part of the Bread, which afterwards they cast τοῖς κυσὶ, to the Dogs. ὅθι καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι κυνάδα τῶν ἀπομαγδαλῖαν καλῶσιν. whence ἀπομαγδαλία is by the *Lacedæmo-*

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nians called κυνίας; and, as the same Author there adds, this Custom is mentioned by *Homer* in the following Verses;

Ὡς δ' ὅταν ἀμφὶ ἀνακλᾷ κύνες δαίτηθεν ἰόνη
Σαῖνός, αἰεὶ γὰρ τε φέρει μυδιγμᾶτα θυμῷ.

It is farther to be observed, that in the washing after Supper they used some sort of σμῆγμα, ἀπορύφειος χάριν, Stuff to scour the Hands (a); for which Use Nitre and Hyssop are mentioned in the holy Scriptures. Lastly, after washing, the Hands were perfumed with Odours, which Custom is expressed in the following Verses of *Antiphanes* or *Epigenes* in *Athenæus* (b);

Καὶ τότε περιπαλήσεις καὶ πονήσεις κατὰ τράπος
Τὰς χεῖρας, εὐφρόνῃ λαβὼν, τὴν γῆν δ' ἄμα.

It may not be improper in this place to add something farther, by way of Digression, concerning the Custom of washing and anointing, which in *Greece* and other hot Countries was so frequent. To wash, is in the Words of *Eusebius*, ἀποδύλον μὲν ἔνθα, ἀναψυχῆς δὲ τινος αἵτιον, a Means both to cleanse the Body from Filth, and refresh it; therefore whenever they ceased from Sorrow and Mourning, it was usual to bathe and anoint themselves; whence *Eurytome* in *Homer* advises *Penelope* to leave off lamenting (c),

Χρῶτ' ἀποψαλίστη, καὶ ἐπιχρίσασα παριέσθῃ.

washing her Body, and anointing her Face. And, as we are informed by *Artemidorus* (d), the ancient *Greeks* commonly bathed ἢ τόλμοι καλαστειψάμενοι, ἢ μεγάλης πικροτάμου ὄντι, after the finishing of a War, or any other great Fatigue. Thus in *Homer*, *Telemachus* and *Pisistratus* are bathed and anointed at *Menelaus's* Palace, after a long Journey; *Diomedes* and *Ulysses*, after their Return from discovering the Manner of their Enemies Encampment,

————— λουσσαμένῳ καὶ ἀλειψαμένῳ λίπ' ἔλαιον
Δείπνῃ ἰφίξάνετην. —————

having bathed and anointed, sat down to Supper. In the heroic Ages, Men and Women, without Distinction, bathed themselves in Rivers; this we find done by *Nausicaæ*, the Daughter of *Alcinous*, King of *Phæacia* (e), and *Europa* in *Moschus* (f),

————— παιδρέτοισι χροῖα πορχοῖσιν Ἀναύρε,

cleanseth her Body in the Mouth of *Anaurus*. *Helena* also and her

Ἀμμις γὰρ πᾶσι συνομάλκις, ἥ δρῶμεν αὐτὰς
Χρυσάμειναις ἀνδρὶ παρ' Εὐρώταο λοῖτροίς;
Τεῖρακις ἐξήκοιτα κόραι, θῆλυς πολαία.

Tho' the Expressions in these Verses are manifestly accommodated to the Institutions of *Lycurgus*, whereby the Virgins were obliged to bathe and accustom themselves to such Exercises as in that Age were only practised by the Men; whence the Poet observes, that it was done ἀδδρῶν, after the manner of Men; which would have been a very improper Expression in the heroical Times, when it was customary for both Sexes to use this Diversion alike. But if the Sea was within a convenient Distance, they commonly bathed in it, rather than in the Rivers, the salt Water being thought, to use the Words of *Athenæus* (a) μάλισα τοῖς νέβροις πρόσφορον, conducive to strengthen the Nerves, by drying up superfluous Humours; thus, to forbear the mention of other Instances, *Diomedes* and *Ulysses* in *Homer*, after a very great Fatigue,

——— ἰδρῶ πολλὸν ἀπενίξοντο θαλάσσην
Εὐσάλης ———

went into the Sea to cleanse themselves from Sweat; and they who lived at a greater Distance from the Sea, sometimes removed thither for their Health's sake. An Example whereof we find in *Minutius Felix*, by one of the Persons, in whose Dialogue it is resolved, *Ostiam petere, amœnissimam civitatem, quod esset corpori meo siccandis humoribus de marinis lavacris blanda & expedita curatio*, to go to the most pleasant City *Ostia*, in order to enjoy the Benefit of bathing in the Sea, which is an easy and expeditious Method of drying up the superfluous Humours of the Body. Hot Baths were also very ancient. *Ἡράκλεια λείρα*, the hot Baths, shewed by *Vulcan*, or, as others say, by *Minerva* to *Hercules*, at a time when he had underwent a very great Fatigue, are celebrated by the Poets. *Pindar* (b) speaks of *Θερμὰ Νυμφῶν λείρα*, the hot Baths of the Nymphs. *Homer* commends one of the Fountains of *Scamander* for its hot Water, in the twenty-second *Iliad*. In the same *Iliad* *Andromache* provides a hot Bath for *Hector*, against his Return from the Battle. *Nestor* in the eleventh *Iliad* orders *Hecamede* to make ready *Θερμὰ λείρα*, an hot Bath; and to mention but one Instance more, the *Phædrians* are said in *Homer's Odyssey* to place their chief Delight in

Εἴματα τ' ἐξημοιβᾶ, λοῖτρά, τε θερμὰ, καὶ εὐναί

Changes of Apparel. hot Baths and Beds: yet hot Baths do not

Baths seem to have been thought hurtful by the Ancients, are probably meant of hot Baths only; and then the following Words, which have been already cited, that Baths were anciently never used but after some very great Fatigue, must be understood in the same Sense; however that be, it is plain from that Author, that ancient *Greeks* βαλανίᾱ ἐκ ἡδίστου, had no *Balneos* like those of latter Times, but ἐν ταῖς ασαμίνδοις ἰλύοισι, washed in certain Vessels called ἀσάμινδοι; which Word, as explained by *Phavorinus* (a), signifies πύλοιοι, or λεχάνη, a large Basin or Vessel to wash in, being derived παρὰ τὸ τὴν ἀσπὴν μύδδην, from taking away the Filth of the Body; whence ἀσάμινδοι is mentioned by *Pollux* among the Vessels which belong to *Balneos*; and the ancient *Romans* had a Vessel in their own Houses, wherein they washed, called *Iuvatrina*, or *Latrina*, which was afterwards termed *Balneum*; and when two Baths came to be used, one hot and another cold, in the Plural *Balnea* (b). Publick *Balneos* were unknown till later Times; *Athenæus* tells us, that in his Age προσφάτως τὰ βαλανίᾱ παρήλθαι, τὴν ἀρχὴν ὅθεν ἔνδοι τῆς πόλεως ἰούσιον αὐτά, they were but lately come into use, and that formerly no such Places were allowed to be within the City (c). The *Balneos* commonly contained the following Rooms:

1. Αποδυτήριον, wherein ἀπιδύοντο τὰ ἱμάτια, they put off their Clothes.
2. Ὑπόκαυτον, or πυρρῆριον, *sudatorium*, a Room most commonly round, and provided with πῦρ ἀκαπνόν, Fire, so contrived that it should not smoke, for the Benefit of those who desired to sweat; it was also termed *Laconicum*, from the frequent use of this way of sweating in *Laconia*.
3. Βαπτιστήριον, a hot Bath.
4. Αἰθρὼν, a cold Bath.
5. Αλειπήριον, the Room wherein they were anointed.

After bathing they always anointed, either ἐμφράττιοις τὰς σωματικὰς πόρας, to close the Pores of the Body, which was especially necessary after the use of hot Baths, or πρὸς τὸ μὴ ξηραίνειν τὸ τῷ ὕδατι ἀποσκληρυνμένα γίνεσθαι τὰ σώματα, lest the Skin should become rough after the Water was dried off it (d). If we may believe *Pliny* (e), they had no better Ointment in the time of the *Trojan War*, than Oil perfumed with odoriferous Herbs, especially *Roses*; whence ῥοδοῦν ἔλαιον, Oil mixed with *Roses*, is mentioned in *Homer's* twenty-third *Iliad* (f), where *Venus* anoints *Hector's* Body.

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To the same Ointments he elsewhere gives the Epithets of ἀμύρεσιον ἰδαῖον, and τιδυμνιον (a), speaking of *Junō*,

Ἀμύρεσιν μὲν πρῶτον ἀπὸ χρόδος ἱμερόντων
 Λύματα πάντα καθήρει ἀλείψατο δὲ λίπ' ἰλαίῳ
 Ἀμύρεσιν, ἰδαίῳ τὸ ῥᾶ οἱ τιδυμνιον ἦεν

But *Athenæus* is of Opinion, that *Homer* οἶδε τὴν χρῆσιν τῶν μύρων, ἰλαία δ' αὐτὰ καλεῖ μετ' ἐπιδήτω, was acquainted with the Use of more precious Ointments, but calls them Oil, with the Addition of an Epithet, to distinguish them from common Oil (b). The same Observation is made by the Commentators upon that Poet, when they explain those Words εὐώδεις ἰλαιοι, perfumed Oil; and 'tis well known that the *Ætians* called all sorts of Ointments by the Name of Oil, the Reason seems to have been, that Oil was the first Ointment; however, the ancient Heroes never used μύρα, costly Ointments. *Athenæus* himself acknowledges, that *Homer* never introduces ἀλειφομένους τὰς Ἡρώας any of his Heroes anointed with any Ointment beside Oil, except *Paris*, a soft and effeminate Person. In more delicate Ages, when very much of the primitive Plainness was laid aside, it was still by many thought indecent for Men to anoint themselves with precious Ointments. *Cebrystippus* would have the Name of μῦρον derived ἀπὸ τῆ μετὰ πολλῷ μωροῦ καὶ πῶς ματαίῳ γίνεσθαι, from the vain and unprofitable Labour of compounding it. And *Socrates* was of Opinion, that the Smell, as well as the Garments of Men and Women, ought to be different; that for Women it was decent enough to smell of perfumed Ointments; but that Men should rather smell of Oil, which was used in the Schools of Exercise. *Solon* prohibited Men from selling Ointments; and the Laws of *Sparta* entirely forbid any Person to sell them, as we are informed at large by *Athenæus* (c); nevertheless, Women, and some effeminate Men, were so curious in their Choice of Ointments, that they could tell very critically, ποῖόν τι ἐκάστω τῶν μελῶν ἔστιν ἐπιθήσειον, what sort suited best with each Member of the Body. An Example whereof we find in the following Verses of *Antiphanes*, which are cited by *Athenæus*;

Ἐκ χρυσοκαλλήτε δὲ κάλπειδ' ἰμῶν
 Αἰγυπτίῳ μὲν τοὺς πόδας καὶ τὰ σκελη,
 Φοινικίῳ δὲ τοὺς γνάθους καὶ τὰ τιτθία,
 Σισυμβρίῳ δὲ τὸν ἕτερον βραχίονα,
 Ἀμαρακίῳ δὲ τὰς ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ τὴν κόμην,
 Εὐπυλλίῳ δὲ τὸ γόνυ καὶ τὴν αὐχένα.

Lastly, it must not be omitted, that the East being most exposed

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Parts of the Body ; on which account they are by some thought to be called *λίσπαροι πόδες* in *Homer*. Women were generally employed to wash and anoint the Feet, both in the heroical and later Ages ; it was customary for them to kiss the Feet of those to whom they thought a more than common Respect was due ; thus the Woman in the Gospel kisses the Feet of our blessed Saviour whilst she anointed them. The same Ceremony was performed towards *Philostratus* by his Daughter, as himself relates in *Aristophanes* (a) ;

— κ' πρῶτα μὲν θυγάτηρ με
Απονήζη κ' τῷ πόδι ἄλειψεν κ' προσκύψασα φίλησεν.

Let us from this Digression return to the Entertainment ; and the first Ceremony after the Guests arrived at the House of Entertainment, was the Salutation performed by the Master of the House, or one appointed in his place ; to do this was termed by the general Name of *ἀσπάζεσθαι*, tho' this Word κυρίως ἐστὶ τὸ περιπαλίσασθαι τινα, in its strict Sense, signifies to embrace one with Arms around, being derived ἀπὸ τῷ ἀγαν σπᾶσθαι εἰς ἑαυτὸν τιν ἕτερον from forcibly drawing another to one's self, as we are informed by the old *Scholiast* upon *Aristophanes* (b) ; but the most common Salutation was by the Conjunction of their Right-hands, the Right-hand being accounted a Pledge of Fidelity and Friendship ; whence *Pythagoras* advised, μὴ παντὶ ἑμβάλλειν τὴν δεξιάν, that the Right-hand should not be given to every Man, meaning that all Persons were not fit to be made our Friends. This Ceremony was very ancient, and is mentioned in *Homer* (c) :

Οἱ δ' ὥς ἔν ξείνους ἴδον, ἀδελφοὶ ἦλθον Ἀσπαντες,
 Χερσὶν τ' ἡσπάζοιτο, καὶ ἰδριάζεσθαι ἄνωγον.

Hence *δεξιῶσθαι* is sometimes joined with *ἀσπάζεσθαι*, and is almost synonymous to it. Thus in *Aristophanes* (d) ;

— αὐτόν ἡσπάζοιτο καὶ
 Ἐδεξιῶσθ' ἅπαντες ὑπο τῆς ἡδονῆς

Sometimes it is used figuratively for any sort of Entertainment or Reception. Thus we find *δεξιῶσθαι* δαντί, *δεξιῶσθαι* τραπίῳ, *δεξιῶσθαι* δώροις, *δεξιῶσθαι* χρηματικῶς λόγοις, ἔργοις, &c.

Sometimes they kissed the Lips, Hands, Knees, or Feet, in Salutations, as the Person deserved more or less Respect. There was a particular sort of Kiss, which is called by *Σπείδας χύτρον*, by *Pollux*, *χύτρα*, the Pot, ὁπότεν τὰ παιδία φιλοῖν τῶν ὄντων λαμβανέ-

Λαβῶσα τῶν ἄτων φιλεῖσα τὴν χύτραν

And by *Tibullus* (a) ;

—————*natusq; parenti*
Oscula compressis auribus eripiet.

As also by *Theocritus*, from whom it appears to have been sometimes used by Men and Women (b) ;

Οὐκ ἔραμ' Αλκίππας, ὅτι με πρὶν ἐκ ἰφίλασι
Τῶν ἄτων καδιλοῖσ', ὅτι οἱ τὴν φάσσαν ἰδύκα.

The Guests being admitted, did not immediately sit down at the Table, which was accounted ill Breeding, but spent some Time in viewing and commending the Room and Furniture. Thus the Son in *Aristophanes* (c) instructs his Father to do ;

Ἐπιτ' ἱπαινίσον τι τῶν χαλκωμάτων,
Οροφῆν δίασαι, κρεκάδι αὐλῆς θαύμασον.

Which Observation, with others of the same Nature, is taken notice of by *Athenæus* (d).

C H A P. XX.

Of the Ceremonies at Entertainments.

THE ancient *Grecians* sat at Meat. There are three sorts of Seats mentioned by *Homer*.

1. Δίφρα, which contained two Persons, as the Name seems to import, and was commonly placed for those of the meanest Quality.

2. Θρόνος, on which they sat upright, having under their Feet a Footstool, termed Θρόνυς.

3. Κλισμός, on which they sat leaning a little backwards, as the Word signifies. Of these a more full and exact Account may be seen in *Athenæus* (e).

Neither was it the Custom in *Greece* only, but in most other Countries, to sit at Entertainments : it was practised by the primi-

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tive Romans, as we are informed by *Isidorus* (a) and *Servius* (b). And *Philo* hath observed, that *Joseph* ordered his Brethren κατὰ τὰς ἡλικίας καθίξασθαι, μήπω τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐν ταῖς συμποτικαῖς συνουσίαις καίτακλίσαι χρωμένων, to sit according to their Ages, the Custom of lying at Entertainments not having then obtained (c). But afterwards ἐπὶ τρυφῇ ἤρξαντο. κατεβλήσαν ἀπὸ τῶν δίφρων ἐπὶ τὰς κλῖνας ὡς ἀνιμῖως πίνον, when Men began to be soft and effeminate, they exchanged their Seats for Beds, in order to drink with more Ease; yet then οἱ ἥρωες καθήμενοι εὐνοπόμενον, the Heroes who drank sitting, were still thought Praise-worthy; and some who accustomed themselves to a primitive and severe Way of Living retained the antient Posture, This was done by the *Cynick* Philosophers, as we find in *Plantus* (d);

——— *potius in subsellio*
Cynice accipiemur, quam in lectis.

In *Macedonia* no Man was allowed to sit at Meals till he had killed a Boar without the Help of Nets, as we are informed by *Hegeſander*, in *Athenæus* (e). And *Alexander* the Great sometimes kept to the ancient Way, and once τετρακοσίους ἡγεμόνας ἐτιῶν, ἐκάθισεν ἐπὶ δίφρων ἀργυρῶν καὶ κλισίων, ἀλεργοῖς περιγρῶσας ἱμαλίοις, entertaining 400 Commanders, he placed them upon Silver Seats, covered with Purple Cloth, as we learn from *Duris* in the same Author. And in the most luxurious and effeminate Ages, Children were sometimes not permitted to lie down, but had Seats at the End of their Fathers Beds. It was the Custom for the Children of Princes, and the rest of the Nobility of that Age, to sit at their Meals, in the sight of their Relations, in the Time of *Tacitus* (f). Whence *Suetonius* describing the Behaviour of *Augustus* towards his Grandchildren, says, that *neque cœnavit una, nisi in imo lecto adfiderent*, they always sat at the End of the Bed when they supped with him (g). And the same Author reports, that the Emperor *Claudius* always supped with his Children; and some of the noble Boys and Maids, who, according to ancient Custom, sat at the Bottom of the Bed (h). The same Place was commonly assigned to Men of meaner Condition, when they were entertained with others of better Quality. Whence in *Plutarch* (i) the rest of the Guests lie down, only *Æſop* is placed upon a Seat next to *Solon*. And *Donatus* (k) reports, that *Terence* being ordered to repeat some part of his Comedies to *Cœcilius*, went to him at the Time of Supper, and being

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Tapestry, according to the Quality of the Master of the House, upon these they lay, inclining the superior part of their Bodies upon their Left-Arms, the lower part being stretched out at length, or a little bent; their Heads were raised up, and their Back sometimes supported with Pillows. If several Persons lay upon the same Bed, then the first lay upon the uppermost part, with his Legs stretched out behind the second Person's Back; the second's Head lay below the Navel, or Bosom of the former, his Feet being placed behind the third's Back, and in like manner the third, fourth, fifth, and the rest; for tho' it was accounted mean and sordid at Rome to place more than three or four upon one Bed, yet, as we are informed by Cicero, (a), *Græci quinq; stipati in lectulis, sæpe plures fuerunt*, the Greeks used to crowd five, and many times a greater Number, into the same Bed. Persons beloved commonly lay in the Bosoms of those who loved them; thus the beloved Disciple in the Gospel lies in the Bosom of our blessed Saviour at the Celebration of the Passover (b). There is another Example of the like Practice in Juvenal (c);

Cæna sedet, gremio jacuit nova nupta mariti.

At the beginning of the Entertainment it was customary to lie flat upon their Bellies, that so their Right-hand might with more Ease reach to the Table; but afterwards, when their Appetites began to decrease, they reclined upon their Sides; in which Sense we are to understand the Words of Plutarch (d), *ἑκάστων ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν ὠτὶ στόμα προκείμενα ἀποστρίψοντα πρὸς τὴν τράπεζαν, ἄγρον δὲ μεσσημα-ρίζειν ὠτὶ βάθρον ἐκ πλάτους τὴν κατὰ κλησιν*, or, as it should be read, *κατὰ κλησιν*, that at the Beginning every one put his Mouth forward, looking towards the Table; but afterwards changes the Posture of his Inclination from Depth to Breadth. And Horace alludes to the same Custom in the following Verses (e);

*Nec satis est cara pisces avertere mensa,
Ignarum quibus est jus aptius, & quibus assis
Languidus in cubitum sese convivæ reponet.*

It was customary from the heroical Ages downwards for the Guests to be rank'd according to their Quality. It is evident, that in Homer, as Eusebius (f) hath observed, *ἐν συμποσίοις ἀπὸς καὶ ἀντί-ται οἱ ἀριστεῖς*, the chief Persons had the the uppermost Seats at Entertainments. And afterwards at publick Entertainments there was *ὀνομακλήτωρ* Nomenclator, a Person appointed to call every Guest by Name to his proper Place. But to determine in what Order they sat, and which were accounted the chief Places, is more difficult.

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of the Table, which is the Meaning of the Word ἀγρυ, uppermost, in the fore-mentioned Passage of *Eusebius*. Thus in the ninth *Iliad* (a), where *Achilles* entertains *Agamemnon's* Ambassadors, he places himself uppermost in one Rank, and *Ulysses*, as the principal Ambassador, in the other.

——— ἀτὰρ κεία νῦν μιν Ἀχαιῶν,
αὐτὸς δ' ἀντί᾽ ἱκιν Ὀδυσσεὺς δῖος,
τοῖχον τὸ ἰτέριον. ———

Neptune, though coming last to an Entertainment of the Gods, yet

ἔξεν ἄρ' ἐν μέσσοισι. ———

sat in the middle, that Place being reserved, as a Right belonging to him. *Jupiter* was at the Head of one Rank, next to him on the same side sat *Minerva*, his Daughter, who on a certain time gave place to *Thetis*, probably as being a Stranger (b).

Ἡ δ' ἄρα πᾶς Διὶ πάλῃ καθίζετο, ὕξεν δ' Ἀθήνη.

Juno led the opposite Rank, and being Wife and Sister to *Jupiter*, neither gave place to *Thetis*, nor any other (c). The most honourable Places in Beds at Entertainments were not the same in all Nations. In *Persia* the middle Place was the chief, and always assigned to the King, or the chief Guest; in *Greece* the first or nearest to the Table; and amongst the *Heracleotæ*, and the *Greeks* who lived about the *Euxine* Sea, the first Place of the middle Bed was the most honourable. On the contrary, at *Rome* the last, or uppermost Place of the middle, was preferred before any other (d). But they who affected a more free and easy Way of Living, were not solicitous about Places. An Example hereof we have in *Timon* (e), who having invited Men of all Qualities, Citizens, Strangers, Friends, and Relations, to a splendid Entertainment, desired every Man to lie down in that Place which pleased him best; nevertheless Men of proud Tempers, even on such Occasions, like the *Jews* on that account, reprov'd by our blessed Saviour, affected to have the chief Places; so it happen'd at *Timon's* Entertainment, where many of the Guests having taken their Places, one in very fine Apparel, and attended with a numerous Retinue, came to the Door of the Room, view'd all the Company, then presently retired; and

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fection, or Temper, next one another; or tempering the variety of Humours, by placing Men of angry Dispositions nearest the Meek and Gentle, those of silent Tempers nearest the Talkative; but in things of this Nature there was no certain Rule, every Man followed his own Fancy; and 'tis propounded as a Problem in *Plutarch* (a), whether was best, to assign every Man his Place, or leave the Guests to take the Places which happened to them? I shall only add under this Head, that it is said to have been a very ancient Custom at *Lacedæmon* for the eldest Person to go before the rest to the Beds at the Common-hall, unless the King gave the Precedence to another, by calling him first. Thus *Eusebius* (b).

Let us, in the next place, proceed to the Table. Now the Table was accounted *ισόν χρεῖμα*, δι' ἧς ὁ θεὸς τιμᾶται φίλιος τε καὶ ξένος, - a very sacred thing, by means of which Honour was paid to the God of Friendship and Hospitality (c). This God was *Jupiter*, who from the Protection of Guests and Friends, received the Titles of ξένος and φίλος. *Hercules* also had some Care of this Affair, whence he is called *τραπίζων*, and *ἀπολαμπίζων*; neither were the rest of the Gods thought to be wholly unconcerned. It was customary to place the Statue of the Gods upon the Table; whence *Arnobius* (d) derides the Gentiles, *quod sacras faciant mensas salinarum appositu et simulacris deorum*, for consecrating their Tables, by placing on them Salts, and Images of their Gods. They also, as will farther appear afterwards, offered Libations to the Gods upon their Tables; whence *Cleodemas* in *Plutarch* calls it *φίλιον θεῶν βωμόν καὶ ξένων* the Altar of the Gods of Friendship and Hospitality. And according to the Saying of *Thales*, "As the Destruction of the Earth would occasion Disorder and Confusion in all Parts of the Universe, so the Table being taken away, the whole House would presently be dissolved, the holy Fire, and Hearth, and Entertainment, which are the chief Endearments of Life; or rather Life itself, would all be destroyed." Thus *Plutarch* (e). Hence we may learn why so much Veneration was paid to the Tables, that to dishonour them by any dishonest or indecent Behaviour, was thought a very great Crime. Hence that Saying of *Juvenal* (f):

Hic verbis nullus pudor, aut reverentia mensæ.

And Complaints against such as perfidiously violated the Regard due to the Hospitable Tables are very frequent in the Poets. Thus *Cassandra* in *Æschylus* (g) complains of *Paris*, who stole away

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In the heroical Ages the Tables were made of Wood, polish'd after the best manner of those Times, and the Feet were sometimes painted with Variety of Colours. Hence the following Epithets of Tables in *Homer*, ξυρή, ὑψόος, κυανόπιζα, &c. The Form was round, if we may believe *Myrtaenus* in *Athenæus* (a), who reports, that the ancient *Greeks* made their Tables and several other things spherical, in Imitation of the World, which they believed to be of that Figure. But *Eustathius*, who is rather to be followed, observes, from several Passages in *Homer*, μήπω κυκλόεσσις εἶναι τὰς τραπέζας, ἀλλὰ τειλανυμένας εἰς μήκωσιν, that the Tables were not then round, but extended in Length; which Figure is more agreeable to what hath been before observed concerning the manner of their sitting in long Ranks. The Tables in those Days were not covered with Linen, but only carefully cleansed with wet Spunges. Of this Custom there are several Examples in *Homer*, as that in the first Book of his *Odyssea* (b);

Οἱ δ' αὖτε σπόγγοισι πολυρρήτοισι τραπέζας
 Νίζον κ' ἐρεβίδεσσι, ἰδὲ κρία πολλὰ δαλιύλλο.

The same thing is done in the twentieth Book of the same Poem (c), to forbear the mention of other Instances. And later Authors speak of the like Practice. Thus *Arrian* (d), ἀρον τὰς τραπέζας, σπόγγισιν, take away the Tables, cleanse them with Spunges. And *Martial*,

Hæc tibi sorte datur tergendis spongia mensis.

In later Ages, the Tables of Men of inferior Quality were commonly supported by three Feet, and made of plain and ordinary Wood; but those which belong'd to Men of better Condition were composed of more costly Materials. The most curious sorts of Wood were sought, and many times fetched from foreign Countries for this Use. They were also adorned with Plates of Silver, or other Metals, and supported by one or more Feet curiously wrought, and called after the Name of some of the ancient Heroes, *Atlantes*, *Telamones*, &c. The most common Support of these Tables was an Ivory Foot cast in the Form of a Lion, a Leopard, or some other Animal. Some have thought that in *Homer* every Guest had a distinct Table by himself; whence *Athenæus* (e) reports, τὸ μονοφαγεῖν ἐν χεῖρσι τοῖς παλαιοῖς εἶναι, that the Ancients used to eat by themselves; but as that is not sufficiently proved

thor (a); which was nevertheless practised by some of the barbarous Nations, and in particular, as *Tacitus* reports, by the *Germans*.

Τράπεζα in *Greek*, and *mensa* in *Latin*, are ambiguous Words, and signify not only the Tables, but also τὰ σίτια τὰ ἐπ' αὐτῶν τιθέμενα, the Meat placed upon them, to use the Words of *Julius Pollux* (b). Hence by πρῶται, δεύτεραι, τρίται τραπέζαι, and in *Latin* by *primæ, secundæ, tertiæ mensæ*, are understood the first, second, and third Courses of Meat; which Ambiguity of Signification is by some thought to have been occasioned by the Custom then in use, of bringing in and taking away the Tables and the Meat upon them together; which Opinion is confirmed by the following Passage of *Alexis* in *Athenæus* (c.)

Ὡς δὲ τὴν τραπέζαν ἀνδρώπυς δύο
Φέροντας εἶσω, ποικίλων παροψίδων
Κόσμος βρύσσει.—

There were therefore three distinct Parts of the Supper, which was their chief Meal.

1. Δ εἶπετο προοίμιον *ante cœnium, cœnæ præfatio*, sometimes termed *προπομα*, which, as the Names import, was rather a Preparation to, than any part of the Supper, and consisted of Herbs of the sharpest Taste, in particular at *Athens*, of Coleworts, Eggs, Oysters, οἶνόμαλι, a Mixture of Honey, and as 'tis probable, of the sharpest Wines, and other things which were thought to create an Appetite.

2. Δείπνον, *cœna*, the Supper, which was sometimes called κεφαλὴ δείπνου, in *Latin*, *caput cœna*; in this Sense the following Passage of *Martial* is by some understood;

—mullus tibi quatuor emptus
Librarum cœnæ pompa, caputque fuit.

This Course was always more plentifully furnished out than the former; whence was that Saying of *Dromeas* the Parasite, who being asked, Whether the Suppers at *Chalcis* or those at *Athens* were more splendid? replied, "that the Preface of the Supper at *Chalcis* was to be preferred before the whole Entertainment at *Athens*;" meaning by the Preface of the Supper, the several sorts of Shell-fish, and other Provision, which was consumed before the Supper, as we are informed by *Athenæus* (d).

3. Δουτέρα τραπέζα, the second Course, which consisted of Sweat-meats of all kinds, which they called τραγήματα, τραγήμασιμον, ματίνας, τραγάλια, ἐπιδορπισμα, ἐπιδορπισμάια, ἐπιφογήμαια, ἐπιδοπνια, μελαδερπια, &c. Also by the *Dorians*, who called Entertainments αἶκλα, and συναίκλαια, they were termed

dor, especially in Ages addicted to Luxury; whence it was sometimes, by way of Eminence, called *τράπεζα*, the Course, as we are informed by *Athenæus* (a), who has left Descriptions of several of these Courses. But in this sort of Provision the *Grecians* were very much excelled by the *Persians*, who used to say, τοὺς Ἕλληνας σιταμένους πεινῶντας φαίνοσθαι, ὅτι σφισι ἀπὸ δείπνου παραφορέλαι ἂν δὲ λόγῳ ἄξιον, εἰ δὲ τι παραφέρειντο ἐσθιοῖτες ἢ φαίνοσθαι, that the *Grecians* leave off eating while they were hungry, because nothing of any Value is ever set before them after Supper, and yet if any thing is produced, they still eat on (b).

Sometimes the three fore-mentioned Provisions were called *πρώτη*, *δευτέρα*, *τρίτη* *τράπεζα*, the first, second, third Course, the *προόμιον* *δείπνου* being reckoned a part of the Supper, and making the first Course; and where there was a great Variety of Dishes, that every one of the Guests might be able to chuse what pleased him best, τὸ ἹΘ' ἢ ἰγιάτορι καλακλιδίῃ παραδίδοσθαι γραμμαδί διὸς τε περιέχει ἀναγραφὴν τῶν παρεσκευασμένων, ἢφ' ᾗ εἰδέναι ὅ, τι μέλλει ὄψιν φέρεται ὁ μάγειρος, a Paper was delivered to the Master of the Feast containing a Catalogue of all the Dishes which the Cook had provided, and this was communicated by him to the Guests as Occasion required; but it must not be imagin'd, that the *Grecian* Suppers always consisted of such a Variety of Dishes or Courses; whatever might be the Custom at the Tables of Princes, and others of the first Quality, the rest were content with meaner Provision for their ordinary Diet, only upon the Festivals of the Gods, or upon other special Occasions, they allowed themselves more Freedom (c); and the heroical Ages rarely had more than one Course.

The Ancients had so great a Sense of the Divine Providence, that they thought it unlawful to eat till they had first offered a part of their Provision, as a sort of First-fruits, to the Gods; which Custom was so religiously observed in the heroical Ages, that *Achilles*, tho' disturbed by *Agamemnon's* Ambassadors at Midnight, would not eat till an Oblation was offer'd.

———Θεοῖσι δὲ θύσαι ἀνάγκη.

Πάτροκλον δὲ ἱταῖρον, ὁ δ' ἐν πυρὶ βάλλα θυπλάς.

And *Ulysses* in another place of *Homer*, reports, that in *Polyphemus's* Den, himself and his Fellow-Soldiers were not unmindful of this Duty.

Εὐδάδῃ πῶρ καίοητες ἰθύσαμεν, ἡδὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ.

Τυφῶν αἰνύμενοι φάγομεν.———

In the Entertainments of *Plato* and *Xenophon* we find Oblations

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Epicurus, and others who worshipped no Gods at all, would be guilty of; these, with several other Observations on the same Subject, we find in *Athenæus* (a). The first of these Oblations was always made to *Vesta*, the Chief of the household Gods; afterwards they worshipped some of the other Gods, and last of all, offered a Libation to *Vesta*, as we are informed by *Homer* (b):

— ἢ γὰρ ἄτις σὺ
 Βίλαπναι θεοῖσιν, ἢ ἢ πρῶτη θυμὰτ' ἔστι
 Ἐστὶν ἀρχόμενος σπίνδαι μελινδία οἶνον.

The Reason why this Goddess had this Honour paid her, was, either because she being Protectress of the House, was in *Cicero's* Language (c), *rerum custos intimarum*, Keeper of Things most concealed from common View; or, according to *Phurnutius*, because she being the same with the Earth in the Esteem of the People, was the common Principle out of which all Bodies are produced, and into which they are again resolved; or lastly, according to the Account of *Aristocritus* in the Scholiast of *Aristophanes* (d), this Privilege was conferred by *Jupiter*, for the Service done by *Vesta* in his War against the Giants: Hence came the Proverb used by *Plato* (e) and others, ἐφ' Ἑτίας ἀρχιστάδαι, to begin with *Vesta*; whereby was intimated, that our domestick Concernments ought to be our first and chief Care.

During the Entertainment, all the Guests were apparelled in White, or some other cheerful Colour; and to use *Cicero's* Words (f), *Quis unquam cœnavit atratus?* What Person ever was found to sup in Black? That Colour was left to Times of Mourning. It was also customary to deck themselves with Flowers, or Garlands composed of Flowers, which were provided by the Master of the Feast, and brought in before the second Course, or, as some are of Opinion, at the beginning of the Entertainment (g). They not only adorned their Heads, Necks, and Breasts, but often bestrew'd the Beds whereon they lay, and all parts of the Room; but the Head was chiefly regarded, as appears from the following Verses of *Ovid* (h), wherein he celebrates this Custom:

Ebrius innexis philyra conviva capillis
Saltat, & imprudens uritur arte meri.
Ebrius ad durum formosæ limen amicæ
Cantat, habent unctæ mollia ferta comæ.
Nulla coronata peraguntur seria fronte.
Nec liquidæ juncto flore bibuntur aquæ.
Donec eras mistus nullis, Acheloe, racemis,
Gratia sumendæ non erat ulla rosæ.

*Bacchus amat flores, Baccho placuisse coronam
Ex Ariadneo fidere nosse potes.*

Garlands are by some thought to have been an Invention of *Prometheus*, who first prescribed the Use of them, that Men should by that Emblem of his Bonds, commemorate the Punishment which he had suffered for his Kindness to them. To this Opinion the following Verses of *Eschylus*, which are cited by *Athenæus* (a), seem to allude :

Τῶν δὲ ξίω γε στέφανον, ἀρχαῖον στέφ-
Δισμῶν ἀρις ἐκ Προμηδείας λόγῳ.

In another place (b) the same author relates out of *Draco* the *Corycean*, that *Janus* invented Garlands, Ships, Boats, and the Art of coining Money ; and thence it was customary in several Cities of *Greece*, and also of *Italy* and *Sicily*, for the Coin to bear on one side the Image of two-fac'd *Janus*, and on the reverse a Boat, a Ship, or a Garland. *Pliny* will have the first Garlands to have been used by *Bacchus*, and composed of Ivy (c). And in later Ages they commonly made use of Ivy and *Amygdalus*, as Preservatives against Drunkenness, whence the latter of them has its Name from the privative Particle *ἀ* and *μῆδη* (d). *Festus* affirms, *Antiquissimum genus fuisse coronarum laneum*, that the most ancient Garlands were made of Wool ; with one of this sort the *Echantress* in *Theocritus* (e) adorns her Cup.

Στέφανον τὰν κλέειν φοινικίῳ οἶδ' ἄντη.

Whether Garlands were commonly used at the Time of the *Trojan* War, is not certain. *Athenæus* hath observed that they are used by none of *Homer's* Heroes, yet that the Poet himself has several Allusions to them, some of which are the following ;

Νῆσον ἦν· πέρι πάλῃ ἀπείριλ' ἰσοφάνηλο.

And,

—— πᾶν γὰρ στέφανον καλέμενο δίδαι.

Whence he concludes that Garlands were unknown in the heroical Ages, but came into use before *Homer's* Time (f).

The Flowers and Greens whereof Garlands were composed were

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learn from *Athenæus* (a). And in latter Ages, upon the pulick Festival of any God, they seem to have used the particular Herb or Flower which was sacred to him ; but at other times all sorts were made use of, as the Season would allow, or they were thought most conducive to Pleasure, Refreshment (b), or Health. Some were very curious in the Choice of their Garlands, thinking them to have a very great Influence upon Mens Bodies ; whence *Mnestheus* and *Callimachus*, two Greek Physicians, wrote Books concerning Garlands, as we are inform'd by *Pliny* (c). I shall add nothing farther upon this Head, only that the Rose being dedicated by *Cupid* to *Harpocrates* the God of Silence, to engage him to conceal the lewd Actions of *Venus*, was an Emblem of Silence ; whence to present or hold it up to any Person in Discourse, served instead of an Admonition, that it was time for him to hold his Peace ; and in Entertaining Rooms it was customary to place a Rose above the Table, to signify that what was there spoken should be kept private. This Practice is described in the following Epigram :

*Est rosa flos Veneris, cujus quo facta latent,
Harpocrati, Matris dona, dixavit Amor.
Inde rosam mensis hospes suspendit amicis ;
Conviva ut sub ea dicta, tacenda sciat.*

From the Garlands let us proceed to Ointments and Perfumes. The ancient Greeks, as *Athenæus* hath observed (d), anointed their Heads with some common and ordinary sort of Ointment, thinking by that means to keep themselves cool and temperate, and to prevent Fevers, and other mischievous Consequences of the too plentiful Use of Wine ; but afterwards, as it is usual for Men to improve the things which are used out of mere Necessity, by the Addition of others which serve for Pleasure and Luxury, they came to use precious Ointments and Perfumes. These, as also the Distribution of Garlands, and second Courses at Entertainments, with all the Arts of Luxury and Effeminacy, were first introduced into Greece by the *Ionians*, who by conversing with the *Asiatics*, were taught to lay aside the primitive Plainness of their Manners sooner than any of the *Greeks* ; whence *Ionicus risus* and *Ionicus motus* became proverbial Expressions for profuse Laughter and unseemly Motions (e). The chief Part to which Ointments were applied, was the Head ; but other Parts of the Body had sometimes their Share both of Ointments and Garlands, and particularly *ἐνφανέτω τὰ στήθη καὶ ἰμῶνας*, *ὅτι αὐτόθι ἡ καρδιά*, the Breast was adorned with Garlands, and anointed, as being the Seat of the Heart, which then

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sometimes perfumed by burning Myrrh or Frankincense, or with other Odours. These Customs are briefly described in the following Verses of *Archestratus* in *Athenæus* (a) :

Αἰεὶ δὲ στεφάνοισι κέρα παρὰ δαίτῃ πικράζῃ
 Παλλοδαποῖς, οἷς ἂν γαίας σίδος ὄλβιον ἄνδρῃ
 Καὶ γαστροῖσι μύροις ἀγαθοῖς χαίτην δεράπῃ
 Καὶ σμίρναν, λίθανόν τε πυρὸς μαλακὴν ἐπὶ τίφρῃ
 Βάλλε πανημίρῃ, Συγίης εὐωδία κερπύ.

The Officers and Attendants at Entertainments were these which follow.

In the first place *συμποσίαρχος*, sometimes called *συμποσίᾳ ἐπιμελής*, *πραξιζομόμος*, *τραπεζοποιός*, ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης, *ἀρχιρίχλιος*, and also *ἐλάτης*, &c. was chief Manager of the Entertainment. This Office was sometimes performed by the Person at whose Charge the Entertainment was provided ; sometimes by another named by him ; sometimes, especially in Entertainments provided at the common Expence, he was elected by Lots, or by the Suffrages of the Guests.

Next, and sometimes the same with the former, was the *Βασιλεὺς*, otherwise termed *πρῶτος*, *ταξίαρχος*, &c. and in *Latin*, *Rex*, *Modimperator*, &c. the King, whose Business it was to determine the Laws of good Fellowship, and to observe whether every Man drank his Proportion, whence he was also called *ὀφθαλμὸς*, *oculus*, the Eye ; he was commonly appointed by Lots ; to which Custom there are several Allusions in *Horace* :

————— *quem Venus arbitrum*
Dicet bibendi (b) ?

And again (c) :

Et domus exilis Plutonia ; quo sumus meatim
Nec regna vini fortiere talis,
Nec tenerum Lycidam mirabere.

The Guests were obliged to be in all things conformable to the Commands of the *Βασιλεὺς* ; whence *Cicero* upbraids a certain Person, that *qui nunquam populi Romani legibus paruisset, iis legibus quæ in poculis ponebantur, obtemperabat* ; he who had never submitted to the Laws of the *Roman* People, should yield Obedience to the Laws of Drinking (d). And *Arrian* (e) reports, that the King be-

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had favoured him, as we are informed by *Plutarch* (a), who reports in the same place, that being asked by the Cup-bearer how much Wine every Guest should drink, he made this Reply: "If there is Plenty of Wine, let every Man have what he calls for; if not, let every Man have an equal Share."

Δαίτης, *Diribitor*, was so termed ἀπὸ τῆ δαίσεσθαι, from dividing and distributing to every Guest his Portion; whence Entertainments were also called δαῖτες. In the primitive Times the Master of the Feasts carved for all his Guests. Thus in *Homer* (b), when *Agamemnon's* Ambassadors were entertained at *Achilles's* Table;

————— ἀτὰρ κρεία νῦμιν Ἀχιλλεύς.

Which Verse is repeated in the last *Iliad* (c). More Examples would be needless, it being the Practice of those Ages for Men of the highest Quality to descend to very mean Employments. And in later Times the same Office was executed by some of the chief Men at *Sparta*, as appears from the Example of *Lyfander*, who was deputed to it by *Agefilaus* (d). This Custom of distributing to every Guest his Portion, was by some derived from the Ages wherein the *Greeks* left off their ancient way of living upon Acorns, and learned the Use of Corn, which being at the first very scarce, gave occasion to continual Quarrels, whence ἀτασθαλία, which originally signified τὰς ἄτας ἐν ταῖς θαλίαις, the Disorders committed at Feasts, came to be a general Name for all sorts of Injuries and wicked Behaviour. To prevent these Disorders, it was agreed, that a Person should be named to distribute to every Man his Portion, whence, as some are of Opinion, the Phrase of δαῖς ἰσὺς, equal Entertainment, so frequently occurs in *Homer* (e). Such to whom a particular Respect was due, were helped to the best Parts, and very often to a larger share than the rest of the Guests. Thus *Eumæus* in *Homer's Odyssey*, gives the ἰώτο, Cheese, which they esteemed the chief Part, to *Ulysses*. The same is given by *Agamemnon* to *Ajax*, as a Reward for his Service in the War (f). *Sarpedon*, one of the *Lycian* Kings, in the same Poet is honour'd,

Ἐδεν τε, κρέαςίη, ἰδὲ πλείους διαίεσσι.

with the first Seat, the best Share of Meat, and full Cups. In another place *Diomedes*, κρέαςι καὶ πλείους διαίεσσι διζιῶται, is entertained with the best Share of Meat and full Cups. It appears from *Herodotus*, that the Kings of *Sparta* had διπλάσιον πάντα, a double Portion of every Dish. And in the sacred Writings, the Mese of

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ἐνίοιο ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν μοίρας οἷς ἐβύλοιο, ὡς Ὀδυσσεὺς τότε ἀποπρὸλαι-
μῶν, ἢ αὐτῇ παρὲςιο, τῇ Δημόδοκῃ (a), had the Privilege of gra-
tifying whomsoever they pleased with a part of their Portion, as
was done, by *Ulysses*, who carved a part of the *Chine*, which was
set before him, to *Demodocus*. Afterwards when *Greece* learned
the Arts of Luxury, the primitive way of dividing to every Man
his Portion was laid aside, ὡς ἀκοινώνητο· καὶ ἀνελείδετο, as covetous
and illiberal, and the Guests were allowed to carve for themselves
in the manner which pleased them best; nevertheless the ancient
Custom was retained a long time at the Entertainments after Sa-
crifices, and by some who preferred the primitive Temperance
and Frugality before the modern profuse way of living; and it is
observed, that whilst every Man had his Portion allotted, the En-
tertainments were managed with great Decency, and fewer Dis-
orders were committed, as we are informed by *Plutarch*, where
he discourses on this Question, “Whether the ancient *Greeks*, who
“allotted every Man his Portion, or the modern, who set their
“Provision in common before all the Guests, were more to be
“commended (b).”

From the Distribution of Meat, let us proceed to the Persons
employed to distribute Drink; these were commonly termed οἰνο-
χοοί, and about the *Hellefpont* ἐπιγυχταί (c). In the heroical En-
tertainments the κήρυκες, Heralds, commonly performed this Of-
fice. Thus in *Homer* (d);

Κῆρυξ δ' αὐτοῖσιν δάμ' ἐπ' ὄχιλο οἰνοχοοῖεν,

In *Athenæus* (e) *Mercury*, the Herald of the Gods, is said to be
introduced by *Alcæus* and *Sappho*, filling the Goblets at the celestial
Entertainments; and to mention no more Examples, it is very well
known, and hath been elsewhere observed, that the κήρυκες were
deputed πῶσας ὑπερίστας ἐπιλαβεῖν περάσεις, to all sorts of Minis-
trations. It was customary for Boys or young Men to fill the Cups.
Thus we find in *Homer* (f);

Κῆρυξ δὲ κρήνηρας ἐπετέψαντο ποσειδο.

And to use the Words of *Eustathius* (g), φασι οἱ παλαιοὶ παρδίων
εἶναι ἔργον τὸ οἰνοχοεῖν, “ancient Authors affirm that the Wine used
“to be filled about by Virgins.” Which is agreeable to the
Manners of those Times, wherein the Guests were attended by Vir-
gins, without any Suspicion of Lust or Immodesty; whence the

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and so common it was in the primitive Times for young Persons of both Sexes to be employed in the fore-mentioned, and all other Ministrations, that as *Hefychius* (a) and *Eustathius* (b) informs us, δῦλοι, Servants, came to be termed by the Names of παῖδες καὶ παιδίσκαι, Boys and Girls, διὰ τὸ τῆς παιδικῆς ἡλικίας ὑπερβαίνειν, because Persons of that Age were commonly employed to serve; neither was this done only by Children of mean Fortune or Birth, but ὀνοχοῦν παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις οἱ ἐν γενέσασιν παῖδες, ὡς ὁ τῷ Μενελάῳ υἱός, but in the primitive Times those of the highest Quality filled out Wine, as we find done by *Menelaus's* Son in the following Verse of *Homer*;

Ὀνοχοῖσι δ' υἱὸς Μενέλαος κυδαλίμοιο (c).

The same Custom was in later and more refined Ages still retained at the Entertainments in the Temples, where many of the ancient Ways of Behaviour were kept up a long time after they had been laid aside in other Places; especially at the publick Sacrifices of the *Æolians* it was observed, that οἱ ἐν γενέσασιν παιδῶν, the Boys of the chiefest Quality should perform this Office; which was also the Practice at *Rome*, where they used πάντα τοὺς Αἰολεῖς μιμνῆσθαι, ὡς κατὰ τοὺς τόνους τῆς φωνῆς, in all things to imitate the *Æolians*, even to the very Tone of their Voice, as we learn from *Athenæus* (a); whence, it may be, that Author came to be of Opinion, that the Custom of employing young Persons of liberal Birth and Education to fill the Wine, was derived from the Sacrifices of the Gods, at which δῦλοι ἢ δακονήσων, no Slave was permitted to minister (e); but it is rather to be ascribed to the Plainness and Simplicity of the ancient *Greeks*, and other Nations; whence it came that the Sons and Daughters of Kings, and others of the first Quality, were employ'd in keeping Flocks, and almost all other Services, as hath been elsewhere observed. Another Reason why young Persons served at Entertainments rather than those in Years, was, because, by their Beauty and Sprightliness, they were thought more apt to exhilarate the Guests, whose Eyes were to be entertained as well as their other Senses; on this account the most comely Persons were deputed to this Ministration even in the primitive Times. Amongst the Gods

——— πότνια Ἥβη
Νίκηας ὀνοχοῖσι———

fair *Hebe*, the Goddess of Youth, and Daughter of *Juno*, filled about Nectar (f). And *Ganymedes*, the most beautiful of mortal

— ἀντίδοτον Γανυμήδεος,
 Ὃς δὴ κάλλει γένετο θεῶν ἀνδρώπων·
 Τὸν καὶ ἀνέρεψαντο θεοὶ διὸ οἶνοχοοῦναι,
 Κάλλιόν τινα οἶο, ἢ ἀθανάτοισι μέλει (a).

Whence we may learn, that in the most remote Times, which were thought the Age of the Gods, as those which followed were the Age of Heroes, this Practice was observed. And hence by the Names of Places which are said to be in use amongst the Gods, are to be understood the first and most ancient Names, as we learn from the *Scholias*t upon *Homer*, in whom there are several Examples to this Purpose; but I shall mention only that which follows (b), where the Poet tells us, that a certain Place in *Troas* was by the Gods, that is, most anciently, called *Myeina's Tomb*, but by Men, that is, in later Times, *Batiea*.

Τὴν ἥτοι ἄνδρες Βαλίσαν ἐκλήσουσιν·
 Ἀθανάτῳ δὲ τε σῆμα πολυσυάρμοιο Μυρίνης.

That at the time of the *Trojan War* it was customary for young Persons of beautiful Countenances, and well dress'd, to serve at Entertainments, is plain from the Answer of *Eumais* to *Ulysses*, who then appearing in the Habit and Form of an old Beggar, intended to serve the young Gentlemen who made their Address to *Penselpe* (c):

Οὐ τοι τοιοῖ δ' εἰσὶν ὑπωδρητῆρες ἐκείνῳ·
 Ἀλλὰ νέοι χλαίνας εὖ εἰμύκοι ἠδὲ χιτῶνας,
 Αἰεὶ δὲ λιπαροὶ κεφαλᾶς καὶ καλὰ πρόσωπα,
 Οἱ σφιν ὑπωδρῶσιν.

And in modern Ages, when the Arts of Luxury had more Esteem, it was usual to give vast Prices for beautiful Youths; which Custom is found fault with in the following Passage of *Juvenal*, where he speaks to an indigent Client, who is entertain'd at his Patron's Table (d):

— tu Gætulum Ganymedem
 Respice, cum sitis: nescit tot millibus entus
 Pauperibus servire puer; sed forma, sed ætas
 Digna supercilio; quando ad te pervenit ille?

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us, that it was usual to procure most beautiful Slaves to attend at Entertainments, not so much for any Service they were to do, as to gratify the Eyes of the Beholders; of these the young Boys (οἰνοχοῖσι) fill the Wine, those of riper Age (ὕδατοφοροῖσι) serve up the Water, being washed, trimmed, and painted, with their Hair curled in various Forms, with several other remarkable Observations relating to this Custom.

The Cups and drinking Vessels come next to be considered; and in *Homer* every one of the Guests seems to have a distinct Cup, out of which he drank when he pleased; hence the following Words of *Agamemnon* to *Idomeneus* (a),

——— οὐδὲ δὲ πλεῖον δίπας αἰεὶ
 ἔσται ὥσπερ ἐμοὶ, τίθειν ὅτε θυμὸς ἀνέγει.

On which account the heroical Cups were very capacious, as *Athenaeus* hath proved by several Examples, and particularly that of *Nestor's* Cup, which was so weighty, that a young Man had scarce Strength to carry it (b); nevertheless the same Author there observes, that "tho' Men of great Estates and Quality in his Time used large Cups, yet that was not anciently the Practice of Greece, but lately learned from the barbarous Nations, who being ignorant of Arts and Humanity, indulge themselves in the immoderate Use of Drink, and all sorts of Dainties; whereas it does not appear, says he, from the Testimony of any of those who lived before our Times that a Cup of a very large Size was ever made in any Part of Greece, except those which belonged to the Heroes." However, the Cups which they used after Supper were larger than those they drank in at Supper; this appears from the following Passage of *Virgil* (c):

*Postquam prima quies epulis, mensaeque remota,
 Crateras magnos statuunt, & vina coronant.*

In the Houses of wealthy Men there was commonly a large κρυκεῖον, Cupboard, furnished with Cups of all Sorts and Sizes, rather for Ostentation than Use. The Cups used by the ancient Greeks were very plain, and agreeable to the rest of their Furniture, being usually composed of Wood or Earth. Afterwards, when they began to imitate the Pride and Vanity of the *Asiatics*, their Cups were made of Silver, Gold, and other costly Materials, curiously wrought, inlaid with precious Stones, and otherways adorned; but the primitive Cups seem to have been composed of the Horns of Animals, which Persons of Quality tipt with Gold or Silver; these are mentioned by *Pindar*, *Æschylus*, *Xenophon*, and several other Authors; they were also used by the *Greeks*, *Romans*, *Arabs*, and particularly by the *Phœnicians*.

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the Surname of *Taurus*, as worshipped by the *Cyziceniens* in the Shape of a Bull, and painted with Horns in several other Countries ; and some think the Words *κρατήρες* Cups; and *κράσσαι* to mix Wine with Water, are derived from *κράλα*, Horns ; these, and many other Observations concerning this Argument, may be found in *Athenæus* (a) and *Eusebius* (b).

The Cups were compassed about with Garlands, and filled up to the Brim. Both these Customs are mentioned in the following Passage of *Virgil* (c) ;

*Tum pater Anchises magnum cratera coroma
Induit.* —————

And the latter in this Verse of *Homer*, which occurs in the first *Iliad* (d), and is repeated in other Places :

Kûroi δὲ κρατήρας ἐπετίψατο πόλοιο.

For *ἐπετίψατο*, according to the old *Scholias*t, signifies *ἐπλήρυσαι ἄχρι γέφυρας*, ὃ ἐστὶ τέλει, they filled up to the Brim ; and *τίψαι*, commonly *πλήρυσσι τινα σημαίνει*, signifies a sort of Fulness ; whence they always did *τίψαι κρατήρας*, when Libations were offered to the Gods, ὅτι ἔδιν καλοῦσιν προσφέρομεν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς, ἀλλὰ τέλεια ἐῖδα, τὸ δὲ πλήρες τέλειον ἐστὶ, because we offer nothing imperfect to the Gods, but only things whole and entire, and that which is full is intire, saith *Athenæus* (e) from *Aristotle* ; and as we are informed by the same Author (f), the Cups, *ἐπετίφονται*, are crowned with Drink, that is, they are filled above the Brim, so as the Drink riseth in the manner of a Crown, for good Luck's sake.

In the heroical Times, as hath been observed concerning the unequal Portions of Meat, οἱ κῦροι διακοσμητοὶ, τοῖς μὲν ἐπιμολάτοις αὖ πλῆρες παρέχον τὸ πότῃον, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις ἐξ ἴσου διάνημον, the young Men who ministred, always presented full Cups to Men of great Quality, and distributed Wine to the rest by equal Proportions, as we are informed by *Athenæus* (g). Thus *Agamemnon* entertains *Idomeneus* King of *Crete*, (h) ;

*Εἴπερ γὰρ τ' ἄλλοι καρηκομῶντες Ἀχαιοὶ
Δαίτῃν πίωσιν, σὸν δὲ πλείον δέπας αἰεὶ
Εἰσιχ' ὥσπερ ἱμοὶ, πίνειν ὅτε θυμὸς ἀνώγει.*

Τυδίδη περι μὴν σε τιος Δαναοὶ ταχύπῳλοι
 Ἐδρῇ τε, κρέαςιν τε, ἰδὲ πλείους διπᾶισσι,
 Νῦν δὲ σ' ἀτιμήσουσι. —————

This Respect is also said to be paid by the *Lycian* to *Sarpedon* and *Glaucus*, Kings of *Lycia*, in the same Words (a). Another Respect was paid to the most honourable Guests, by drinking first to them; for it was customary for the Master of the Feast to drink to his Guests in order, according to their Quality, as we learn from *Plutarch* (b). The manner of doing this was, by drinking part of the Cup, and sending the Remainder to the Person whom they nam'd, which they term'd προπίνειν but this was only the modern way, for anciently they drank μεσὸν τὸν σκύφον, the whole Cup, and not a Part of it, as was usual in *Athenæus's* Time; to do which, as that Author thinks, ought rather to be termed προικπιῦν, than by the old Name προπίνειν (c). The Form of Salutation was various; sometimes they who drank to another, used to say, χαῖρε, as in that Example χαῖρε Αχιλλεῦ, I send you this Honey mingled with Milk; as we learn from the *Scholiast* upon *Pindar* (d). Sometimes the Person who sent the Cup saluted his Friend in this Form, προπίνω σοι καλῶς the other replied, λαμβάνω ἀπὸ σου ἡδύος and this being a Testimony of Friendship, to drink in this manner to another was sometimes termed προπίνειν φιλοτησίαν. Thus *Ælian* explains φιλοτησία to be δέξις διὰ τῆς φιλίας, a Salutation on the account of Friendship; and φιλοτησίαν προπίνειν to be ἥνικα τις ἐν ἀρίστῳ, ἀπὸ τῆς δόδους αὐτῷ φιάλης πίων μέρῳ, τὸ λοιπὸν παρὰσχῃ φίλῳ, καὶ τὴν φιάλην παρὰσχόμενῳ, when any Person at Dinner drinks part of a Cup, and gives the rest to his Friend. The Person who received the Cup was said ἀντιπροπίνειν, or ἀντιπροπίνειν ὅμοια it being required by the Rules of good Fellowship to drink off whatever remained in the Cup, or if the Cup was drank off, to take another of the same Bigness. An Example whereof we find in *Athenæus* (e), where *Alexander* having begun a very large Vessel to *Proteas* a *Macedonian*, he drank it off, and presented his Service to *Alexander* in another of the same Dimensions.

This Propination was carried about towards the Right-hand, where the superior Quality of some of the Guests did not oblige them to alter that Method; hence it was termed δέξις, whence δειδίσκειν in *Homer* is interpreted προπίνων δέξιν. Thus in the first *Iliad* at an Assembly of the Gods,

————— χρυσεός, διπᾶισσι
 Δαίδιχατ ἀλλήλῳς —————

Πλησάμενθ' δ' οἶνοιο δίκας δίδουτ' Ἀχιλλῆα.

That is, saith he, ἰδεῖσθαι, ὅ ἐστι προίπειν αὐτῷ τῇ δεξιᾷ δεῦξ τὸ πρῶτον, he drank to *Achilles*, delivering the Cup with his Right-hand. The same is observed by *Eustathius* (a), who is beholden to *Athenæus* for almost all the Observations which he has on this Argument. But there is express Mention of drinking towards the Right-hand, in the following Passage of *Homer* (b), where *Vulcan* fills Wine to the Gods ;

— οἷοις ἰδεῖσθαι πᾶσιν
οἶνοχόου —

That is, he filled, as the old *Scholiast* explains it, ἀπὸ τῶν δεξιῶν μερῶν, beginning from the Right-hand. Another Example of this Custom is produced from *Critia's* Epigram upon *Anacreon* :

Παῖς διακομπύσῃ προπόσις εἰς δεξιὸν ὄμον,

And a third, to mention no more, is cited by *Athenæus* (c) out of the Ἀγροικοὶ of *Anaxandrides*. The doing this therefore was commonly termed ἰδεῖσθαι πίνειν (d) ; but it was sometimes called κούλη πίνειν, and the Action ἐγκυκλοποσία, because the Cup was conveyed round about the Table, beginning from the uppermost Seat. To which Custom we find the following Allusion in *Plautus* (e) :

— age, puer,
A summo septenis cyathis committe bos ludos.

Yet the Method of drinking was not the same in all Places. The *Cibians* and *Thasians* drank out of large Cups towards the Right, the *Athenians* out of small Cups to the Left ; the *Thessalian* drinks large Cups to whom he pleaseth, without observing any certain Method. At *Lacedæmon* every Man has a distinct Cup, which a Servant fills up as soon as any Person has drank, as we are inform'd by *Athenæus* (f).

It was also customary to drink to Persons absent. First the Gods were remembered, then their Friends, and at every Name one or more Cups of Wine, unmix'd with Water, was drank off. This is termed by *Cicero*, *Græco more bibere* (g) to drink after the Greek Manner ; which some interpret of drinking *grandibus poculis* &c

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Wine out of small Cups, saluting first the Gods, and then their Friends by Name; *nam toties merum bibebant quoties deos & caros suos nominant*, for it was their Custom to drink unmix'd Wine as often as they nam'd the Gods or their Friends; they did also *ἐπιχρῆν τῇ γῇ*, pour forth some of the Wine upon the Earth as often as they mentioned any Person's Name, as hath been observed by the Scholiast upon the following Verses of Theacritus (a);

Ἦδὲν δὲ ποτὶ βῆλα, ἔδοξ' ἐπιχρῆσθαι ἀνέπων
 Σκῆπτρ' ἡδὲλ' ἔκαστ' ἰδὲ μόνον ἀγίτῃσι σινεῖν.

Which being the Manner of offering Libations, as hath been elsewhere observed, it seems to have been a Form of Adoration when any of the Gods were named, and of Prayer for their Friends, when they mentioned them; amongst their Friends they most commonly named their Mistresses. Examples of this Custom are very common. Thus in Tibullus:

*Sed bene Messalam sua quisque ad pocula dicat,
 Nomen & absentis singula verba sonent.*

And, in Horace (b):

———dicat Opuntiae
*Frater Megillæ, quo beatus
 Vulnere, qua pereat sagitta.*

Sometimes the Number of Cups equall'd that of the Letters in their Mistresses Name. Thus we find in Martial (c);

Naevia sex cyathis septem Justina bibatur.

There were also several other Ways of numbering the Cups to be drank off at once; thus three were taken off, because the *Graces* were of that Number, and nine, according to the Number of the *Muses*; the former of these Customs is mentioned by Petronius, who relates, that a certain Person *excusare cepit moram, quod amica se non dimississet, tribus nisi potionibus e lege exsiccatis*, made this Excuse for his Delay, that his Mistress would not dismiss him till he had drank three Cups, as the Law requires; both of them are contained in the following Riddle of Ausonius (d):

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And more clearly of this Passage in *Horace* (a) ;

*Da Lunæ propere novæ,
Da noctis mediæ, da puer, auguris*
Murenæ. Tribus, aut novem
Miscentur cyathis pocula commodis.
Qui Musas amat impares.
Ternos ter cyathos attonitus petet
Vates. Tres prohibet supra
Rixarum metuens tangere Gratia,
Nudis juncta fororibus.

The *Greeks* thus expressed this Custom $\text{Ἡ τρίς, ἢ τρίς τρίς}$, either three, or three times three. There was another Saying, which forbade the drinking of four Cups, that being no lawful Number, $\text{Ἡ τρία οἶνον, ἢ μὴ τέτταρα}$. Yet they did not always observe the Number three, as appears from the following Epigram, which commands to fill ten Cups to *Dirodice's* Health, as well as nine to *Euphrante's* (b) ;

$\text{Εὐχῆαι Διροδικῆς κυάδας δέκα, τῆς δὲ ποσειδῆος}$
 $\text{Εὐφράντης ἵνα μοι ἦτο δίδω κυάδον,}$

Sometimes they contended who should drink most. *Alexander the Macedonian* is reported to have drank a Cup containing two *Congii*, which contained more than one Pottle, tho' less than our Gallon, to *Proteas*, who commending the King's Ability, pledg'd him, then called for another Cup of the same Dimensions, and drank it off to him. The King, as the Laws of good Fellowship required, pledg'd *Proteas* in the same Cup, but being immediately overcome, fell back upon his Pillow, letting the Cup fall out of his Hands, and by that means was brought into the Disease whereof he shortly after died, as we are inform'd by *Athenæus* (c). There is also mention in ancient Authors of Prizes awarded to the Conquerors ; which Custom was ingeniously inverted by *Anacharsis the Scythian* Philosopher, who being entertained by *Periander*, one of the seven Sages, and King of *Corinth*, demanded the Prize for being first drunk, that, as he said, being the End which all aim at in drinking, as Racers press forward toward the Goal. 'Tis reported by *Timæus*, that *Dionysius the Sicilian*, at an Entertainment, promised a Crown of Gold to the Person who should first drink a Cup of *Congius*, and that *Xenocrates the Philosopher* obtained the Prize. And at the Funeral

of unmix'd Wine; thirty of the Combatants died on the Place, and in a short time after six more expired in their Tents, as *Athenæus* (a) and *Elian* (b) have informed us in the very same Words. When any Person drank off a large Cup ἀμύρι, that is, ἀπνεύρι, ἀνὰ τῷ ἀναπαύσασθαι, without Intermission, or taking Breath, the Company used to applaud him in this Form, Ζήσους, long may you live (c). At *Athens* there were three publick Officers who attended at Entertainments, καὶ ἰσχυροὶ εἰ κατ' ἴσον πίνουσιν οἱ συνόλης, and observed whether every Person drank his Portion; they were called from their Business οἰνόπται, and sometimes by a metaphorical Name, ὀφθαλμοί, Eyes, as hath been elsewhere observed (d). They who refused to drink, were in most places obliged to depart by that celebrated Law of good Fellowship, ἢ πίνε, ἢ ἀπίνε, Drink, or be gone. To which *Cicero* has this Allusion (e), "To me, saith he, it seems but reasonable in the Affairs of Life to observe the same Law which the Greeks keep at their Entertainments," *Either let them drink, say they, or depart.* "Very right, for one should either partake of the Pleasure of drinking and being merry, or leave the Company."

Hence it appears how much the Greeks were addicted to drinking; neither were the Romans more free from that Vice; *Seneca* himself thought it allowable to drink, even to Drunkenness, to ease the Mind of any great and tormenting Cares. We are told by *Plutarch* and others, that *Cato of Utica* sometimes spent whole Nights in drinking. And concerning the elder *Cato*, as also *Corvinus* the Stoical Philosopher, to mention no more Examples we have the following Testimony of *Horace* (f);

*Descende, Corvino jubente,
Promere languidiora vina.
Non ille, quanquam Socraticis madet
Sermonibus, te negliget horridus.
Narratar & prisca Catonis
Sæpe mero caluisse virtus.*

Yet others found fault with the immoderate Use of Wine. Some Lawgivers enacted Laws against it, and others prohibited all Computations where more Wine was used than what was necessary for Health. Some of the Grecian Sages allowed no more than three Cups, one for Health, a second for Cheerfulness, and a third for Sleep. Thus in the following Verses of *Eubulus*, which are cited by *Athenæus* (g);

*Τρεῖς γὰρ μόνος κρείττης ἐγκρατὺς
Τοῖς εὖ φρονέσι τὸν μὲν ὑγίαιας ἵνα,
Ὁν πρῶτον ἐκπίνῃσι τὸν δὲ δαύτερον*

Ἐγὼ, ἡδονῆς τὴν τῶν τρίτον δ' ὕμνω
 Ὅν εἰσπίοντες οἱ σοφοὶ κεκλημένοι
 Οἰκάδε βαδίζουσ' ὃ δὲ τίταρ' ἔκτε
 Ἡμέτερός ἐστιν, ἀλλ' ἔβρεις, Ἔς.

Panyasis allowed no more than the second Cup, the first to the *Graces*, *Hours*, and *Bacchus*, the second to *Venus* and *Bacchus*; they who proceeded to a third Cup, according to that Author, dedicated it to Lust and Strife. *Lycurgus*, the *Spartan* Lawgiver, prohibited τὰς ἐκ ἀναγκαίας πόσεις, αἱ σφάλλῃσι μὲν σώματα, σφάλλῃσι δὲ γνώμας, καὶ ἐφ' ἧκει ὁπότ' διψῶν ἕκαστος πίνειν, unnecessary drinking, which debilitates both the Body and Mind, and ordered that no Man should drink for any other Purpose than to satisfy his Thirst, as we learn from *Xenophon* (a). And to lay on the *Spartans* a Necessity of keeping themselves within the Bounds of Sobriety, the same Lawgiver enacted farther, that all Men should return from Entertainments without a Torch to shew them the Way; whence the Propinations and Methods of drinking which other Nations observed, were unheard of at *Sparta*; hence the following Passage of *Critas* (b), wherein he commends the temperate way of living in that City.

Καὶ τὸ δ' ἔθ' Ἑλλάδι, μέλιτημάτε κείμενος ἐστὶ
 Πίνειν τὴν αὐτὴν οἶνοφόρον κύλικα.
 Μὴδ' ἀποδωρεῖσθαι προπόσεις ὀνομασί λεγοῖσα,
 Μὴδ' ἐπὶ δεξιερῶν χεῖρα κυκλῶν διάσσει,
 Καὶ προπόσεις ἐρέγειν ἐπιδείξια, καὶ προκαλεῖσθαι
 Ἐξονομακλήδην ᾧ προπιεῖν ἰδίῃ.

At *Athens*, an *Archon* convicted of being drunk, was put to Death by the Laws of *Solon* (c), as hath been elsewhere remarked; and others addicted to Comutations, and Lovers of Company, were punished by the Senate of *Areopagus* for consuming the Time in Idleness and Profuseness, which they ought rather to have employed in making themselves useful to the Commonwealth, as we are told by *Phanodemus* and *Philochorus* in *Athenæus*. Lastly, to mention only one Example more, the Island of *Mitylene* abounding with Wine, in order to restrain the Inhabitants from the immoderate Use of it, *Pittacus*, their Lawgiver, one of the seven Sages; νόμος ἔθηκε, τῷ μεθύνῃ, ἂν ἀμάσῃ, διπλὴν εἶναι τὴν ζημίαν, enacted, that whoever committed a Crime being drunk, should suffer double Punishment (d).

to the God, that he would preserve them from committing any Indecency thro' the immoderate Use of that Liquor; hence ὀλιγοπο-
τῆς, Persons who drink very little, are in *Hesychius* termed ἀγα-
δοδαιμονεῖς. Whether this Cup was brought in before the Table
on which they supped was taken away, or afterwards, is not agreed;
that it was sometimes brought in before the taking-away of the
Table, seems probable from what is related of *Dionysius* the *Sici-
lian*, who being entertained in the Temple of *Æsculapius* in *Syra-
cuse* at a Table of Gold, as soon as he had tasted the Cup of good
Genius, commanded the Table to be carried off.

Κρατὴρ Διὸς σωτῆρος, the Cup of *Jupiter* the Saviour, which was
mixed with Water, and dedicated to *Jupiter*, President of the Air,
which is the most humid Element, in Memory of the Invention of
tempering Wine with Water.

Κρατὴρ Ὑγιᾶς, the Cup of Health, is by some added, which,
as also that of *Jupiter*, is termed μελάνιστρος or μελάνιστρον, as be-
ing drank after the washing of their Hands, the Entertainment
being ended; and the same Names are for the same Reason by
some given to the Cup of good Genius (a).

Κρατὴρ Ερμῆ, the Cup of *Mercury*, to whom a Libation was of-
fered before they went to bed, when they gave over drinking, as
will be related afterwards (b).

Others report the Order of the solemn Cups in a different man-
ner. *Suidas* has numbered them thus (c): Τρεῖς κρατῆρας ἵστασαν ἐν
τῷ δεύειν, α. Ερμῆ, β. χαρίσιν, γ. Διὸς σωτῆρι, three Cups were
brought in at Supper, the first dedicated to *Mercury*, the second to
Charisius, which is a Surname given to *Jupiter*, from χάρις, Favour
and Grace, he being the God by whose Influence Men obtain the
Favour and Affection of one another; wherein it is probable Re-
spect was had to the Invention of tempering Wine with Water,
as has been before observed; the third to *Jupiter* the Saviour.

Others mention one Cup of Wine mixed with Water dedicated
to *Olympian Jupiter*, a second to the Heroes, a third and last to
Jupiter the Saviour, so called on this Occasion, to intimate, that the
third Cup might safely be taken, without any Disorder of Mind, or
Body; this Cup was called τρίων, either because it was the last,
which is one Sense of that Word, or from the Perfection of the
Number Three, which having a Beginning, Middle, and End, was
reputed the first compleat Number, whence it was commonly ap-
plied to divine Things, and particularly to human Souls; which,
according to the *Platonick* Philosophy, consisted of this Number;
neither must it be omitted, that the first and last Cups were sacred
to *Jupiter*, who is the Supreme Deity, the Beginning and the End

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described by the *Greek* Scholiast upon that Passage (a). This may be farther observed, that most Authors, however variously describing them in other Respects, do agree in fixing the sacred Cups to the Number Three; hence that Saying in the *Myssis* of *Antiphanes*, cited by *Athenæus* (b);

Μίχρη γὰρ τριῶν φασὶ τιμᾶν τοὺς θεούς.

The Entertainment being ended, before they went to other Diversions used at such Times, a Libation of Wine, with a Prayer, was offered, and an Hymn sung to the Gods. Thus we are told by *Xenophon*, that when at the Entertainment by him described (c), “ the Tables were taken away, and they had offered a Libation, “ and sung an Hymn to the Gods, a certain Man of *Syracuse* “ brought in a skilful Minstrel, &c.” *Virgil* describes the Libation in such a manner, as it should seem to have been poured out of the Cup of good Genius, which is another Argument that this Cup was not filled till the Tables were taken away, which indeed seems to have been the Time of drinking all the three solemn Cups. The Poet’s Words contain a very particular Account of this whole Ceremony (d):

*Postquam prima quies epulis, mensæque remotæ,
Crateras magnos statuunt, & vina coronant.
Fit strepitus telæis, vocemque per ampla volutant
Atria: dependent lychni laquearibus aureis
Incensi, & noctem flammis funalia vincunt.
Hic Regina gravem gemmis auroque poposcit,
Implevitque mero pateram, quam Belus, & omnes
A Belo soliti. Tum facta silentia telæis:
“ Jupiter (hospitibus nam te dare jura loquuntur)
“ Hanc lætum Tyriisque, diem, Trojaque profectis
“ Esse velis, nostrosque hujus meminisse minores:
“ Adsit lætitiæ Bacchus dator, & bona Juno.
“ Et vos, o Tyrii, cætum celebrate faventes.”
Dixit: & in mensa laticum libavit honorem:
Primaque, libato, summo tenuis attigit ore.
Tum Bitæ dedit increpitans: ille impiger hausit,
Post alii procures.*

This Ceremony being ended, the Company was entertained with other Diversions, with Discourses upon various Arguments, with

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From the most ancient Times, Musick and Dancing were the Diversions at Entertainments. Thus *Homer* (a),

Μολαὶ τ' ὄρχηστές τε, τὰ γὰρ τ' ἀναδήμια δαυτός.

Phemius and *Demodocus*, two celebrated Singers, are introduced at Entertainments by the same Poet. And at an Entertainment of the Gods, *Apollo* is introduced playing upon the Harp, whilst the Muses sing alternately (b). Dancing was also in use among the Gods; hence *Apollo* has the Title of ὄρχηστής, the Dancer, in *Pindar*; the same God in *Homer's* Hymn plays upon his Harp, and at the same time dances;

Καλὰ κ' ἐπὶ Βίβας.————

And, to mention only one Instance more, *Jupiter* himself is said to dance in the following Verse, which some ascribe to *Eumelus*, others to *Arctinus* the *Corinthian*;

Μίσσοισιν δ' ὀρχαίτο πατρὸς ἀνδρῶντι, Θιῶντι.

Hence *Athenæus* concludes, that in those Ages they accounted ὄρχησιν ἔνδοξον κ' σοφόν, Dancing a thing becoming Persons of Honour and Wisdom (c). At *Rome* the Custom was quite otherwise, for there, to use the Words of *Cicero* (d), *Nemo fere saltat sobrius, nisi forte insanit; neque in solitudine, neque in convivio bonefio. Intempestivi convivii, amæni loci, multarum deliciarum comes est extrema, saltatio.* No Man dances unless he is either drunk or mad, either in private, or at a modest and decent Entertainment; Dancing is the very last Effect of Luxury and Wantonness. And *Cornelius Nepos* (e) having related that *Epaminondas* well understood the Art of Dancing, of playing upon the Harp and Flute, with other liberal Sciences, adds, "Though, in the Opinion of the *Romans*, these were trivial things, and not worthy to be mentioned, yet in *Greece* they were thought very commendable." The same Observation is also made by that Author in his Preface to the Lives of the illustrious Commanders. And these Arts had so great Credit among the *Grecians*, that, to use some of *Cicero's* Words (f), "they thought the Arts of singing and playing upon musical Instruments a most considerable Part of Learning; whence 'tis told of *Epaminondas*, who in my Judgment was the chief of all the *Greeks*, that he play'd very well upon the Flute. And some Time before, *Themistocles*, upon refusing the Harp at an Entertainment, passed for one unlearned and ill-bred. Hence *Greece* came to flourish with skilful Musicians; all Persons learned the Art of Musick, and they who were ignorant of it were thought unaccomplished with Learning."

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Athenian, having been designedly by *Clisphemus*, King of *Argos*, for his Daughter's Husband, and preferred before all the young Noblemen of *Greece*, was rejected for his light and unbecoming Dances and Gestures; as we are informed by *Herodotus* (a). The *Ionians* delighted in wanton Dances and Songs more than the rest of the *Greeks*, their Manners being more corrupted than those of any other Nation in *Greece*; their way of singing was very different from the ancient, and their Harmony more loose and wanton, as we are told by *Theophrastus* (b); and wanton Gestures were proverbially termed *Ionici motus*, *Ionian Motions*. Thus *Horace* reproving the Manners of his own Age (c);

Motos doceret gaudet Ionicos
Matura virgo——

In the primitive Ages, the Entertainments were seldom made but on the Festivals of the Gods, as hath elsewhere been observed, and the Songs were commonly Hymns in Praise of the Gods, the singing of which was accounted a Part of divine Worship; soft and wanton Songs were then unknown; hence *Athenæus* was of Opinion, that Musick was not brought into Use at Entertainments for the sake of any mean and vulgar Pleasure, but to compose the Passions of the Soul, and to better Mens Manners (d). And from the Descriptions of Entertainments which we find in *Homer*, it appears, that the Songs used about the Time of the *Trojan War*, consisted chiefly of Hymns, wherein the Actions of the Gods and Heroes were celebrated; but in later Ages it was so uncommon to sing sacred Hymns at Entertainments, that *Aristotle* was accused by *Demophilus* for singing a *Pæan* every Day at his Meals, as an Act of very great Impiety (e).

The most remarkable Songs at Entertainments were those termed *σκόλια*, with the Accent upon the first Syllable, whereby it is distinguished from the Adjective *σκολιᾶ*, which is accented upon the last Syllable, as we are informed by *Eustathius* (f); whence in the present Editions of *Athenæus*, which often call these Songs *σκολιᾶ*, they who will acquiesce in the Judgment of that Critick, must read *σκόλια*. These *Scolia* consisted for the most part of short Verses, whence *σκόλιον* is interpreted μέλῳ τι ὀλιγόστιχον, a certain Sonnet, consisting of short Verses, and derived from *σκολιόν*, crooked, difficult, and obscure, which will be εὐδιδόν, κατ' ἀνίστασθιν, easy, by the Figure *Antiphrasis*, as we are told by the Scholiast on *Aristophanes* (g). Others observe, that *scolia* cannot be derived from *σκολιός*, signifying difficult or obscure, because these Songs were commonly light and cheerful; but there being three sorts of Songs at Entertainments, of which the first was sung by the whole Company join-

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termed *σκολιοι*, from the Adjective *σκολιόν*, signifying crooked, as being sung out of course, and not by every Man in his own place, like the two former (a). The Custom was thus: After the Company had all sung in a Chorus, or one after another, a musical Instrument, most commonly a Harp or Lute, was carried round to every Person, that such as understood Musick might entertain the Company. They who would not or could not play upon the Instrument, were presented with a Branch of Laurel or Myrtle, to which, held in their Hands, they sung; this was termed *πρὸς δάφνης*, or *πρὸς μυρρίνῃ ᾄδειν*, to sing towards the Laurel or the Myrtle; this Account is given by *Hesychius* in the following Words, *Μυρρίνης κλάδοι ἢ δάφνης παρὰ πότον μυρρίνης ἢ σύνθιδις δίδοναι τοῖς κατακειμένοις ἐν διαδοχῇ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ᾄσαι ἀντὶ τοῦ βαρβίτου*. Which Passage ought rather to be read thus: *Μυρρίνης κλάδοι, μυρρίνης κλάδοι ἢ δάφνης παρὰ πότον ἢ σύνθιδις δίδοναι*, &c. This Branch was also termed *αἶσαν*, or *ᾄσαν*, *παρὰ τὸ ᾄσαι τὸν διεκείμενον*, because the Person who received it was obliged to sing, as we are informed by *Plutarch* (b), who more agreeably to the former Account, and perhaps to the Truth, observes, that the *σκολία* were not sung by all who could not play upon the musical Instrument, which is *Hesychius's* Notion of these Songs, but only by those who were Masters of Musick, whence he derives the Name from *σκολιός*, difficult to sing, one of these Songs being what could not be done by any but good Proficients in the Art of Musick. He farther adds, that some were of Opinion, that the Branch of Myrtle was not delivered to the Company in a direct Order, but carried from Bed to Bed, so as when the first Person in the uppermost Bed had done singing, he delivered it to the first in the second Bed, from whom it was transmitted to the first of the third Bed; that the seconds in each Bed delivered it to one another in the same manner, and so forward, till it had passed thro' the whole Company; and that on this account the Songs were termed *σκολία*, from *σκολιός*, as it signifies crooked, by reason of the several Windings in carrying about the Branch of Myrtle. These *Scolia* were chiefly used by the *Athenians*, neither were they unknown in other Parts of Greece, where we find several celebrated Writers of *Scolia* to have lived, such were *Anacreon* of *Teos*, *Alcæus* of *Lesbos*, *Praxilla* of *Sicyon*, and others (c). Their Arguments were of various kinds; some of them, to use the Words of *Eustathius* (d), were *σπουδαῖα καὶ δι' ἐρωτικὰ*, *πολλὰ δὲ καὶ σπουδαῖα*, ludicrous and satirical, others amorous, and many of them serious; those upon serious Arguments sometimes contained *παραίνεσιν τίνα καὶ γνώμην χρησίμην εἰς τὸν βίον*, a practical Exhortation or Sentence, as we learn from *Athenæus* (e); sometimes they consisted of the Praises and illustrious Actions of

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great Men ; this latter sort commonly bore the Persons Names whom they celebrated ; thus Αρμόδιος μίλῳ, the Song of *Harmodius*, according to *Hesychius*, was τὸ ἐπὶ Αρμόδιου ποιησθὲν σκόλιον ὑπὸ Καλλιγέρᾳ, the *Scolium* composed by *Callistratus* upon *Harmodius*, the fam'd Patriot, who delivered *Athens* from the Tyranny of *Hipparchus* the Son of *Pisistratus*, whom he killed ; the first Verse of this *Scolium* is preserved in *Aristophanes* (a) :

Ἄδω δὲ πρῶτ' Αρμόδιον, δέξου δὲ σύ,
Οὐδὲς πῶπ' ἂν ἴγ' αἶψ' Ἀθηναῖον.

Ἀδμήτου λόγῳ was a *Scolium* upon *Admetus* King of *Thessaly* ; it is mentioned by the same Author :

Ἀδμήτου λόγον δ' ταῖς μαθὼν, τοὺς ἀγαθὺς φίλοι,
Τῶτ' ἔτι λείπεις σκόλιον —————

There are many Examples of the ancient *Scolia* preserved in the *Greek* Authors, of which I shall only set down that one which was composed by *Aristotle* upon *Hermias* Tyrant of *Atarneus*, which, tho' *Demophilus*, suborned by one *Eurymedon*, affirmed to be a sacred *Pæan*, in order to prove the Philosopher, who daily used this Song, guilty of Impiety, as hath been before related, yet it is from the very Phrase and Diction plainly demonstrated to be nothing more than an ordinary *Scolium*, by *Democritus* in *Athenæus* (b) :

Ἀρεὶὰ πολὺμοχθε
Γίνε βροσίῳ,
Θήραμα κάλλιπον βίῳ
Σᾶς περὶ, παρδίνε, μορφᾶς
Καὶ θανὼν ζήλωντ' Ἑλλάδι πότμῳ,
Καὶ πόνης τλήναι μαλερῆς τοῖον
Ἐπὶ φρίκα βάλλεις
Καρπὸν τ' ἀνάναν,
Χρυσὸν κρίσσω καὶ γονίον,
Μαλακαυγίτοιο δ' ὕπνου
Σεῦ δ' ἴσκειν ὁ Διὸς Ἡρακλῆς,
Λήδας τε κύροι πολλ' ἀνέτλασαν,
Ἐργοις σὰν ἀγρεύουσιν δύναμιν.
Σοῖς δὲ πόδοις Ἀχιλλεύς,
Αἴας τ' Αἶδαο δόμους ἤλθοι,
Σᾶς δ' ἴσκει φιλὶς μορφᾶς
Καὶ Ἀταρνείως ἔντροφῳ
Ἡλείῳ χήρωσιν αὐγάς,
Τοι γὰρ αἰοιδίμῳ ἔργοις

From the Songs let us pass to the Sports and Pastimes which followed Entertainments; this was the ancient Method, as we learn from *Homer's* Description of an Entertainment made by *Alcinous* King of *Phæacia*, wherein the Entertainment being taken away, and the Musick ended, the Guests are invited to wrestle, leap, run Races, and to other bodily Exercises (a):

Κέλνυται Φαιήκων ἡγήτορες ἡδὲ μέδοις,
 Ἢδὴ μὲν δαιτὶς κεκορήμεθα δυμὸν ἔϊσης,
 Φόρμιγγός δ', ἣ δαΐδι συνήθερός ἐστι θαλαίῃ.
 Νῦν δ' ἐξέλθωμεν, καὶ αἰθλῶν πειρηθώμεν
 Πάσιων, &c.

Whence *Eustathius* observes, ὅτι ἐκ τῶ τοῖς ἥρωσιν ἀναπαύεσθαι μὲν βρῶσιν κατὰ τοὺς ὕστερον ἐπὶ σίῳσι πᾶσι (b), that the Heroes did not rest after Meals, for the better Concoction of their Meat, as became customary in later Ages; on which Pretence the later *Greeks* laying aside the violent Exercises which were anciently used, diverted themselves with such Sports and Recreations as required less Toil and Labour. The several sorts of Sports and Games which were practised by the *Greeks*, have been accurately described by the learned *Meursius*, and from him again by *Bulengerus*; they are too numerous to be recounted in this Place; however, the *κότλαβος*, which was more peculiar to Entertainments, and is on that account described by *Pollux*; and takes up several Pages in *Athenæus*, must not be omitted. This Pastime was first invented in *Sicily*, whence it was communicated to most other Parts of *Greece*, especially to *Athens*, where it obtained very great Repute. The Form was thus: A piece of Wood being erected, another was placed upon the top of it, with two Dishes hanging down from each Extremity in the manner of Scales; beneath each Dish was placed a Vessel full of Water, wherein stood a Statue composed for the most part of Brass, and called *μάτης*. They who did *κοτλαβεῖν*, play at the *Cottabus*, stood at some distance, holding a Cup of Water or Wine, which they endeavoured to throw into one of the Dishes, that the Dishes by that Weight might be knocked against the Head of the Statue under it. The Person who threw in such a manner as to spill least of his Water, and to knock the Dish with the greatest Force upon the Statue, was Conqueror, and thought to reign in his Mistress's Affections; which was the thing to be learnt by this Pastime. The Sound made by the Projection, was by an *Onomatopœia*, termed *λάταξ*, the Wine projected *λαλάγη*, and sometimes *λάταξ*. The Action, as also the Cup out of which the Wine was projected, was called *ἀγκύλη*, because τὴν δεξιὰν χεῖρα ἡγκύλην, κυκλῶντες αὐτὴν ὡς ἐνὶ περὶ πωδῆσσι, σιμνυόμενοι ὡς ἐφ' ἐν

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Vessels were named *κότλαβοι*, or *κοτλαβίδες*; the Prizes *κοτλάβια*, *κοτλαβία*, and also *κότλαβοι*, which were Sweetmeats, Kisses, or what else the Company agreed upon. The Play itself, to distinguish it from others of the same Name, was termed *κότλαβος κατὰ τὰς*. And so much addicted they were to this Pastime, that they had not only Vessels made for it with the utmost Art and Care, but round Houses built in such a Manner, that the *Cottabus* being placed exactly in the middle, the Gamesters might stand at equal Distances on all sides.

There was another sort of *Cottabus*, wherein a Vessel was placed full of Water, with empty Phials swimming upon it; into this they projected Wine out of Cups, and he that had the Fortune to drown the greatest Number of the Phials, obtained the Prize.

There was also another sort of *Cottabus*, wherein they projected Dice.

Lastly, another sort of *Cottabus* is mentioned, which was a Contention who should sit up awake the longest; the Prize was commonly a Cake made of Honey and Sesame, or Wheat, as we learn from *Pollux* and the Greek Scholiast (a) upon *Aristophanes*, and thence termed *σπαραμῆς*, or *σπαραμῆς*; the latter seems to have been most common, whence it is mentioned alone by *Artemidorus*, ὃν δὲ ὁ σπαραμῆς παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς ἐπινικίον; the *σπαραμῆς* was anciently the Prize (b), whence that Word became a general Name for any other Prize; thus it is used by *Aristophanes* (c):

Τὸ γὰρ τεχνάζειν ἡμέτερον ὁ σπαραμῆς.

And in another place (d):

Ὡς δ' ἀναιδία παρὰ γένος, ἡμέτερον ὁ σπαραμῆς.

And these are the most usual Forms of this Pastime (e).

It was also held necessary to entertain the Guests with suitable Discourses, as well as with Sports and Pastimes. In the Opinion of the ancient Greeks, to use the Words of *Athenaeus* (f), "it was more requisite and becoming to gratify the Company by agreeable Conversation, than with Variety of Dishes." And in the heroical Ages it was customary to consult about Affairs of the greatest Moment at Entertainments, as hath been observed by *Plutarch* (g); hence *Nestor* in *Homer* (h) persuades *Agamemnon* to invite the Grecian Commanders to an Entertainment, in order to deliberate concerning the Management of the War:

Δαῖτον δαῖτα γένοιτο, ἵσταντο, ἔστωι δαίσις.

Πολλῶν δ' ἀγορεύειν, τῇ τέσσει ὅς κεν ἀρίστῃ
Βουλῇ Βουλευσῇ.

It was believed that at such times Mens Invention was more quick and fruitful, according to the Saying in *Aristophanes* (a):

Οἷον γὰρ εὖροις ἂν τι πρακτικώτερον;

where the *Greek* Scholiast discourseth very largely on this Argument. It was also the Custom in *Persia* to consult at Entertainments, as we find done at that of *Agamemnon*, as we learn from *Athenæus* (b); and to use the Words of *Ammianus Marcellinus* (c), the *Persians* used to deliberate *inier epulas de apparatu bellico, & seriis rebus apud eosdem*, *Graiorum more veterum*; concerning warlike Preparations, and other serious Affairs, at Banquets, after the manner of the ancient *Greeks*; nay, if *Strabo* may be believed (d), they used to consult about Affairs of the highest Importance over their Wine, and what was there determin'd was held more firm and inviolable than their sober Resolutions. But *Herodotus's* Account is more particular, that those Things which they resolved on (νύκθους) when they were sober, were canvass'd over again when they had drank freely; and the Things which they determin'd (μεθύσκομενοι) in their Drink, were examined again in their sober Hours (e). Not unlike this is what *Tacitus* (f) reports of the *Germans*, that their Consultations about the Reconciliation of Enemies, the contracting Affinities, Appointment of Princes, and all other Affairs, whether Military or Civil, were for the most part held at Entertainments. The way of the *Syssitia* in *Crete* was thus, according to *Diosdorus* (g): Supper being ended, they first deliberate about Civil Affairs; then the Discourse is turned to War, at which time they repeat the Praises of illustrious Persons, προλεπόμενοι τοὺς νῦν εἰ ἀνδραγαθίαν, thereby to excite the young Men to Courage and Bravery. The *Lacedæmonian* Youth frequented the *Syssitia*, ὡς διδασκαλεῖα σωφροσύνης, as the Schools of Temperance and Prudence, where they heard Discourses of Publick Affairs, and conversed with the most liberal and best accomplished Masters, as we are informed by *Plutarch* (h). The same Author has elsewhere observed (i), that the *Cretan* ἀνδρεία, and the *Spartan* φειδῖτια, that is, their publick Places of Entertainment, Βουλευτηρίων ἀποξήτων ἢ συνεδρίων ἀριστοκρατικῶν τάξιν εἶχον, were instead of Councils, where the chief Men of the Commonwealth met to consult about the most secret Affairs; and he adds, ὥσπερ οἶμαι, ἢ τὸ ἐνθάδε περιλανεῖον ἢ Θεσμοδίσιον, that the *Prytancum* and *Thestomothesium*, or publick Halls in this City, that is, in *Chæronea*, which was *Plutarch's* native Town, seem to have been put to the same Use. The same Custom seems to have obtained in several other Cities, and particularly at *Athens*, where the supreme Council supped every Day to-

gether in the *Prytaneum*, as hath been elsewhere related; and to use the Words of *Eustathius* (a), “the chief Magistrates at *Rhodes* were obliged, by an express Law, every Day to entertain the principal Men of that City at a publick Table, in order to deliberate what should be done the Day following.” Hence, as *Plutarch* was of Opinion (b), *Bacchus* had the Surname of *Εὐβουλός*, prudent Counsellor; and the Night was called *εὐφρόνη*, as being the Time of wise and prudent Counsels: And as the same Author observes, “not unlike these is that Assembly of most wise and excellent Persons in *Plato*, where things of the greatest Concern are discussed.” As they who were concerned in publick Business used to discourse of publick Affairs, so the Conversation of Philosophers was commonly upon some Argument of Philosophy; Grammarians disputed upon critical Subjects, and others conversed in their several Ways, insomuch that every Art and Science was cultivated and improved on these Occasions; whence *Eustathius* had good Reason for his Remark, “that the *Greeks* did not drink “to Excess at their publick Entertainments, but only to keep up “their Conversation about serious Affairs.” Examples of the Discourse at Entertainments may be found in *Plato* and *Xenophon*, also (had they been yet extant) in *Aristotle*, *Speusippus*, *Epicurus*, *Hieronymus*, *Dio* the Academick, who wrote *λόγους παρὰ πότον γινόμενους*, Books of Table Discourses, as we are informed by *Plutarch* (c), who imitates the forementioned Authors in his Treatise upon the same Argument.

Nevertheless it was also customary by Turns to unbend their Minds, and divert them from serious Affairs, by Discourses upon ludicrous Arguments; whence *συμπόσιον*, the Greek Name of an Entertainment, is defined by *Plutarch* (d), *κοινωνία σπουδῆς καὶ παιδιᾶς, λόγων καὶ πράξεων*, a Mixture of Seriousness and Mirth, of Discourses and Actions. At the fore-mentioned *Syssitia* of the *Lacedæmonians*, where the most grave and important Subjects were treated on, they also *παίλιν ἔθιζον, καὶ σκώπτειν ἀντιβωμολοχίας, καὶ σκαπτόμενοι μὴ δυσχεραίνειν*, used to sport, and to jest, tho’ without any of that Scurrility and Reflection which is apt to give Offence (e). And from the Table Discourses of *Plutarch* and others, it appears to have been the ancient Custom to contrive their Discourses in such a manner as would both entertain and instruct the Company; nevertheless in the Time of *Plutarch* they rarely discoursed upon any serious Argument at publick Entertainments; whence a Discourse being begun at *Nicostratus*’s House concerning a Subject which was to be discussed in the popular Assembly at *Athens*, some of the Company, who had never heard of the ancient Greek Custom, affirmed that it was an Imitation of the *Persians* (f). And this Question is pronounced in the same Author (g) whether

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delighted to tell Stories, and to repeat ancient Fables on these Occasions; others chose to read some diverting Discourse, ἔησαν εἰπεῖν, or to hear a Poem repeated, which was very common amongst Men of Letters; but no Diversion was more usual than that of propounding and answering difficult Questions. Such of these as were wholly design'd for Amusement, were termed αἰνίγματα, but those which farther contained something serious and instructive, were called γρίφοι, which Word, as we are inform'd by *Pollux* (a), in its primary Acceptation, signifies a Fishing-Net; hence to use the Words of *Clearchus* (b), "the *Griphi* contained philosophical Disquisitions, wherein the Ancients used to give a Specimen of their Learning, infomuch that this Pastime μῆνυμα γίνεσθαι τῆς ἐκάστη πρὸς παιδείαν οἰκισιότης, became a Proof of every Person's Proficiency in Learning." The Person who solved the Question propounded, was honoured with a Reward; he who was not so fortunate, underwent a certain Punishment; the Rewards were σίφανος καὶ εὐφημία, a Garland, and the Applause of the Company, as we learn from the same Author; the Punishment was, to drink, without taking Breath, a Cup of Wine mixed with Salt, as *Athenæus* (c) has proved out of the *Ganymedes* of *Antiphanes*; the Reward, according to *Pollux* (d), was a Dish of Meat; the Penalty, a salt Cup. Others report, that a Cup of Wine was the Prize, which was adjudged to the Person who solved the Riddle; or in case no man could solve it, to the Person by whom it was propounded (e). The Account of *Hesychius* differs somewhat from all which have been hitherto mentioned; he tells us, that γρίφος is συμποτικὴ ζήτησις αἰνιγματώδης, καὶ πρόσμιον τὸ μὴ λύσαντι τὸν γρίφον, ἐκπιεῖν τὸ συγκαίμενον, ἥτοι ἀκραλον, ἢ ὕδωρ, "an enigmatical Question at Compotations, which whoever fails of solving, is obliged to drink that which is set before him, whether it be unmix'd Wine or Water;" and there is no doubt but the Rewards and Penalties were varied, according to the Disposition of the Company. The common Name of these, and all other Questions used on the like Occasions, was κυλίκεια ζητήματα. *Theodectes* the Sophist termed them μετμόνια ζητήματα, because he had got a Set of them by heart, which was usually done by such as frequented publick Entertainments (f). That the Custom of propounding Riddles was very ancient, and derived from the Eastern Nations into Greece, appears from the Story of *Samson* in the Book of *Judges*, who propounded a Riddle to the *Philistines* at his Nuptial Feast. Neither were these Questions confined to Entertainments, but in the primitive Times were proposed on other Occasions, by those who desired to make Proof of one another's Wisdom and Learning. Hence there is mention of the Queen of *Sheba's* (g) Question to King So-

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Isomon, of those which passed between *Hiram* and *Solomon*, and several others, which are too long to be recounted in this place.

Sometimes the Entertainer made Presents to all his Guests. *Lyfimachus* of *Babylon* having entertained *Himerns*, the Tyrant of the *Babylonians* and *Seleucians*, with 300 other Guests, gave every Man a Silver Cup of four Pounds weight (a). When *Alexander* made his Marriage-Feast at *Susa* in *Persia*, he paid the Debts of all his Soldiers out of his own Exchequer, and presented every one of his Guests, who were not fewer than 9000, with golden Cups (b). From these Instances it appears, that Cups were commonly presented on these Occasions. This was done because it was customary for the Company, before they parted, to pour forth Wine, as a Libation to *Mercury*, who was accounted the President of the Night, and believed to send Sleep and pleasing Dreams, whence he is called by *Homer* (c) *νυκτός ἐκπαινήδης*, and *ὑπνότης οὐρανῶν*. To the same God they also sacrificed the Tongues of the Animals which had been killed for the Entertainment. The Reason of which Rite was by some thought to be, that *Mercury* being the President of Eloquence, was chiefly delighted with that Member; others rather think, that by this Sacrifice he was invoked as a Witness of the Discourse which had passed. Some are of Opinion that by burning the Tongues at the Conclusion of the Meeting, was intimated, that whatever had been there discoursed, should be kept secret. Several other Conjectures concerning the Original of this Custom, which are too long to enumerate, have been made by learned Men (d). It was chiefly observed by the *Athenians*, *Ionians*, and *Megarensians*. And some will have it to have been begun by one of the Kings of *Megara*, who having the Tongue of a Lion, which had wasted his Country, brought to him by *Pelops*, sacrificed it at the End of an Entertainment. It was certainly very ancient; whence *Apollonius* makes it to be observed by the *Argonauts* (e):

Οὐδ' ἐπιδὴν μέλειπτα κερασσάμενοι δὴ λοιδοῶς,
 Ἡ θέμις ἐστὶ τῶς ἐπὶ γλώσσης χιόδιον
 Αἰδομέναις, ὕπνῳ δὲ διὰ κνέφας ἱμνώοισιν.

And it is practised by the Heroes in *Homer* :

Γλώσσας δ' ἐν πυρὶ βάλλον, αἰνισάμενοι δ' ἐπ' ἄλκιβον.

As the ancient *Greeks* offered Libations chiefly to *Mercury*, so the *Greeks* of latter times made theirs to *Jupiter*, surnamed *τὸν ἄλκιον*, *Perseus* (f); yet several other Gods often shared in these Offerings; particularly, at Entertainments which followed any solemn Sacrifice, it was customary to remember the God to whom they had be-

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viseth the Company to sacrifice the Tongues, and to pour forth Libations of Wine to *Neptune*, and the rest of the Gods, before they departed.

Αλλ' ἄγε, τὰμνίε μιν γλώσσας, κεράσασθε δὲ οἶνον,
Ὀφρα Ποσειδάωνι, καὶ ἄλλοις ἀθανάτοισι
Σπείσαντες, κοίτοιο μεδάμεναι τοῖα γὰρ ἔρη.

It was held unlawful to stay too long at Entertainments which followed Sacrifices, as *Athenæus* hath observed from the following Words of *Minerva* in the same Poet (a);

Ἦδη γὰρ φάτο· ὄχι δ' ὑπὸ ζοφὸν, ἐδὲ ἔοικε
Δηδᾶ θῖναι ἐν δαίτῃ θασασσέμεναι, ἀλλὰ νύκτα.

The same Author reports, that till his Time the Company was obliged at some sacrificial Entertainments to depart before Sun-set (b); but at the common Entertainments, where more Liberty was allowed, the Company very often staid till the Morning approached; this we find done by *Socrates* and his Friends in *Plato's* Entertainment, and before that, in the heroical Times, by *Penelope's* Suitors, and by the *Phœnicians* in *Homer*, as also by *Dido* and *Æneas* in *Virgil*. It was also customary to contend who should keep awake longest, and the Prize assigned to the Victor was most commonly a sort of Cakes called *στυραμῆς* (c), which Word came hence to be a general Name for the Prize of any Victory, as hath been already observed.

C H A P. XXI.

Of the Manner of entertaining Strangers.

THE keeping of publick Inns for the Reception of Strangers, was assigned by *Plato* (d) to Foreigners, or the meanest sort of Citizens, as an illiberal and mean Employment. The ancient *Greeks* had no publick Inns, which were an Invention of later Ages. In the primitive Times Men lived at home, neither caring to cultivate Friendship with Foreigners, nor to improve themselves and their Estates by Commerce with them. Neither was it safe to travel without a strong Guard, the Sea and Land being both exceedingly infested with Robbers, who not only spoiled all whom

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others was then by many thought a very honourable way of sub-
fisting, and they placed a sort of Glory in overcoming and spoil-
ing their Neighbours, believing the Rules of Humanity and Ju-
stice to be observed by none but such as were destitute of Power (a).
Hence it seems to have come, that amongst the ancient *Greeks*,
Strangers and Enemies were both signified by the same Name
ξένος, all Strangers being then accounted Enemies. And the *Per-
sians*, who for several Ages waged continual Wars with *Greece*,
are particularly signified by that Word (b). The *Lacedæmonians*
are said to have termed the barbarous Nations, whom the *Greeks*
took for their common Enemies, by the Name ξένος (c). And
amongst the primitive *Latins* the Name *hostis*, which was after-
wards appropriated to Enemies, signified Strangers (d).

The Sea was freed from Pirates by *Minos* King of *Crete*, who,
with a strong Fleet, for a long time maintained the Dominion of
all the Seas thereabouts. The Land-Robbers were destroy'd by
Hercules, *Theseus*, and other primitive Heroes; from which Times
Xenophon (e) reports, that till his own Age, ξένος ὑδὴς ἐν ἀδίκῃ,
no Man was injurious to Strangers. And in the earliest Ages, all
who were not entirely void of Humanity, are said to have enter-
tained all Strangers with Respect; it was then the Custom to sup-
ply them with Viſuals and other Neceſſaries before they enquired
their Names, or asked them any other Questions. Thus *Telema-
chus* and his Company are treated by *Menelaus*, who thus bespeaks
them upon their Arrival at *Sparta* (f);

Σὺν δ' ἄπιστον, καὶ χαίρειν αὐτὰς ἔπειτα
Δίπνῃ πασσαμένῳ, εἰρησόμεθ' οὔτις ἔρην
Ἀνδρῶν——

In the same manner *Telemachus* is entertained by *Nestor* (g), *Ulyſſes*
by *Eumæus* (h), and *Minerva*, under the Form of *Mentor*, by *Tele-
machus* (i). *Menelaus* entertained *Paris* the *Trojan* ten Days before
he enquired who he was, or whence he came; and it is said to
have been ἀρχαῖον ἔθος, an ancient Custom, to forbear such En-
quiries till the tenth Day, if the Stranger seem'd willing to stay
till that Time, as we learn from *Eustathius's* Comment on the
Passage of *Homer*, where the King of *Lycia* is introduced de-
manding of *Bellorophon* his recommendatory Letter from *Prætus*,
upon the tenth Day after he had come to his House (k).

Ενῆμαρ ξείνισσι, καὶ ἐνία βῆς ἱέουσιν·
 ΑΛΛ' ὅτε δὴ δεκάτῃ ἰφάνῃ ἐοδδάκλυτο· ἡὺς
 Καὶ τότε μιν ἐρέειν καὶ ἥτις σῆμα ἰδῆσαι,
 Ὅτι ἐὰ οἱ γαμβροῖο παρὰ Προίτοιο φέροιο.

In later Ages *Cretan* Hospitality was very much celebrated. In the *συσσίτια*, publick Halls, of *Crete*, there were constantly two Apartments, one was termed *κοιμητήριον*, wherein Strangers were lodg'd, the other was *ἀνδρεῖον*, being the place of eating, where all the *Cretans* supped together; in the uppermost part of this Room there was a constant Table set apart for Strangers, called *τράπεζα ξενία*, *ξενική*, or *Δίον*, *ξένιον*. Others will have two Tables appointed for this Use (a). And in the Distribution of Victuals, the Strangers were always served before the King, or any of the *Cretan* Nation; and some of them were permitted to bear very considerable Offices in the State (b).

The rest of the *Greeks*, and especially the *Athenians*, were generally courteous to Strangers, except the *Lacedæmonians*, who are ill spoken of for want of Hospitality; hence they are described by *Ιξέτις* (c) as most opposite to the *Athenians* in their Behaviour to Strangers:

Τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις νόμος ἦν εἰσδέχεσθαι τοὺς ξένους,
 Ὅθεν καὶ ἀνομάζοντο φιλόξενοι τοῖς πᾶσιν·
 Τοῖς Λάκεσσι δὲ νόμος, τοὺς ξένους ἀπειλαύνειν.

For the same reason they are called by *Aristophanes* (d) *δειρωνόξενοί*, and by others *ξηηλάται*, from their imposing upon Strangers, and driving them away; which is the more to be wonder'd, because *Lycurgus* chiefly followed the Laws and Manners of *Crete* in the Regulations which he made at *Sparta*. Nevertheless it is very certain that very good Care was taken of Strangers at *Sparta*. It was one part of the Royal Office to make Provision for them, as we learn from *Herodotus*; and *M. Antoninus* (e) affirms, that Strangers had a convenient place assigned in the Shade, whereas the *Lacedæmonians* themselves lay down without Distinction of Places. But the Opinion of their rough and uncivil Usage of Strangers, seems to have prevailed chiefly on these Accounts:

First, Because Foreigners, when they lived upon the *Spartan* Diet, which was extremely coarse, thought themselves ill entertained; hence a Citizen of *Sybaris* happening to be treated after the *Spartan* Fashion, profess'd, that he no longer wonder'd how it

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Secondly, Because Strangers had Admittance into *Sparta* only on ἀρισμῆναι ἡμέραι, certain Days (a). This was Provision against the promiscuous and frequent Concourse of other Nations, which they avoided as much as possibly they could, either, as *Archidamus* in *Libanius* (b) reports, to prevent Foreigners from observing the Faults and Miscarriages of *Sparta*, which *Pericles* in *Thucydides* (c) seems also to reproach them with, or rather fearing that the Manners of their Citizens would be corrupted by a too free and unlimited Conversation with other Nations; which Account of this Appointment is assigned by *Xenophon* (d), *Plutarch* (e), and others; for the same reason an Edict was once put forth at *Rome*, whereby Strangers, *usu orbis prohibiti*, were forbidden the Use of that City (f). And the *Lacedæmonians* were not allowed to travel into foreign Countries, lest they should introduce foreign Customs and Vices at *Sparta* (g). That these and the like Orders were not enacted without sufficient Cause, appears from *Lyfander* and *Agésilæus*, the former of which returning home from *Athens*, and the latter from *Asia*, contributed very much to the general Corruption of Manners, which in a short time after destroyed the ancient *Lacedæmonian* Discipline and way of Living.

To return to the *Grecian* Hospitality: In order to excite the People to treat Strangers with Kindness and Respect, the ancient Poets and Lawgivers possessed them with an Opinion, that all Strangers were under the peculiar Care of certain Gods, who revenged all the Injuries done to them; in the Number of these Gods were reckoned *Minerva*, *Apollo*, *Venus*, *Castor*, and *Pollux*, and chiefly *Jupiter*, who had hence the Surname of εἰρηόφρων, hospitable; which was also sometimes given to other Gods, who were believed to protect Strangers; hence *Ulysses* endeavours to mitigate *Polyphemus* with this Reason, that *Jupiter* was the Patron and Avenger of Strangers (h):

Αλλ' αἰδοῖο, Φῆρες, Θεὸς ἐστὶν αἰεὶ τοι εἰμὶν
 Ζεὺς δ' ἐπιλήμνητος ἐκείνων τε ξείνων τε
 ξείνων, ὃς ξείνοισιν ἅμ' αἰδοῖοσιν ὄσσηδε.

And *Eumæus* is moved by the same Reason to entertain the same Hero, as himself professeth (i);

Ξεῖν', ἔ μοι θεμὶς ἐστ', ἃδ' εἰ κακίων σέθεν ἄλλοι,
 ξείνοι ἀτιμῆσται· πρὸς γὰρ Διὸς εἰσὶν ἅπαντες
 ξεῖνοί τε, πῖλῃχοί τε.

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For the same End the Gods were feigned to travel in the Habit of Strangers. Thus *Jupiter* speaks of himself in *Ovid* (a) :

Et Deus humano lustro sub imagine terras.

In another Passage of that Author, the same God, accompanied by *Mercury*, is said to have been denied Reception by 1000 Houses, which for that Offence he turned, with the adjoining Country, into a Lake (b). *Lycaon* was said to be transformed into a Wolf for his injurious Treatment of *Jupiter*. And to mention only one Example more, when *Antinous* in *Homer* (c) treats *Ulysses*, who there appears like a Stranger, injuriously, he is put in mind that the Gods used to visit the Cities of Men in the Habit and Form of Strangers.

Ἀντίνο, ὃ μὲν καλ' ἔβαλες δόσην ἁλῆτην,
οὐλόμην, εἰ δὴ πῶς τις ἰσπεράνητο θεός ἐστι·
καὶ τε θεοὶ ξείνοισιν ἰοικότες ἀλλοδαποῖσι,
παισίοις τελέδοσις, πατρὸς φῶσι πολλῆας,
Ἀνδράων ὕβριν τε καὶ εὐνομίην ἐφορῶντες.

The Rites of entertaining Strangers being the same with those of receiving Guests at Entertainments, which have been described in one of the preceding Chapters, need not be farther explained in this place ; only this must be observed, that Salt was commonly set before Strangers, before they tasted the Victuals provided for them ; whereby was intimated, that as Salt does consist of aqueous and terrene Particles mixed and united together, or as it is a Concrete of several aqueous Parts, so the Stranger and the Person by whom he was entertained, should from the time of their tasting Salt together, maintain a constant Union of Love and Friendship. Others tell us, that Salt being apt to preserve Flesh from Corruption, signified, that the Friendship which was then begun, should be firm and lasting. And some, to mention no more different Opinions concerning this Matter, think, that a Regard was had to the purifying Quality of Salt, which was commonly used in Lustrations, and that it intimated that Friendship ought to be free from all Design and Artifice, Jealousy and Suspicion (d). It may be the Ground of this Custom was only this, that Salt was constantly used at all Entertainments both of the Gods and Men, whence a particular Sanctity was believed to be lodged in it ; it is hence called *θεῖον ἅλς*, divine Salt, by *Homer* ; and *ἱεροὶ ἅλς*, holy Salt, by others ; and *salinorum appositum*, by the placing of Salt on the Table, a sort of Holiness was thought to be derived to them (e). Indeed all things

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held to be sacred; hence the Table was thought to be endowed with an inherent Holiness as well as the Salt. Τὸ ὁμόρραπειζον, to have eaten at the same Table, was esteemed an inviolable Obligation to Friendship; and ἄλλα ἢ τράπεζαν παραβαίνειν, to transgress the Salt and the Table, that is, to break the Laws of Hospitality, and to injure one by whom any Person had been entertained, was accounted one of the blackest Crimes; hence that exaggerating Interrogation of *Demosthenes* (a), Πῶ ἄλλης; πῶ τράπεζαί; ταῦτα γὰρ τραγωδίᾳ παριών. "Where is the Salt? Where the hospitable Table? For in despatch of these he has been the Author of these Troubles." And the Crime of *Paris* in stealing *Helena* is aggravated by *Cassandra* (b) upon this Consideration, that he had contemned the Salt, and overturned the hospitable Table:

——— ὃδὲ τὸν ξίνοις
 Ζύνδορσσοι Αἰγαίῳ ἀγνίτην πάγον,
 Ἐτλης θεῶν ἀλοιτὸς ἐκθῆναι δίκην,
 Λάξας τράπεζαν, καὶ νακυπώσας δέμιν.

And τὸ ὁμόρραπον, to converse under the same Roof, was thought to be some sort of Engagement to Love and Courtesy, as we learn from the Comment of *Eustatbius* on that Passage of *Homer*, where *Ajax* endeavours to pacify *Achilles* by this Motive, that they were in the same House, and under the same Roof (c).

——— σὺ δ' Ἴλαον ἔνθεο θυμὸν,
 Αἰδεσσαὶ δὲ μέλαθρον, ἐπωρύφιοι δέ τοι ἴσμεν.

The Alliance which was contracted by Hospitality was termed *προξενία*, it was held very sacred, and πῶς τῇ συγγενικῇ θεσμῷ κρείττων τοῖς παλαιοῖς ἦν, was rather more inviolably observed by the Antients than the Ties of Kindred and Consanguinity. *Ten-ter* in *Homer* endeavoured to deprive *Priamus* of his Kingdom, tho' he was the Son of *Hesione*, the Sister of *Priamus*; whereas *Glaucus* and *Diomedes* laid down their Arms in the Heat of Battle, out of a pious Regard to the hospitable Alliance, which had been enter'd into by their Progenitors *Oneus* and *Bellerophon*, as *Eustatbius* (d) observes. Hence it appears farther, that the Alliances of Hospitality were derived by Parents to their Children; neither were they contracted only by private and single Men, but by these with whole Families and Cities. Hence *Megillus* in *Plato* (e) affirmed himself to be *πρόξενος*, allied by Hospitality to the City of *Athens*. *Nicias* the *Athenian* is by *Plutarch* called *πρόξενος τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων*, allied by Hospitality to the *Lacedaemonians*. *Cimon* the Son of *Mil-*

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And, to mention only one Instance more, *Halystes*, King of *Lydia*, made a Covenant with the *Mysians*, ἐφ' ᾧ τε ξείνους ἀλλήλοις αἶναι, whereby they are obliged to take one another for Guests and Allies (a).

Hence it was customary for Men thus allied to give one another σύμβολα, certain Tokens, the producing whereof was a Recognition of the Covenant of Hospitality; hence *Jason* in *Euripides* (b) promiseth *Medea*, when she departed from him, to send the Symbols of Hospitality, which should procure for her a kind Reception in foreign Countries.

Ξείνοις τε πέμπειν, σύμβολ', οἱ δράσυσσι σ' εὔ.

These were mutual Presents and Gifts, called ξένια, or δῶρα ξεινικά, which κειμήλια τοῖς παλαιοῖς ἀντίδοτο εἰς ἀνάμνησιν παλαιῆς φιλίας τοῖς ἐπιγόνους were repositd by the antient *Greeks* amongst their Treasures, to keep up the Memory of their Friendships to succeeding Generations, as we are inform'd by the Comment of *Eustatbius* on that Passage of *Homer* (c), where *Diomedes* recounts to *Glaucus* the Gifts which their Ancestors *Oeneus* and *Bellerophon* had presented to one another :

Ἡ ῥα νῦ μοι ξεινῶ παλαιῶ ἐσσι παλαιός,
Οἰνεὺς γὰρ πόλι διός ἀμύμονα Βελλεροφόνην
Ξείνισσ' ἐν μεγάροισιν εἰκόσιν ἡματ' ἐρύχας.
Οἱ δὲ καὶ ἀλλήλοισι πόρον ξεινήια καλά,
Οἰνεὺς μὲν ζωστῆρα διδά φοίνικι φαινόν,
Βελλεροφόνις δὲ χρύσειον δέσπας ἀμφικύπελλον,
Καὶ μιν ἑγὼν κατέλειπον ἰὼν ἐν δώμασ' ἱμοῖσι.

The latter *Greeks* used to break ἀσράγαλος, a Dye, in two Parts, one of which the Guests carried away, the other remained with the Entertainer (d). The same Custom was used at *Rome*, where each Part of the Dye was termed *tessera hospitalis*; this plainly appears from the following Passage of *Plautus* (e).

AG. *Siquidem Antidimarchi quæris adoptatitium,*

Ego sum ipse, quem tu quæris. POE. *Hem! quid ego audio!*

AG. *Antidamæ gnatum me esse.* POE. *Si ita est, tesseram*

Conferre si vis hospitalem, eccam, attuli.

AG. *Agedum buc ostende: est par probe: nam habeo domum.*

POE. *O mi hospes, salve multum: nam mihi tuus pater,*

Pater tuus ergo hospes, Antidamas fuit;

Hæc mihi hospitalis tessera cum illo fuit.

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Upon these *tesserae* their Names, or some other Character of distinction, as also the Image of *Jupiter Hospitalis*, were commonly engraven; hence the following Verse of the fore-mentioned Comedian (a), wherein the same thing, viz. the *tessera*, with *Jupiter* engraved upon it, seems to be expressed by two separate Names, which is a Mode of Speech very common in the Poets.

Deum hospitalem ac tesseram mecum fero.

When they renounced their hospitable Alliance, it was customary to break in pieces the hospitable *Tessera*; hence *tesseram frangere* signifies to violate the Laws of Hospitality. Thus it is used by the same Author (b):

*Abi, quare ubi tuo jussurando satis fit subsidit:
Hic apud nos jam, Alcestimarche, confregisti tesseram.*

They who entertained private Strangers were termed *προξένοι* they who received Ambassadors, and other Foreigners who came on any publick Account, were called *προξένοι*, but the same Name is often taken for Men who entertained their own private Friends of other Nations. If the Person who received the Foreigners who came under a publick Character, did it voluntarily, he was called *ιδιωπροξένος*, in which Sense *Pittias* is called by *Thucydides* (c) *ιδιωπροξένος Ἀθηναίων*, the voluntary Entertainer of the Athenians; but more commonly the *προξένοι* were appointed to that Office, either by the Suffrages of the People, which was the usual Way of choosing them in popular Governments, or by Designation of the King, which was the Method in Monarchical Countries; thus at *Sparta* the Kings appointed τοὺς ἀν' ἰδίῳσι τῶν ἀγῶν, whomsoever of the Citizens they pleased to be *Proxeni*, as we learn from *Herodotus* (d); neither did the Office of *Proxeni* consist only in providing Lodging and Entertainment for the fore-mentioned Strangers, but it was also their Duty to conduct them to the King, or the popular Assembly, to provide for them convenient Places in the Theatre, and to serve and assist them on all other Occasions; hence καλῶ τινος, ἢ καλῶ αὐτοῦ, whoever was the Procurer of any Good or Evil to another Person, was termed *πρόξενος* the Author of another Man's Ruin and Misery was called *πρόξενος ἀπωλείας*, or *πρόξενος φθορᾶς* the Author of his Safety and Felicity, *πρόξενος σωτηρίας*, or *πρόξενος ὑγιείας* (e).

The Office of *Proxeni* was by the more modern Greeks called *παροχή*, which Word was used in that Sense in one of St. Basil's Epistles. *Παροχαί* are by *Hesychius* interpreted *χαρίσματα*, δωρεματα,

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Presenta or Gifts; and publick Entertainments are called by *Cicero* in one of his Epistles to *Atticus* (a), *parochia publica*; unless instead of these Words we read, as some learned Men have done, *parochus publicus*; for the Officers were called *πάροχοι* and *ἐκωνόγεροι*. The ancient Romans called them *Copiarii*, but *Horace* (b) useth the Name of *parochus*, which was current in his Age:

*Proxima Campano ponti quæ villula, tellum
Præbuit; & parochi, quæ debent, ligna, salemque.*

Where under the Names of *Ligna* & *Sal*, Wood and Salt, all necessary Provisions are comprehended; these were supplied in all the Roman Towns to such as came thither upon any publick Affair by the *Parochi*, who were empowered to levy Taxes on the Inhabitants for this Use (c). In another place of the same Poet, *Parochus* signifies the Master of a Feast.

————— *vertere pallor*
*Tum parochi faciem nil sic metuentis ut acres
Potores.* —————

Whoever undertook a Journey, first implored the Divine Protection. Before their Departure into any foreign Country, it was customary to salute, and as it were take Leave of the Deities of their own Country, by kissing the Earth. Thus the Trojans in *Ovid* are said to do (d),

————— *dans oscula terræ*
Troades, & patriæ fumantia tellæ relinquant.

The same Rite of Salutation was commonly practised at their Arrival in any Country. Thus *Ulysses* in *Phæacia* (e),

————— *χθονί δὲ ζῆνδρος ἄρεσιν.*

And *Cadmus* in *Beotia* (f);

*Cadmus agit grates peregrinæquæ oscula terræ
Figit; & ignotos montes agrosque salutat.*

Hereby they paid Homage, and invoked the Assistance and Protection of *ἱεραρχεῖσι θεοῖς*, the Gods who were Patrons of that Country. They worshipped the same Gods during the Time of their

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the King of *Affyria* planted in the Cou
from the sacred History; and by *Alex*
staid in *Troas*, as the Writers of hi
Lastly, when they returned home, th
own Country in the same manner,
their safe Return. This was done t
turn to *Ithaca* (a);

Γέθησιν δ' ἄρ' ἔπειτα πολὺν
Χαίρων ἢ μαινῇ, κύσι δὲ ζεύδι
Αὐτίκα δὲ Νύμφης ἡγήσατο,

The same Rite is practised by *A*
he returns to *Mycenæ*; and by *H*
turn from his infernal Regions.

(a) *Odysf. v. v. 354.* (b) *A*
rent. v. 523.

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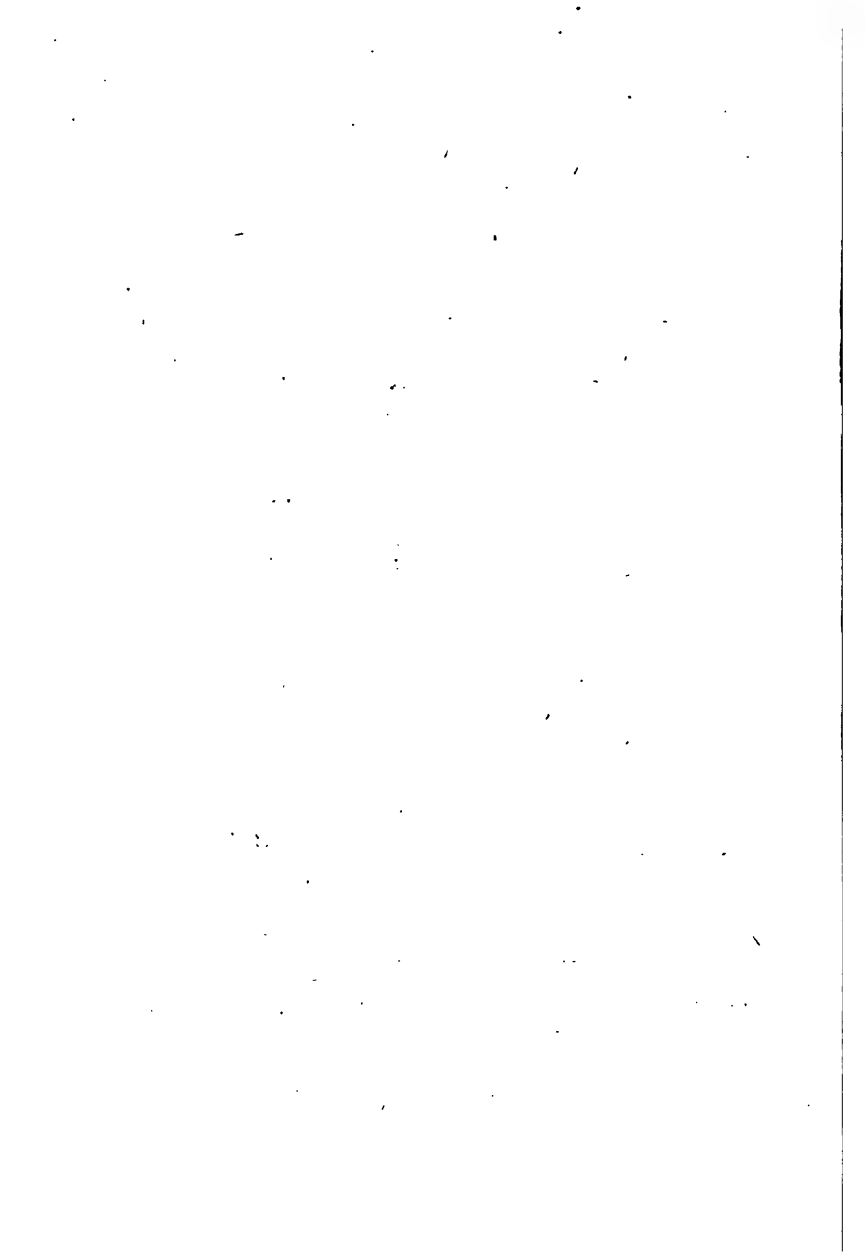
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